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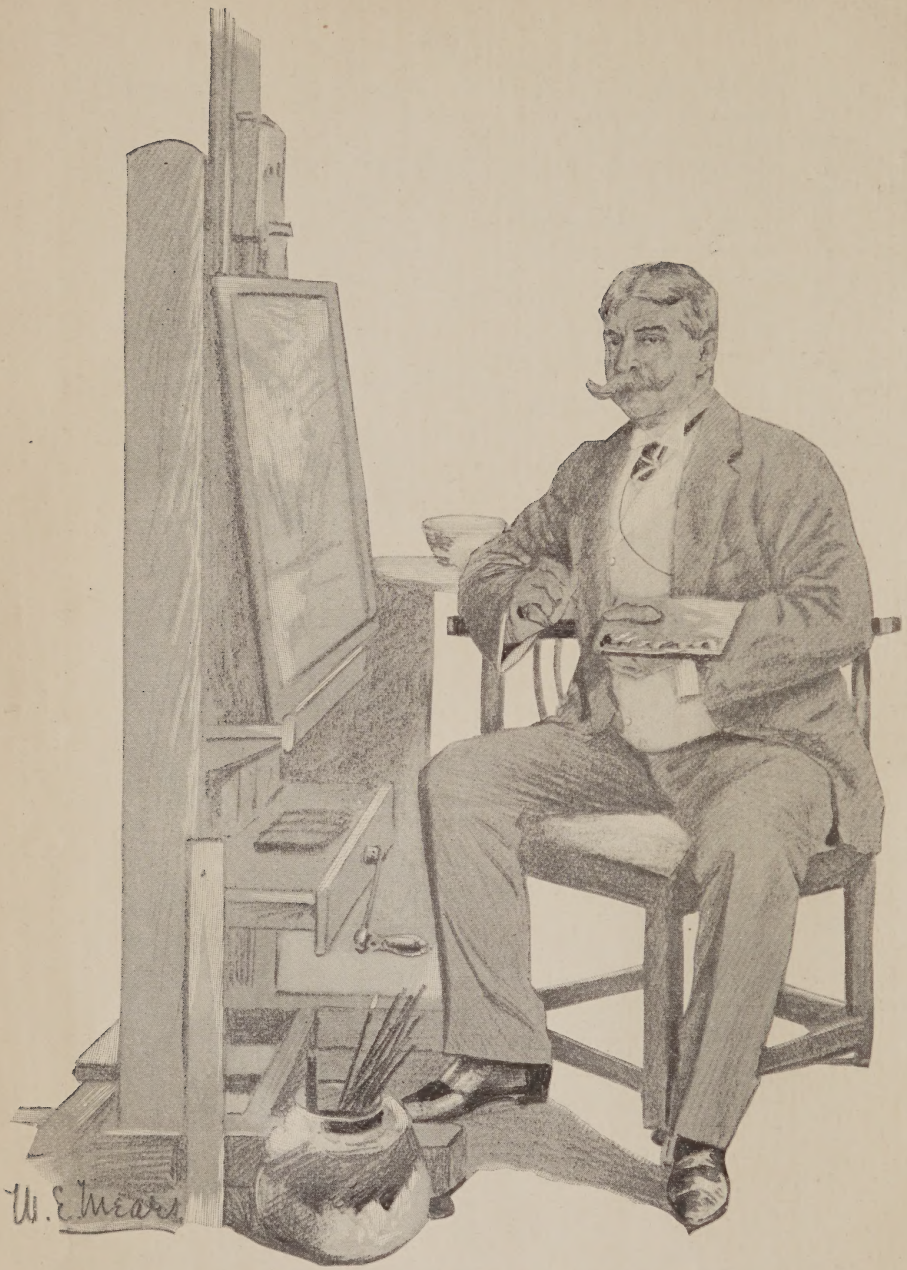
CONTENTS.

		Page
Academic Freedom: A Symposium		463
American Education in the Ottoman Empire	*Cyrus Hamlin, LL.D.*	25
Art in the Public Schools	*Stansbury Norse*	49
Artist's Area, The: A Poem	*Lucy Cleveland*	411
Arts and Crafts Movement in England, The	*Leonard D. Abbott*	398
Beginning of Liberation, The	*Helen Campbell*	350
Between the Animals and the Angels	*Benjamin Fay Mills*	1
Book Reviews		144, 294, 421
Buffalo Conference, The: A Symposium		71
Bugler in the Rear, The: A Poem	*Ernest H. Crosby*	536
Church and State	*Count Leo Tolstoy*	541
College Man in Politics, The	*Cecil Logsdail*	747
Courses of Study for Normal Schools	*Oscar Chrisman, Ph.D.*	56
Criminality in Children	*Maximilian P. E. Groszmann, Ph.D.*	509, 644
Cry of the Future, The: A Poem	*Coletta Ryan*	361
Currency Reform	*A. J. Warner*	740
Dead in his Harness: A Poem	*Frank C. Lockwood*	77
Delenda Est Carthago	*Count Leo Tolstoy*	202
Department Store in the East, The: A Symposium		165
Department Store in the West, The: A Symposium		320
Direct Legislation: A Symposium		97
Direct Legislation in Switzerland and America	*J. R. Commons*	725
Dynamics of Silence, The	*Rev. Henry Frank*	211
Edgar Allan Poe—After Fifty Years	*William Fearing Gill*	526
Editorial Announcements	*Paul Tyner and John Emery McLean*	538
Education and Economics	*Edward B. Payne*	362
English Dreyfus Case, The	*Dr. Helen Densmore*	598
English Ethics	*Hon. W. J. Corbet, M.P.*	429
Evolution of the Peace Movement	*William Fearing Gill*	228
French Canadian Liberalism	*F. W. Fitzpatrick*	151
French Republic, The: A Symposium		703
From the Western Shore	*Edward B. Payne*	257
God's in His World: A Poem	*Harry Douglas Robins*	319
Goethe: A Poem	*C. L. Story*	391
Goethe's Religion	*J. Christian Bay*	383
Heart of a Machine, The: A Story	*Fred Brush*	404
"Hoe Man" on Trial, The	*Edward B. Payne*	17
Hour and the Woman, The	*Annie L. Muzzey*	263
How "Progress" Stopped	*Bolton Hall*	530
If Lips Cannot Tell: A Poem	*Rosalie Isabel Stuart*	341
Inner Life, The	*Horatio W. Dresser*	246
Interpretation of the Vedanta, An	*Horatio W. Dresser*	489
Is the Republic Overthrown?	*George H. Shibley*	443

"Kingsville Plan" of Education, The.....*Edward Erf* 61
Life: A Poem.....*Thomas D. Bolger* 210
"Liz:" A Story.....*Henry C. Lahee* 275
Man with the Hoe, The: An Illustrated Poem..*Edwin Markham* 15
Modern College Education.....*Thomas J. Allen* 38
One View of National Unity.....*Elmer Ellsworth Brown* 186
Organization of Industry, The.....*F. B. Thurber* 301
Place and the Man, The.....*Ewing Cockrell* 653
Rameses the Great: A Poem.....*Beatrice Harlow* 128
Rational College Education.....*Thomas J. Allen* 237
Referendum for Reform, A.....*Joseph R. Buchanan* 454
Relation of Education to Reform, The.....*J. C. Guffin* 392
Ruskin's Education.....*Alice Hyneman Sotheran* 630
San Francisco's New Charter.....*Austin Lewis* 368
Social Democracy in Germany.....*S. Ivan Tonjoroff* 89
Social Reform Union, The.....*Rev. W. D. P. Bliss* 272
Society for the Study of Life, The: A Symposium..... 614
State Control of Trusts.....*Hon. Rudolf Kleberg* 191
Survival of the Strongest: A Symposium..... 683
Swamis in America, The.....*Anna Josephine Ingersoll* 482
To a Bluebell: A Poem.....*Barton O. Aylesworth* 14
To-Day: A Poem.....*Eliza Calvert Hall* 403
Twentieth Century Democracy.....*Carl Vrooman* 584
Under the Minaret: A Story....*D. N. Botassi and Lucy Cleveland* 114
Under the Rose.....129, 285, 412
Undertone, An: A Poem.....*Prof. George D. Herron* 201
Union Reform League Activities.....*Rev. W. D. P. Bliss* 111
Unite or Perish.....*Rev. W. D. P. Bliss* 78
United States and Canada, The.....*Hon. L. E. Munson* 667
United States and the Philippines, The: A Symposium..... 554
When Will the War Cease?.....*Peter MacQueen, M.A.* 697
When You I Beheld: A Poem.....*Ruth Ward Kahn* 262
Where Jury Bribing Begins.....*E. Parmalee Prentice* 312
Where Peace Doth Dwell: A Poem.....*Harry Douglas Robins* 48
Woman's Congress of 1899, The.....*Charlotte Perkins Stetson* 342
Women in Hindu Society.....*Swami Abhedananda* 757
Workers at Work:
V. F. Hopkinson Smith.....*Gilson Willets* 68
VI. James A. Herne in "Griffith Davenport"..*Marco Tiempo* 375



F. HOPKINSON SMITH AT HIS EASEL.

Workers at Work Series, V. (See page 68.)

THE ARENA

VOL. XXII. JULY, 1899. No. 1.

BETWEEN THE ANIMALS AND THE ANGELS.

WE used to think that God formed man of the dust of the earth, and that then he "breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and man became a living soul."

Personally, I do not know just how man came into his heritage and began to realize that he was something more than an animal that did not know its own spiritual capacity. The great conflict of this generation in which you and I have been living, so far as philosophy is concerned, has been a conflict between materialism and spiritualism. I use the word "spiritualism" in its large sense, not referring especially to communication with departed spirits, but as to the theory of the making and the constitution of our known universe. By "materialism" I mean the theory that says, "Matter is that which we can see and handle, and all our knowledge comes to us through the investigation of material things." By the spiritual theory I mean that which presupposes the existence of a great conscious personality, working towards certain ends, and producing the material, not as an end, but as the means for the accomplishment of an end.

Science at first was materialistic, but when it partially realized itself it discovered three things,—Order, Progress, Life. By "Order" I mean that this is a universe governed by law. Science commenced by rejecting miracle, and it went on, and is going on today, trying to account for all the world's processes by laws that may be discovered. But in

order to account for this order the world's most scientific philosopher has come to speak of something that is back of the laws, in abstract terms, describing it as an abstract quality, and saying that he cannot but believe in "The Infinite and Eternal Energy from which all things proceed." So when science utters the word "Progress" it gives similar testimony. It shows us that man has come from the animal. A certain development of mind made man, and then there appeared something beyond a mind, that we call the moral faculty. And here science is in accord with the highest spiritual philosophy of any time. The third discovery of science has been Life. Science analyzed man, and the plant, and the clod, and it came to an enigma. When the last atom that could be divided by scientific processes had been divided, science had to pause and say, "Life,—we do not understand it." If a minister, thirty years ago, had said that he believed there was life not only in the plant, but also life in the earth in which it grows and in the pot in which it stands, and life in everything, he might have been tried for heresy, and deposed from the ministry. Every scientist on the face of the globe would say today that when he has analyzed the stone or the clod to the last point to which he can go, he discovers a force controlling motion.

Science had to follow natural lines of development. "There is a natural body and a spiritual body," says Paul, and we had first to become acquainted with the natural body. But all science has come at last to hint that at the heart of the stone there is the same breathing spirit that makes an angel; there is the identical spirit that made Jesus; there is the same spirit that we call "God." I do not care how you define it; I do not care where you start, whether you call yourself a philosopher or a scientist,—if you are a reasonable person you have to come to the thought of that great underlying, developing force. I call it "Spirit" because I do not know a better name. And if there might be one confession that I would rather make than any other, it would be that I believe in "Spirit." I do not believe there is anything else. All

things that exist are different forms and expressions of God, and I use the term "Spirit" in its general sense, as identical with God.

Matter is not a delusion. I recognize our debt to the people who call themselves Christian Scientists, but I believe that matter is a very real thing. Matter is a form or kind of vibration of the Eternal Spirit, or, if you wish to put it so, a certain expression of God. The cause for the variety in matter is the desire of God to express himself in different forms. I am speaking within the limits at least of the strictest implications of science when I say that matter is formed by vibrations ; you may call the material "ether" if you wish, and I will call it "spirit." Mind is a less dense expression of spirit—just as really an expression of spirit, however, as the body, another form of revelation of the great Spirit. We learned some time ago that matter differed from matter,—according to our latest scientific theories,—because of the different forms of combination of the same atoms, and the different rate of vibration of the molecules that make the different substances. And so mind is a higher mode, or method, or expression of God ; a different rate of vibration of the same atoms that make the animal, and the flower, and the clod.

Spirit is the one material of which the universe is made.

Every theory that has been held until the present time by large numbers of people, has been a dualistic theory, that is, that there are two antagonistic expressions in the universe. You will find this idea in every religion, and more or less in every philosophy, that has been accepted by large numbers of people. But we ought to have grown to a reasonable philosophy that would have killed the devil and buried him beyond all recognition. We should recognize everything that exists as a manifestation of the eternal good and the eternal God. I would not put the animal body and the spiritual body in contradistinction to one another. They are simply different in the way they are put together. The natural body is a spiritual body, only it is a little more dense and visible to the eye than the bodies that are unseen and that may clothe

us when we come into our higher possibilities. Water may be turned into steam by the application of heat, and into ice by the application of cold. It is the same water all the time, and it is the application of the Eternal Will working through the individual will that gives the outward expression that we call the form.

How shall we define man? Suppose there had been just one man in the world, before the rest became men,—I mean, one reasoning creature,—how would he have defined those who had not yet quite come to be men? He would have called them animals; and he would have been right. What would he have called himself, if he had passed over the line that stands between man and animal? He would have called himself a superior animal, with hints of progressive possibility. When he came to realize himself and what it was that gave him the power of analysis and classification, he would have called himself a rational animal. As he developed, he would have learned that he was not a body with a mind, but a mind with a body. He would have been led, as we have been led, step by step through the processes of the past, to the place where, when we say "I," we do not mean the body. Instead of saying "I," meaning the body, and talking about "my soul," the rational man when he says "I," really means his soul and talks about "my body." My body is simply an appurtenance that belongs to me; I do not belong to my body. The next stage was when man became an aspiring animal. He has hardly outgrown that yet, but we have sufficient hints and glimpses to give us reason to believe that all will come to see mind and body, not so much as instruments, as expressions of the Infinite Spirit leading to self realization.

A great theory suggests life as throwing itself out every so many millions of years, embodying itself in the lowest conceivable conditions, and enriching itself by all its experiences; and by its higher and higher manifestations and vibrations bringing itself back, larger and fuller and more nearly complete, to the center from which it came. I can

see the beauty in that ; all the God that there is in me can recognize with something like a thrill of ecstatic appreciation such a theory. When we go to the theater we like to have the plot badly mixed until things seem to be in inextricable confusion, because we know that in the last act it will turn out all right. And it is exactly in the same way that we are led to bring into the world an earthly child, in order that, by our creation of him,— so far as we can create,— and our development of him, and our training him, we may give him all we have and send him on to something better. The lowest has in itself the germs of the highest, and the most incomplete has in it the certainties of all the greatest things that can be imagined in the universe.

The first men lived mostly in the body ; they were scarcely conscious that they had minds. After they had begun to think and reason and compare, they knew practically nothing of the spirit. They committed all sorts of abuses of the flesh. The highest ambition of the first men was to kill somebody; and we have something of this left in us still. But advanced people are living more and more rationally as regards the body. We are escaping from the period of the body, and are now in the period between the animal and the angel. The more rational of us are moving as far as we can into the region of the mind, and even beyond it.

But, as in the animal experiences selfishness produced cruelty and seeming retrogression, so while man is learning the lesson of himself as a mental being, he has sometimes used his larger powers selfishly ; as appears, for example, in the unspeakably offensive anachronism called commercialism, which accompanies our present civilization. But the mental alone is no more the consummation than was the animal, and there is something coming that is higher than this selfish experience of man, when he realizes his mental power and tries to use it only for himself. For just as surely as the rational man surpasses the brutal man, so the truly spiritual man will surpass the mental or rational man. There are some people who are not yet beyond the domination of the

body. And there are multitudes who are living in the mental region; and consequently their God is the reason, and they say, "We will believe only what is reasonable." The angels think of this exactly as a man thinks when he sees another man acting like a wild beast. The man thinks that this one has not grown as far away from the brute as he might, and the angel thinks that this other man has not grown into that higher experience that is beyond what we call the rational. Of course I am using the terms mental and rational in a narrow, and not in the broadest sense.

The lowest kind of conviction is to be convinced by force and matter. If I am not using my mind and I go too near the edge of a precipice, over I go, and I am convinced of what is there in a very practical fashion. But there is something beyond creeping with the tentacles, and that is walking by the eyesight. When man has grown out of the lowest plane, he comes to act as a reasonable being; and when he gets higher still, he comes to have spiritual intuition. Only a soul here and there has any practical confidence in this spiritual perception; few have learned to use it as yet. But I believe it will commend itself to almost every soul that there is something higher for man than what we call intellectual proof, that reason is on a lower plane than intuition; and that just as we have learned to trust the mind rather than the body, so now we need to learn to trust our highest intuitions, our spiritual perceptions.

Sir Edwin Arnold asks: "Where does nature show signs of breaking off her magic, that she should stop at the five organs and the sixty or seventy elements?" And Prof. Goldwin Smith says: "Physical science is nothing more than the perceptions of our five bodily senses, registered and methodized. But what are these five senses? According to physical science itself, they are nerves in a certain stage of evolution. Why then should it be assumed that their account of the universe, or of our relations to it, is exhaustive and final? Why should it be assumed that these five senses of ours are the only possible organs of perception, and that

no other faculties or means of communication with the universe can ever in the course of evolution be developed in man?" The animal is unconscious of the universe that science has revealed to us. It may be that the leaf thinks it has a complete theory of the universe! Why not? It may be that the lowest form of vegetable life is just as confident that it knows all that can be known of the universe as the most confident man who ever trod the planet. We need to discover new senses. Nature is fairly groaning and travailing in pain until now, as Paul said it was eighteen hundred years ago, waiting for the manifestation of the Sons of God,—men who realize their deity, and who control the material at will and consciously.

I shall not be satisfied until I can consciously create the form in which I please to live. If we use our possibilities to the greatest limit we will acquire the power to make forms and circumstances to be appropriate, and to suit our pleasure. Form is really created out of spirit, as a spider spins his web out of himself. And the most reasonable thing I can think about myself is that right now I am what I choose to be. It is learning this that will make a man an angel rather than an animal. We have learned this to some extent. We say that we control our bodies and create our circumstances; but we will find that it is just as easy to create our bodies and control our circumstances. If this body does not suit my purposes, I will learn to create one. If these circumstances are not appropriate, the one thing we are here for is to make them appropriate.

Electricity was in the world for some millions of years before man found it out. He did not learn how to run an electric car until twelve or fifteen years ago. He was not able to send his thought around the world. Electricity is the greatest thing we have discovered, but it is not the greatest thing we ever shall discover.

Now apply this to what we call sin and suffering in life. There is a great deal of suffering that is caused by misapprehension, just as an animal suffers because he does not

really see things in their true relations. Sin and suffering are precisely alike in the last analysis, and they are caused by allowing our bodies and our circumstances to master us rather than our mastering them. The real difficulties that confront us are glorious, and they are stones in building the world structure, and essential elements in forming personal and social character. All desirable things might come to us better by the experience of the opposite of pain and evil, if we know how to use the divinest law. Nothing is ever accomplished by punishment that might not better be accomplished by perfect kindness wisely applied. The evil and the pain are divine expedients, and they only exist in order that men may learn to live without them. In the line of the greatest temptation that ever came to you are the indications of what you are to be and to do. The man who burns with passion is gifted with great possibility, if only his desires may be rightly directed into the form of an exquisite and powerful bond of union for family life and for the world force that is generated thereby. The convivial, social spirit, condemned by some, sometimes committing excesses of many sorts, is designed, rightly directed, to make a Paradise for man.

The way to conquer all vice is to make it seem inappropriate. My distinguished brother, you would almost — almost — rather murder a man than "make a fool of yourself" in the ordinary sense of the expression. My sister, rather than wear some thoroughly fantastic, old-fashioned and ridiculous dress, I am afraid there are at least some sins in the catalogue which you would be willing to commit. The old things that we really leave off are the things that have come to seem to us now and forever inappropriate.

So, too, with social institutions. Institutions are as real entities as physical forms, and there have to be higher and higher forms of society. Institutions crystallize social thought and become our masters, like our bodies. We want no environment of which we are not the masters. The socialist movement of today is just as much a movement of

the Divine Spirit as is the progress in art, or science, or sanitation. Men having thus far developed, must create better environment. Social conditions ought to be different, not only for abstract ethical reasons, or practical economic ones, but because they are so lamentably inappropriate to the real state of the development of humanity.

To prolong our competitive system; to fail to give equal opportunities to all men, to distrust the people, and trust the infamous politicians — or, what is worse, to trust no one — to enthrone greed; to issue money save as a convenience to the people, the whole people, and nothing but the people; to tolerate monopoly anywhere on the planet; to be the slaves of a senator in Pennsylvania, of a boss in New York, of a railway in New England, of a plutocratic ring in Boston, and of corporate greed in our national government; to have a Fifth Avenue in New York that runs down into a noisome, offensive, pestilential South Fifth Avenue; to have a Back Bay on the one side of Boston and a North End on the other; to tolerate millions of workless men in this most prosperous country and tens of millions of others with their wants unsupplied;—all these and other possible illustrations of our present social conditions, are as inappropriate to our knowledge and our conscience, and as ridiculous and degrading as it would be for men and women to walk on hands and feet, or to get down and crawl as they used to do before they graduated from the reptilian age.

I have heard of people who could not be socialists because they thought the theory a materialistic one. But I am a socialist in this sense because it is the appropriate and not the arbitrary or unnatural form for the organization of society; not as it will be in some Golden Age, but as it is today. And I think that as reasonable, spiritual men and women we need to provide rational forms for the expression of our knowledge and our consciousness. There are those on the one hand who would call themselves socialists, who would also call themselves materialists, and who would almost froth at the mouth if it were intimated to them that they could

believe in any form of spiritual philosophy whatsoever. And there are other people who are so "spiritual" that they utterly disregard the conditions of the world in which they live. And neither the materialist nor the spiritualist is consistent. I have absolutely no hope for an unspiritual or professedly irreligious socialism. It is time that society waked up and used its eyes. People who have spiritual conceptions are guided with their eyes rather than by their tentacles. We have the power to give the necessary inspiration, and the great ambition of humanity from this point of view should be to provide "a social body for the soul of God."

We see the process going on in the individual and in the race. How may we accelerate it? By intelligent recognition; by living in it, and feeding on it. I cannot stand upon the street and see the tree blossom but I realize that there is the same life that is pulsing through my brain and inspiring my heart. I recently read a wonderfully beautiful essay about communion with trees, and I went out to try it on the trees. Not simply an admiration for the trees, not merely a glorying in what we can see of the life that is in the trees, but a real going out of the heart to the tree, a communion of the human spirit with the spirit of the tree, and feeling the response. There are some people who seem to think that it is dignified to look down on the animal and the vegetable, and say, "I am higher than these." But you really give your love to a tree and the tree will give its love back to you. At the heart of everything is the same spirit that makes you yourself — the inspiration that ought to bring peace and health and purity and power.

And now, I can hardly venture to write the words which I might choose. Let me utter what might be a message from the great Universal Soul; and see if in this message there may not come some word of more than electric inspiration for our lives. Listen then!

"O Men and Women, if I had come seeking a friend whom I knew was behind closed doors, if I knocked and

knocked and yet received no response, if I vainly tried to peer through curtained windows, and could see nothing, would I cease to persist until I discovered that friend and brought him forth?

"I am knocking now at the outer casements of your beings. I am calling to you as souls. I am looking down through your eyes to see the inmost recesses of your being. The responses you are making are more or less partial and uncertain. You may believe these things philosophically, intuitionally, but the most advanced of you have but partially yielded yourselves to the truth as yet, and some are hiding away, and will not answer to my call. Some have timidly looked without, have made some faint essays toward living a spiritual life, but have become frightened and overawed by the brute facts of matter and so-called reason, and have again withdrawn into fear and sloth. Some are slumbering. Some have never been really born into the world-life at all, are just mere embryonic spirits held fast in the womb of clay. But *you are there*, and I believe in you as I believe in myself, because I know you to be the germ of the highest possible expression, of the life of God,—the full-grown man; because there is no human life that has grown into unusual beauty and strength and sweetness but in you I see glimpses and indications of it; because there is no other explanation of your being than the best, and I can pierce through the veils and barriers of matter and mind, and I know, I know that *you* are there.

"So I shall not cease to call and knock and demand and plead, to thunder in the tones of law, to whisper with the voice of tenderness, to stagger you with arguments, to melt you with sweet influences of love, until you, spirits of men, divine eternal spirits, sparks out of the great infinite universal Life Spirit, come forth from your self-built houses of clay, divest yourselves of your swaddling bands, your sleeping garments, or your grave clothes, and stand erect and conscious in the integrity, the beauty, and the power of your real being.

"Know! know! I beseech you; know! I command you, that you are divine. You are not 'poor weak mortals,' as you have called yourselves. You are not bodies that may be preyed upon by disease, and broken and destroyed by other forces of nature; minds with wills not yet sufficiently strong to withstand certain great forms of temptation; hearts that must suffer and break. You are *souls:* souls that are one with me, the great Universal, Eternal, Omnipotent Soul of Life. Know that the resources of Infinity are your resources! Know that your body and your mind are but instruments for your use — nay, more, that they are but expressions of your spirit, your real life, that you may control and adapt them, and farther on you may create them at your will. Why should they ever be weak? Why should you ever be ill unless you choose? You shall learn the meaning of the words of that great Master of the art of living, when he said, 'I have power to lay down my life, and I have power to take it again.'

"And concerning the forces of nature, why should you be buffeted or injured by them? You shall interpret them, you shall master them by learning that they are one with yourselves: and they shall do your bidding, not as servants, but as fellow members of one vast, complex, complete organization.

"And concerning the circumstances that fence you round, the societary forms that mold you and that push you along in certain grooves, the institutions that hold up authoritative hands with gestures of command or threat, I would have you know that these are all but toys and instruments of your own making.

"Who constructed these fences? Who cast these forms? Who builded these institutions? Men and women by their own thought and their own effort. Into them there has been breathed the breath of no life but yours, and the power that these forms and institutions seem to possess is your own power in an externalized form. If you continue to give them the precious allegiance, loyalty, and energy of

your minds and souls, you shall erstwhile realize that you have been casting your pearls before swine, and they will turn again and rend you.

"Pitiable, indeed, is the man who is mastered by institutions and circumstances. You are meant to command them, and neither to fear nor obey. Have you less power than the men of old? Having created your governments, your customs, and your churches, have you exhausted the source of power? Do not believe so paralyzing a lie! You have but to look within your own sanctuaries of mind and heart to see fair pictures of more loving forms of association, truer fashions and methods of life, holier religious expressions and inspirations. And these are not mere reflections of some beautiful thought that is less an entity than what may be seen and touched; they are not even foreshadowings of beneficent purposes of God that may be realized in the far distant future. They are the very substances of things hoped for, the fine, impalpable but unavoidably real and powerfully generative substance that you may voluntarily project into the world of matter, and that will surely undermine the old, and build out of its materials that which is larger, finer, nobler, more worthy of souls that are coming to know themselves.

"Arise, then, in the strength of your nature, in the might of the God you are!

"Time was when the word 'animal' might have headed the whole descriptive catalogue concerning the species of man. Time was when the word 'mind' would have replaced the lower form of designation. It was a great day when you came to know yourselves as intellectual beings. Marvelous have been the creations and manifestations that are the fruit of that day. Its achievements have been great and honorable and far-reaching beyond previous compare. Full of its vigor you have climbed great heights, and yet pass on to those that are higher. It is not a day that is fading, or will fade; but its light will be caught up in radiance that is yet fuller and lovelier. For the day of the Soul approacheth,

the beams of its sun have penetrated the world-life here and there throughout all the ages. Every religion of the world has been a prism by which you have been trying to catch, imprison, and give these sunbeams unto men.

"The day is at hand when you shall know that you are speaking too poorly of yourselves when you say that you are animals, or intellectual beings; when you shall know that you are *souls*. And in uttering this word I am enunciating the fact that this time has *now come* for some of you. Not that you may realize all its significance and power at once. But, having once consecrated yourselves on the altar of this great truth, having once lifted your eyes to behold the light and beauty of it, having drawn one full breath of its inspiration, and felt its more than electric thrill along your nerves, you shall find increasingly easy and possible all that it implies of victory in the whole field of practical life, and you shall continue to look upward and onward, and to go upward and onward."

And as we hear this voice let us make enthusiastic response. We realize that we "stand on the heights of our lives, with a glimpse of a height that is higher." Not as though we had already attained, either were already perfect; but we will press forward that we may apprehend that for which we also have been apprehended.

BENJAMIN FAY MILLS.

Brookline, Mass.

TO A BLUEBELL.

Morn by morn I lift thy dark blue cup
And search its mystic chalice through.
Although to every sipping bee inclined,
It e'er contains one drop of dew.

BARTON O. AYLESWORTH.

"THE MAN WITH THE HOE." *

(Written after seeing Millet's world-famous painting.)

"God made man in His own image,
in the image of God made He him."—*Genesis.*

BOWED by the weight of centuries he leans
Upon his hoe and gazes on the ground,
The emptiness of ages in his face,
And on his back the burden of the world.
Who made him dead to rapture and despair,
A thing that grieves not and that never hopes,
Stolid and stunned, a brother to the ox?
Who loosened and let down this brutal jaw?
Whose was the hand that slanted back this brow?
Whose breath blew out the light within this brain?

* From "The Man with the Hoe, and Other Poems." The Doubleday & McClure Co., New York.

Is this the thing the Lord God made and gave
To have dominion over sea and land;
To trace the stars and search the heavens for power;
To feel the passion of Eternity?
Is this the Dream He dreamed who shaped the suns
And pillared the blue firmament with light?
Down all the stretch of Hell to its last gulf
There is no shape more terrible than this —
More tongued with censure of the world's blind greed –
More filled with signs and portents for the soul —
More fraught with menace to the universe.

What gulfs between him and the seraphim!
Slave of the wheel of labor, what to him
Are Plato and the swing of Pleiades?
What the long reaches of the peaks of song,
The rift of dawn, the reddening of the rose?
Through this dread shape the suffering ages look;
Time's tragedy is in that aching stoop;
Through this dread shape humanity betrayed,
Plundered, profaned, and disinherited,
Cries protest to the Judges of the World,
A protest that is also prophecy.

O masters, lords, and rulers in all lands,
Is this the handiwork you give to God,
This monstrous thing distorted and soul-quenched?
How will you ever straighten up this shape;
Touch it again with immortality;
Give back the upward looking and the light;
Rebuild in it the music and the dream;
Make right the immemorial infamies,
Perfidious wrongs, immedicable woes?

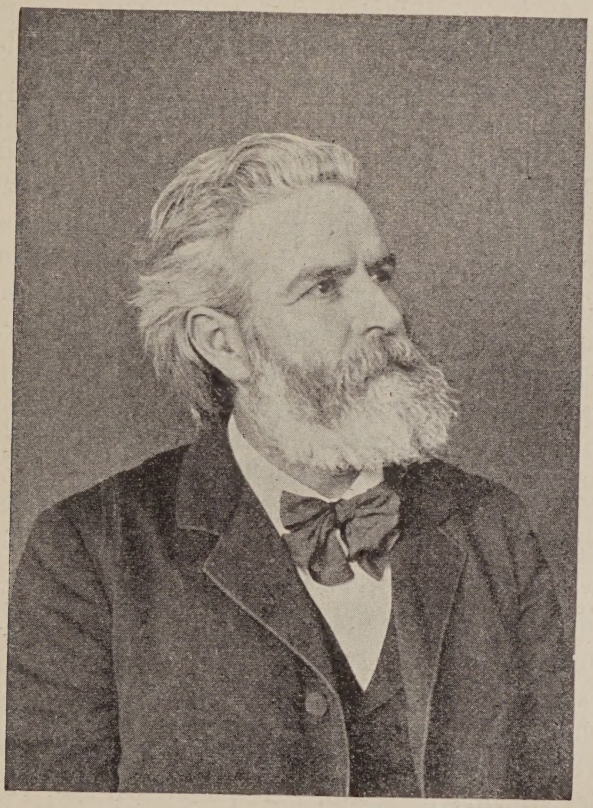
O masters, lords, and rulers in all lands,
How will the Future reckon with this Man?
How answer his brute question in that hour
When whirlwinds of rebellion shake the world?
How will it be with kingdoms and with kings —
With those who shaped him to the thing he is —
When this dumb Terror shall reply to God
After the silence of the centuries?

EDWIN MARKHAM.

Oakland, Cal.

THE "HOE MAN" ON TRIAL.

AS a literary production Edwin Markham's poem, "The Man with the Hoe," needs no argument—its exceptional merit in that particular being almost universally conceded. The chief interest for Arena readers in this



EDWIN MARKHAM.

"child of a procreant brain" lies in the fact that the poem has been, and is yet, the center of a remarkable controversy bearing on the social problems of modern times. Walt Whitman prophesied of a future for these states when "Their

presidents shall not be their common referee so much as their poets shall," and the widespread and earnest attention accorded to this poem may be taken as an illustrative instance of the power of the poet to stir and direct the thoughts of men. Here is a case in which men are deeply moved and sharply aroused, not by an act of legislation, not by a scientific demonstration, not by a logical argument, but by a few lines of verse sung out from the frontier West by one hitherto but little known, but now at once recognized as a leader of the people, girded with moral purpose and inspired by urgings of social justice.

The newspaper clippings referring to the poem indicate a remarkable itinerary for "The Man with the Hoe" since its first publication in the San Francisco Examiner, January 15, 1899. Daily and weekly papers republished it, generally with extended comments, first throughout California and the Pacific States; then in the Mississippi valley; on into New York and New England; over the line into Canada; and even across the sea stretch to the Hawaiian Islands. It appears to have everywhere stimulated thought upon social problems, and to have called out vigorous and diversified expressions of opinion all along the line of its course.

Mr. Bailey Millard, literary editor of the Examiner, was the first to record an opinion. He greeted Mr. Markham as "a new voice, deep-toned, sonorous, singing grandly," and pronounced the poem "a piece of virile verse, one of the very few true poems, written by Californians"; adding that "it is tense, sympathetic, interest compelling, and, above all, heroically human." Forthwith, that distinguished critic, whose pen is sharper than a locust thorn, Ambrose Bierce, took issue with Millard's judgment. He prophesied for Mr. Markham, as he has done before, an "eventual primacy among contemporary American poets," and recognized the "noble simplicity and elevation of his work" in general; but urged several objections to this particular poem, chiefly because of "the sentiment of the piece, the thought that the work carries." To the sense of Mr. Bierce this is but an echo of

"the peasant philosophies of the workshop and the field; the thought is that of the sandlot — even to the workman threat of rising against the wicked well-to-do and taking it out of their hides." Regarding the origin of "The Man with the Hoe," Mr. Bierce had this to say:

"He is not a product of the masters, lords, and rulers in all lands; they are not, and no class of men are, responsible for him, his limitations and his woes — which are not of those that kings or laws can cause or cure. The masters, lords, and rulers are as helpless in the fell clutch of circumstance as he — which Mr. Markham would be speedily made to understand if appointed dictator. The notion that the sorrows of the humble are due to the selfishness of the great is natural, and can be made poetical, but it is silly. As a literary conception it has not the vitality of a sick fish. It will not carry a poem of whatever excellence otherwise through two generations. That a man of Mr. Markham's splendid endowments should be chained to the body of this literary death is no less than a public calamity. If he could forget now, what the whole world will have forgotten a little later, that such a person as William Morris existed, it would greatly advantage him and prove the excellence of his memory."

At once, following this beginning of controversy, the critics began to arise, right and left, making what Mr. Loomis characterized in "The Land of Sunshine" as "an audible noise." The newspapers received hundreds of manuscripts, and for a time accorded as much space to "The Man with the Hoe" as to prize fights and "police stories." The clergy made the poem their text; platform orators dilated upon it; college professors lectured upon it; debating societies discussed it; schools took it up for study in their literary courses; and it was the subject of conversation in social circles and on the streets. It was extolled, ridiculed, jested at, cartooned, assailed, anathematized, defended; and there is not yet an end.

A curious episode in the controversy was the entire misapprehension of the spirit and purport of the poem, by some of the working people; that is, if some writers were not con-

cealing their true sentiments under a masque. One, for instance, regarded the poem as a direct assault on the American farmer, and assured Mr. Markham that "agriculture is a peaceful, ennobling, and independent calling."

Some came to the defense of the poem, and made good points for its doctrine, by a facetious assumption of character and idea. One who announced that he was himself "The Man with the Hoe" declared it to be "not his fault that he had no steam plow." The steam plows were all in the hands of the men who held two hundred thousand or more acres of land; and yet, he added, "nature has given to every man two hundred thousand acres of land. Some of it is in the moon, some of it on other planets, but the circumstance that we cannot get at it is not the fault of the rulers, landlords, and masters. Why should I blame the millionaire when he merely follows his instinct and aids nature in her great evolutionary work — the production of millionaires instead of men? Let him stand on my neck."

The poem has not been spared at the hands of those grotesque critics whose humor is chopped out with a meat axe. A writer on the staff of the San Francisco Evening Post pronounced it "driveling nonsense, written in a futile effort to find out who made the 'thing that grieves not and never hopes,'" and recommended to Mr. Markham, as fit material for his poetic attempts, "the statistics of the Chamber of Commerce, and the facts concerning the export and import trade of the city." "Surely," he says, "our laureate of the clod and hoe may not disdain to ask his withered muse for inspiration to write a poem paraphrasing the shipping news and idealizing the fiscal statements of the collector of the port." The editor of the San Francisco Wave found the Markham idea a subject for contempt:

"It strikes us as the veriest twaddle. The burden of Mr. Markham's lay is, that the man with the hoe has been brutalized by his superiors. His brow is low, his face without intelligence, his whole make up, mental and physical, a libel on man as Mr. Markham thinks he should be. Mr. Mark-

ham's ideal man with a hoe should be a person with a four-story forehead and the front of a leading actor in a genteel comedy company. Being a genuine poet, Mr. Markham entirely overlooks the important fact that if some portion of the human race was not horny fisted and beetle browed, few of the fields would be plowed or reaped, and railroad building, hod carrying, sewer digging, and other kindred callings would become lost arts. When humanity is invested with very high foreheads and razor edged intellects sharpened by a college course, it opens doctors' or stockbrokers' offices, or practises law. It carefully avoids hoes, spades, and pick axes. It is plain, therefore, that if the world were run on Mr. Markham's plan he would never have written his famous poem, for there being no man willing to use a hoe, the inspiration of his great effusion would have been lost. All of which tends to show that writing poetry is one thing, and thinking common sense is quite another."

The philosophy of the poem has been more seriously and intelligently dealt with by the president of Stanford University, David Starr Jordan, who has used it as the theme of a lecture delivered in many places throughout the Coast. He acknowledges the existence of "The Man with the Hoe," something like him being found in all lands, but chiefly in France where we should be content to let him remain. But as to responsibility for him, the lords and masters may claim a partial alibi. His slant brow and brute jaw only mark the primitive character. Labor in itself is not the cause of his condition; but he suffers from the fact that he labors for others instead of for himself. He is chained to the wheel of toil, and that degrades. He is crushed under the burdens of excessive taxes, and militarism, and the aggressions of aristocracy and intolerance. In Europe his status is due conspicuously to the degenerating processes of the Latin races. His hope is not in the whirlwinds of rebellion. Regeneration must come from peace, from tolerance, from justice, and from a chance to labor, not for the nation, but for himself. Men straighten up for self, and for self alone.

In one of his lectures, President Jordan affirmed that the real and radical reason for the slanted brow of "the man

with the hoe," and his brute jaw, is that his "father and mother had them,"—an explanation which had already been advanced by an earlier critic in a fable:

"Said the chicken to the eggshell from which it had just emerged, "Why didn't you give me a nice, long tail and four legs like the horse over there?" "Blame my mother for that," replied the egg, "she laid out the plan of your existence."

In an article written from the standpoint of a theosophist, Dr. Jerome A. Anderson has attempted to correct Mr. Markham's philosophy, by asserting that the poem "is built upon entirely wrong conceptions of human life"; that it is "an example of the curiously perverted views prevailing in this era of ignorance"; that it is "founded on the theological assumption that man is not the fashioner of his own destiny"; that it smacks of "grace" and "vicarious atonement" which engender "the exceedingly vicious habit of blaming misdeeds upon somebody other than the true author"; that the hoe man is "a product of the law of cause and effect"; that he has already existed through many incarnations, and his condition is due to "individual causes set in action by the individual in previous lives." This, of course, relieves the "masters, lords, and rulers," from responsibility. The hoe man is not their handiwork, but a thing of his own fashioning.

Mr. Markham has been censured for that he denounces the "immemorial infamies" and "perfidious wrongs" from which the hoe man has suffered, without suggesting the remedy—the same mistake, albeit, as some one has pointed out, that Thomas Hood made in writing "The Song of the Shirt." Mr. Markham does indeed leave it to others to answer his question, "How will you ever straighten up this shape?" The answers volunteered in the discussion have been diversified from the recommendation to "let things drift" to a demand for the radical reconstruction of society. On the one hand it is held that there is nothing to do, because the "slave of the wheel of toil" is providentially and wisely destined to his task,

a foreordination of God, calling for general gratitude; as one writer, an alleged "poetess," puts it, the "man with the hoe" is:

> The man the Lord made and gave;
> For which we should most thankful be—
> That we have tillers of the soil—
> Tillers giving us our prosperity.

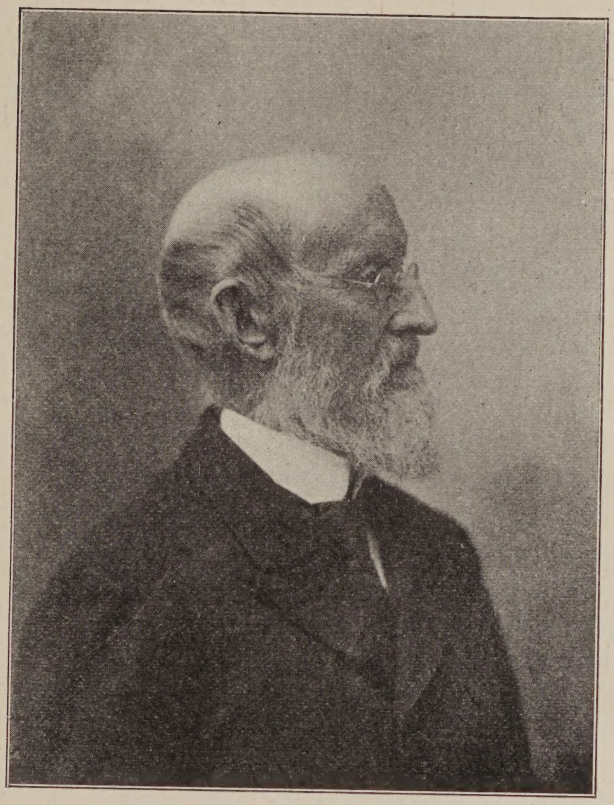
On the other hand it is proposed to organize "a universal trust embracing all the means of production and distribution, and including in the combine labor as well as capital, while as the beneficiaries of such trust are included all the people—a trust of the people, for the people, and by the people. The followers of Henry George have not missed their opportunity. Joseph Leggett, one of their foremost leaders on the Coast says: "Single taxers have no difficulty in answering the question, Who made the man with the hoe? To them it is rank blasphemy to say that God made him. It is absolutely impossible to conceive of the existence of such a creature under conditions that secured to all men the right of access to the land which God made and gave up to the children of men. No man with the hoe could be found among the Indians who occupied this continent before the white man came. Low in the scale of being as were the aborigines of Australia, there was no man with the hoe among them. That dread shape came in with the landlord. In the Golden Age of English labor, of which Prof. Thorold Rogers tells us, there was no man with the hoe in England. He appeared on the scene contemporaneously with the English landlord, and he will remain there until the landlord is eliminated. The man with the hoe came into existence in this country contemporaneously with the giving out of our supply of government land, and he will stay with us until the adoption of the single tax secures to every child of man within our borders the right to the use of the earth." Another "single taxer" says: "The man wants his own land to hoe, and that will end most of the woe; that will put light in his eye and uplift him and his jaw, and give him a stiff upper lip. He is in no particular need of theology, religion, free silver, or rag money."

The value of this discussion lies in that it illustrates the loose but intricate tangle of modern thought as touching the conditions, the possibilities, the obligations of civilization; and how tradition, self-interest, prejudice, and passion, as well as sincerity, good-will, and the love of truth and justice are all potent factors in determining the variant opinions and irreconcilable purposes of men. We are far from any such concensus of opinion as might enable us to effect wise and speedy readjustments looking to improved conditions for the masses of men. It will probably be a long time yet, before we shall be able to unite all the energies of society in a general committal to any adequate movement for progress and reform. The voices of men are discordant, their motives at variance, their aims contradictory. The worst of it is, that the majority seem still to be skeptical of any great possibilities for human society. To any voice crying aloud in behalf of the primary rectitudes as between man and man, the multitude is still disposed to respond, "Crucify him!" This seems to prove that the hoe man is not the only man of whom it may be said that the light has been extinguished within his brain. We have all been brutalized under this régime of interior and ever intensifying competition. We cling to and defend the traditional business and social procedures, despite their radical iniquities. Only the few appear to see that these iniquities are anything more than incidental — mere infelicities of a system which, on the whole, is regarded as good enough, if indeed it be not exalted to the plane of divine beneficence. This general lack of moral insight into the essential meanness and degradation of our system is the dark fact of our times, the hopelessness of humanity. It makes room within us for a sometimes flippant and sometimes sullen skepticism as to the plain simplicities of social truth and righteousness. We need, more often than we hear it, the clear voice of the bard and the prophet challenging our indifference and unbelief. There should be many Markhams.

EDWARD B. PAYNE.

San Francisco.

AMERICAN EDUCATION IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE.



CYRUS HAMLIN, LL.D.,
Founder of Robert College.

IN the first decade of the Ottoman Empire during the present century, Sultan Selim III. attempted to make needed reforms, but lost his life by an insurrection of the Janissaries. In the second decade, the young Sultan Mahmoud would have carried out the reforms of Selim III.,

but the successful revolt of Mehmet Ali of Egypt, and the turbulence of the Janissaries, embarrassed him. During the third decade, 1820 to 1830, events occurred which shook the old empire to its foundations. The destruction of the Janissaries; the Greek revolution; the destruction of the great Turkish fleet at Navarino; the rebuilding of a better fleet by the American naval architects, Eckford and Rhodes; the establishment of naval and military academies; the reform of the army under foreign officers—the great Moltke in his youth, for one; and a disastrous war with Russia, were among the stirring events of this decade. In the fourth decade, 1830 to 1840, occurred the introduction of the new, or Western, education into the sleepy old empire, then just beginning to wake up. In 1831, Messrs. Goodell, Dwight, and Schauffler were established as missionaries of the American Board at Constantinople. The first work was, of necessity, that of education. Some astonishing facts became apparent. The ancient, or classic languages, not the spoken, were used in all the schools, whether Moslem or Christian. There were very few books in the hands of either scholars or teacher. Instead, large cards were hung upon the walls, and the whole school was trained upon those cards. The bastinado was in use in every public school. The missionaries at once introduced the spoken languages. As soon as possible, attractive school-books were prepared, in different languages. School furniture was introduced—in place of sitting on the floor. For a few years, the new system spread, and carried all before it. The Turkish government looked upon it with favor. Dr. Dwight established a seminary, or normal school, one direct object of which was to prepare competent school-teachers for the reformed education. In 1837, there came a sudden change, more decidedly from the Armenian clergy. The foreign schools were deemed dangerous; and finally were denounced and anathematized. It is now known that Nicholas, the Czar of Russia, instigated this. The Catholicos of Etchmiadzin, the highest dignitary of the Armenian Church, dwells on Russian soil, and is always subject to the

Czar. The seminary and the schools were closed. Some Armenian teachers, known to be decidedly evangelical, were sent into exile. The missionary work for a time lay low.

In 1840, I was successful in opening a seminary in Bebek, on the Bosphorus, where it continued, in spite of persecutions, for twenty years. In the fourth and fifth decades, there was a great diffusion of education by schools and high schools, in all the chief cities. The Crimean War (1853–56), contributed to greater freedom of action; and the press became a powerful agent in diffusing knowledge. Institutions in competition were established, to put down the missionary schools; but they had to copy a great deal from the institutions they antagonized; and they helped forward the work they wished to destroy. Near the close of this period, the chief secretary of the American Board, the Rev. Rufus Anderson, D.D., LL.D., chose to change the curriculum of the high schools and seminaries of the Board to a "vernacular" basis; excluding linguistic studies and science, and making them directly and solely for bible students and biblical preachers. After long and friendly discussion, I declined that service, and formed an understanding with Christopher R. Robert, of New York, to establish a college on the Bosphorus, which should carry out the American idea of education. The incidents which led to the founding of Robert College are in themselves interesting. About the year 1844–45, the persecution of the Protestant Armenians changed its character. Violence was mainly abandoned, boycotting substituted. Every man known as an *avederanagan* was deprived of his business or trade. Poverty and distress ensued. This was soon felt in the seminary; for the students had to provide their own clothing and other incidental expenses. Their parents could no longer do anything for them; and they began to be ragged. They tried mending up, as no school ever did before. In the course of two years, this state of things became ridiculous and impossible of continuance. I resolved to open a workshop and have

the boys clothe themselves by their own labor.* The scheme was wonderfully successful, and I introduced many industries to provide work for the persecuted who were then out of employment. They were starving — give them work instead of money. As a foreigner I was not under the laws of the guilds. I opened many industries; but the most successful was a flour mill and bakery. The bread was excellent and in good demand. Mr. Charles Ede, who provided the capital, was fully repaid. When the Crimean war broke out, the British hospital camp wanted this American bread. Lord Raglan declared that better bread was never made. Our works were enlarged to furnish eight and one-half tons per day. At the close of the war, Christopher R. Robert was traveling in the East and accidently saw a boat close to the shore, filled with this beautiful bread. He was surprised and indignant to learn that a missionary was the responsible maker, and visited him to investigate. When he found it was all to furnish work for the persecuted, his feelings changed. Then and there began the acquaintance that resulted in Robert College. He often said that the college was founded on that boat load of bread, as it was the means of his acquaintance with me.

After many failures, a noble site was purchased, on the most conspicuous and historic spot on the Bosphorus, with the condition that the money should be paid out when the Grand Vizier should give permission for the building. This was given. I paid about eight thousand dollars for the site; and began, with a good force of workmen, to dig for the foundations. After a few days of joyful work, believing that all opposition and unfriendly plots had been countervailed, two dashing police officers in palace livery appeared and said, "This work must cease for the present." "For what reason?" "Certain formalities are to be gone through with." "What formalities?" "We do not know." "How long must I wait?" "Perhaps two or three weeks." In point of fact, it was seven years. I was alarmed at this sudden change; the more so, as I believed that the Grand

* See "My Life and Times," p. 281.

Vizier himself was friendly to the college scheme. The opposition originated with the Abbé Boré, a distinguished Jesuit, believed to be the chief guide and inspirer of all the Roman Catholic missions in the East. He was a man of fine presence, master of all the Oriental languages, and was believed to have the confidence and patronage of Louis Napoleon. He incited the old Moslem party against the American college; and Louis Napoleon instructed his ambassador to take counsel with the learned Jesuit. The Russian ambassador needed no invitation to join them in making such a representation to the Porte as secured the immediate revoking of the permit. And further, they exacted from the Grand Vizier a promise that the proposed college should never be built. Our secretary of legation, Mr. I. P. Brown, was unsurpassed in getting at bottom facts in the diplomacy of the Sublime Porte. As America had no .political ambitions, nor any complications with Oriental questions, he had a great advantage over all diplomats of his class.

The situation was generally regarded as hopeless, for two reasons—the mighty strength of the enemy, and the fact that the American minister resident refused to take any action in the case. He was sent there to protect American commerce — not to build colleges! The college president without a college was advised to quietly fold his tent and silently disappear.

But he saw a chance to turn the flank of the great Jesuit commander and his mighty allies. The principle of *adet* (prescriptive right) is a very sacred one in Turkish administration. As often as I have asked for a definition, it has been given substantially thus: "If any one has been allowed to do a thing long enough to be known to his neighbors and the local officers, and no opposition has been made, after that the Sultan's firman cannot touch him."

I had been twenty years in that building in Bebek, with a seminary. I will now, said I, open Robert College there, without asking leave, or saying anything to the government about it. I did so. I repaired the building, having made an

arrangement with the Board that owned it, and having made, without the least concealment, every arrangement; and having sent out the program in seven languages — Armenian, Greek, Bulgarian, French, English, Italian, and German — I opened the college with a few students in November, 1863. It was considered somewhat perilous because all the Powers were against it, and no voice that could make itself heard was lifted up for it.

The Abbé Boré was, of course, excited. When he found that the seminary, whose doors he hoped were closed forever, was re-opened as Robert College, he hastened to the Grand Vizier, and the interview was privately reported to Mr. Brown, substantially as follows. "Why, surely, Your Highness, that American, Hamlin, who wanted to establish a college at Roumeli Nissar, and sought your authority. . . ." "He sought leave to put up a building at Roumeli Nissar — which I interdicted. Is he erecting that building?" "No, Your Highness, but much worse than that. He has actually opened the college in Bebek!" "Very well, Your Reverence. He has had a college there for more than twenty years, and he will have it there for twenty more, if he commits no crime!" "But, Your Highness, that was an inferior institution, called a seminary. Now it is a college and may become a university and a propagandist institution, bad for you, and bad for us!" The Grand Vizier's patience was exhausted, and he replied with some emphasis, "School! Seminary! College! University! what care we what names the Ghiours give to their institutions? They are all one to us. Does Your Reverence think we are going back on our sacred principle of *adet* to please Your Reverence? Be sure we are not!" And so the Abbé had to retire, a humbler and wiser man.

And so Robert College gained a standing place in the presence of its enemies. From this secure position, the battle for the right to build could be safely fought, and the college organized and developed. For this, the position was most favorable. Slowly the public came to estimate and like the new

institution. It gradually filled up from most of the nationalities there resident. Armenians, Greeks, and Bulgarians were chief in number; but we had from one to five of English, American, German, Italian, Jewish, Persian, Dutch, Swiss, Danish, and Turkish. It was an evangelical Christian college, like Amherst — wholly in the English language, for which, in addition, there was a fitting department. We anticipated some trouble from the conflict of races. We found very little. They were all one — in English. As a Christian college, it acknowledged the bible as the word of God, and religious instruction was to be given from that book, but no sectarianism was to enter into it. This principle worked admirably. During the seven years we were confined to quarters that would allow us to receive only seventy students, the curriculum of study and of discipline was thoroughly tried. It has not been materially changed during thirty-six years of experience; while it has now two hundred and fifty students. In its confined quarters, it became fully self-supporting, and, before I left, had a balance of six hundred dollars in the treasury. The Abbé Boré tried every means that an able and skilful Jesuit could invent to injure us. But it reacted against him, and he utterly failed of getting up an institution to counteract and overwhelm us. We had, every year, from twenty-five to thirty applications more than we could possibly receive. This was a triumphant answer to those who had denied the need of a college, and to those who predicted that it would be possible to have a faculty, but no native students!

The president had now another and more difficult duty — to compel the Turkish government to do what justice plainly demanded. The "great English ambassador" had been recalled at the beck of Louis Napoleon, who proposed to reconstruct Eastern affairs in harmony with Russia. When Sir Henry Bulwer came in his place, I laid the college question before him. He said it was in accord with English policy, and that he would watch for diplomatic opportunities to secure my evident right. I knew that his moral character

was not high in any scale — Turkish, Jewish, or Christian, and that he was the author of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, as to which he had boasted that Clayton himself did not understand what he signed.

After about six months, he sent me a note to say that the Grand Vizier had yielded on the college question, and in a few days he would send me the permit. Instead, in a few days, I received another note from Sir Henry, insolent in the extreme, saying that I had made an unwise move to purchase a site where I should have known that the Turks would never let me build; and the penalty of such indiscretion should fall upon my own head. I soon found what had occurred. Sir Henry Bulwer had received a heavy bribe from the Pasha of Egypt, to do some work for him at the Sublime Porte; but to do that successfully, Sir Henry must abandon three things, one of which was the American college question. I made no reply to such a contemptible letter; and I had the satisfaction of knowing that his unusual skill had failed him. The fact of the bribe became known to the government in London, and he was recalled in disgrace. He never held any office after that, but published some books in which he glorified himself.

It would be wearisome to narrate the five other episodes from which much was hoped for, and nothing gained. The Grand Vizier should be excused for once exclaiming, "Will this Mr. Hamlin never die, and let me alone in this college question?" It was considered that somebody might give me a cup of coffee — which often shortens a man's life in Turkey — and I was earnestly advised not to go into any coffee shop in Stamboul or on the Bosphorus.

In 1868, Admiral Farragut came to Constantinople — the man of whom it was said "he fought a great battle, lashed to his mast, where all could see him, and three thousand riflemen had fired at him and couldn't hit him!" and so on. Stamboul was all agog to see him.

We occasionally find that a boy has an unconscious part in a great event. My little son Alfred, by his irrepressible

desire to see the great admiral, compelled me to go with him to call upon the great man. We found Admiral Farragut alone. He asked at once whether I was a resident or a traveler. I began to tell him of my difficulty with the Turkish government about building a college. He interrupted me, saying he was sorry the Turkish government should be so unjust, but added, "I have no diplomatic mission here, whatever. I can do nothing for you." And to turn the subject, he said, "What lad is this? Is he your son?" Putting his hand on his shoulder, he asked, "Well, my son, what are you going to do in the world? What are you going to be?" "I don't know," replied the boy. "I wouldn't mind being Admiral of the American navy!" The old Admiral laughed, and patting him on the head, said, "There might be many things better than that! But, if you are going to be Admiral of the American navy—." Just then, to my chagrin, his words were cut off by the sudden entrance of Dr. Seropyan (an Armenian physician of distinction, educated in America, and known to the Admiral) with his hand extended. "Good morning, Admiral Farragut! I am glad to see you here with Mr. Hamlin. You have come just in the nick of time to get him leave to build his college"—and he began to pour out his admiration of the plan.

The Admiral stopped him by saying, "I have just told Mr. Hamlin that I have no diplomatic mission here, and I can do nothing for him." "Just for that reason," rejoined the doctor, "you can do everything. You are to dine, this evening, with the Grand Vizier; just ask him why that American college cannot be built? And, when you dine with the other great pashas of the Sultan's court, make the same inquiry of each." The jolly Admiral laughed at the idea, but said, "I'll do it; for anybody may ask the king a decent question!" Visitors came crowding in, and our interview was cut short. That he faithfully asked the question, we inferred from the fact that secretaries of the Sublime Porte were curious to know whether our government sent out our great Admiral "to settle that college question?" His sudden departure puzzled them.

But nothing came of it. Seven years had passed since I purchased the site, and many times our hopes had been raised only to be cast down. I saw nothing further to do until something new should turn up; and for about three months, gave myself wholly to the college extant.

I was still trying to "let patience have her perfect work," when, one afternoon, about an hour before sunset, the American minister's messenger boy, Antoine, came into my study with a letter. I knew it must be something of importance, or Mr. Morris would not have sent a messenger six miles with it.

"I congratulate you, Mr. Hamlin," he wrote, "on the termination of your long contest with the Turkish government. I have just received a note from His Highness, the Grand Vizier, saying, 'Tell Mr. Hamlin he may begin building his college when he pleases. Nobody will interfere with him; and in a few days, he shall have the Imperial Iradé.'"

This seemed all too great and good to be true. It must be a hoax. For the Imperial Iradé is the "Imperial Volition," coming directly from the inspired breast of the Caliph, the successor of the Prophet. I went directly to Mr. Morris's office.

"I don't wonder you think it a hoax," he said, "but it cannot be. There is the Grand Vizier's note." The whole note was in his unmistakable handwriting, signed by his name Aali, with the seal of the Grand Vizerati affixed. The world did not credit the report; but the Iradé was given, placing the college under the protection of the United States, thus making it an American institution. It immediately raised the American flag; and does so still on fête days. It is the first institution of the kind which the Turks have allowed in any prominent place on the Bosphorus. No one could explain the mystery of such great generosity—why the Ottoman government should give so much more than we had asked; and moreover, why the great opponents were all silent, or treated it as a trifle not worthy of notice.

The college was then built in the most substantial manner. The stone was taken from the same quarries that Mehmet II.

used in 1452–53. Time does not affect it. The iron came from Scotland and Belgium, the tubular bricks and cement from France. The Grand Vizier showed his friendliness by ordering that all the materials should pass free of the custom house, which was a great boon. When the building was externally finished, he sent for me to call upon him at his palace, to congratulate me on having erected a building which was "*the ornament of the Bosphorus.*"

Robert College was occupied May 18, 1871, but was not publicly opened until July 4, of that year, when our great ex-Secretary Seward passed that way, and performed the ceremony with great éclat. The college faculty thanked him warmly for his supposed mysterious and wonderful influence. Some said, "Louis Napoleon has had enough of Seward in Mexico, and was not disposed to quarrel with him on the Bosphorus." The college filled up immediately. A short time after Seward left, our mystery was explained.

A Turkish gentleman called to see the college. After a long and particular examination, he apologized, saying, "I think more highly of English education than of any other. I have some little grandsons whom I intend to send to this college." I invited him to the college tower, to look upon the Asiatic shore. I saw that he was one of the Sultan's cabinet, visiting the college incognito. He fell into raptures over the scenery. As he turned to go down, he said, "Oh, Mr. Hamlin, if it had not been for that insurrection, we would never have given you leave to build on this magnificent site!" When I assured him that I could not understand him, he added, "When the Cretan insurrection was at its worst, endangering our relations to Greece, and consequently to Russia, your great Admiral Farragut came here. The Greeks gathered around him, and expected that he would go and deliver the refugees on the coast, and carry them to Greece. We did not like this. But, still worse, they reported that he had promised to sell them one of those monitors. But we treated your great admiral with unexampled honor. The Grand Vizier made him a most magnificent

dinner. Seventy-two guests, the great men of our Empire and of the chief embassies, were at table. You know that into such a dinner no diplomatic question can be intruded, even to your neighbor! But, in the midst of this dinner, the Admiral said to the Grand Vizier, 'Your Highness, I would like to ask Your Highness a question?' 'Very well, Admiral.' 'I would like to ask Your Highness why that American college can't be built?' The whole table shuddered. Here was a diplomatic question thrown suddenly upon the table, contrary to all etiquette! But our Vizier is never thrown off his balance; and he answered, with his usual suavity, 'It is true, Admiral, there have been some difficulties about that question; but they are all smoothed over, and the college may be built.'"

"The Admiral said not a word; the table resumed its *sang froid*, and the dinner closed in the highest enthusiasm. Then, other great dinners were given to him; and at each one, the same question came, but no remarks. He was careful to declare that he had no diplomatic mission; and we saw that he had just one mission — this college! But, when he went away so suddenly, we breathed easier — until those letters on the Cretan insurrection were published in the New York papers. There, we said, is the finger of the great admiral, preparing the American people for selling those *monitors* to the Greeks! Better build a hundred colleges for the Americans, than to have one of those troublesome monitors come into the Mediterranean! War would follow with Greece, and then with our great enemy. So we made haste to prevent all this. We gave you the Imperial Iradé. We placed this college under the protection of the United States, as the greatest compliment to your government and people; and so we smoothed it all over!"

There have been many splendid results from this sacred authorization of the College. The foreign embassies could say nothing, and so kept silence. It made the opening of other American colleges easy. This was the first. There are now eight American colleges, two of them (at Scutari

and Marash) for girls. Through the terrible years of slaughter, the Armenian students in Robert College were unmolested. The college building at Harpoot, on the Euphrates, was destroyed, also the academy at Marash, by the Turkish officials; and so the Sultan must and will pay the damages.

The influence of Robert College upon Bulgaria has been noticed by English and German travelers. Its graduates fill many high offices. Until recently, Ferdinand had three of them in his cabinet. In college, they were among the choicest. There are scores of noble, patriotic, educated men, in all departments of life, and of different nationalities, who have received their training in that college. The same is true of all the other American institutions.

But the great influence of these institutions is to be sought in their having become incitements and models to the other and far more numerous institutions among the Armenians, Greeks, Bulgarians, and Moslems. There are eight American colleges. All the other chief nationalities have their competing colleges. There are about forty American high schools. There are many times that number in competition. Until these American schools began, in the fourth decade (from '30 to '40), the Jesuits had done nothing for general or popular education. They soon saw a new power that they also must use, since they could not suppress it. Since then, the missionaries have opened a school in no village of the empire but it has been immediately followed by a Roman Catholic school. In a greater or less degree, other nationalities have done the same, even extending it to girls' schools.

But the greatest educational effect is seen in the Moslem schools. Abdul Hamid, on being convinced that the Christian races were far in advance of the Moslem, resolved to change all that. He has established common school education throughout Asia Minor, among the Moslems exclusively, as was never done before; while he has closed hundreds of Christian schools, and burned tons of Christian school-books. Abdul Hamid II. will be known in history as the "Great Assassin" and the "Great Educator"—the assassin of Chris-

tians, the educator of Moslems. Only grant that Islam is true and Christianity false — and his course may be defended as wise and prudent; otherwise, it is rashness and folly.

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MODERN COLLEGE EDUCATION.*

PREJUDICE is now, as it always has been, the chief obstacle to progress. We do not examine our opinions in the light of reason to see whether they be just or true; we follow the line of least resistance, holding to the established order of things because it is inconvenient to do otherwise. "There is nothing," says Chauncey M. Depew, "so conservative as the college. It follows last in the procession of progress; it distrusts innovations and discredits theories. Its faculty, by the very peculiarity of their existence, learn to respect the traditions and teachings of the past." The prevailing system of higher education is almost entirely traditional. But there has been an awakening. Never before has there been so much discussion of educational questions. Radical changes are proposed for every department of instruction.

What is the true end of education? "Culture," Plato might answer; "not for the base ends of trade, or to make a man useful or successful, but to make him fit to commune with the gods." "That is our belief," we may suppose the representatives of the conventional college education to say, "especially as expressed in the last clause, which shows the absolute necessity for spending eight years in the study of Latin and Greek. Culture is an end in itself; and not those studies which will best discipline the powers for their future use, but those which the wise of the past have believed to be the best for culture, must form our college curriculum. Why

*To be followed, in August, by an article on "A Rational System of College Education," by the same author.

should it be thought necessary to adapt the curriculum to the conditions of modern life? The ideal curriculum was evolved from the inner consciousness of men who have spent their lives within school and college walls. If it be true that the college training does not meet the requirements of modern life, those requirements should be so changed as to conform to the college standard. Not only must the college determine its own curriculum, but, by prescribing the requirements for admission, it must determine what shall be taught in the high school and academy, and thus indirectly control the common school system. We admit that the means should be adapted to the end; *but college education is an end in itself.*"

The true end of education is to so discipline all the powers, mental, moral, and physical, as to develop an individual of the greatest possible capacity, both as an individual and as a member of society.

How is this end to be attained? No broader or deeper question in philosophy has ever been propounded. Philosophers of all ages have regarded it as the most important of all philosophic problems. It is the fundamental question of government, religion, and laws. Upon it Plato and Aristotle, Locke and Spencer, have exhausted their powers of reasoning. That the conclusions of the modern philosophers are more worthy of acceptance, no one can doubt, who is cognizant of the change in the knowledge of the nature of things, the experience of many generations, and the advance of science. Although Spencer's philosophy in every other department has been gradually accepted, his conclusions on education have been rejected as unduly utilitarian. To base a system of education on the determination of the question, "What knowledge is of most worth?" is assumed to be entirely beneath the dignity of education; the law of the survival of the fittest must not be considered here. Spencer does not undervalue esthetic and ethical culture; he gives them a place commensurate with their worth. To Latin and Greek he assigns a "quasi-intrinsic" value. To accept Spencer's philosophy of education requires the exercise of reason with-

out prejudice. But the acceptance of a modern philosophy of education would mean a revolution, and a revolution is not agreeable to an established institution.

The advocates of the traditional education hold that knowledge is to be acquired, not on account of its worth, but for its own sake; that the best system of education is that which gives the greatest culture, and that the classics, mathematics, and formal sciences are the best for the purpose. The traditional system originated in the Middle Ages, when metaphysics differed as much from the modern science of psychology as did alchemy from chemistry—when there was no science worthy of the name. No great literary works have been produced in any language but Latin and Greek; and these were accessible only to persons familiar with those tongues. The vulgar Saxon was not deemed a fit medium for the communication of the lettered. Harvard, the first American university, was patterned after the English. A quarter of a century after its foundation, the requirements for its admission was "to read Tully or any like classic author *ex tempore*, and make and speak true Latin in verse and prose, and decline perfectly nouns and verbs in the Greek tongue." That it and every other university has followed the march of civilization, though at a great distance, is shown by its present requirements and the courses offered; but the watchword remains, "Follow scholastic tradition." Notable exceptions to this traditional tendency are the recent order to discontinue the teaching of Latin and Greek in the Swedish high schools, and the introduction, by some progressive Western universities, of a modern classical course.

Nothing is more common than to claim as the result of a system that which exists in spite of it. That Smith and Jones became able men because they received a classical and mathematical training, and that Brown and White, who were educated at a country academy and became great and good men, would have been still grander men through the quadrivium, by no means follows. A division of our great men into university and non-university is a true test. Those who

graduated from a common school or academy into the great university of life, to receive that highest and best culture which comes of contact with men and things, supplemented by reading, will be found to outnumber the others tenfold. And who shall say that those who spent from three to five years in the conventional study of dead languages, mathematics, and logic — that ghost of reasoning — would not have been grander men through such a course of training as had Franklin, Lincoln, and Greeley?

It is asserted that the traditional college course, while it does not prepare directly for any position in life, so disciplines the powers as to make the ordinary college graduate broader and more successful in any position. Two young men graduate from a country academy at the age of twenty. One spends four years on a classical course before entering a law school; the other, presumed of equal natural ability, is employed successively during two years as stenographer in a railroad, a law, and a brokerage office, as special agent for an insurance company, and as correspondent for a publishing house; during all of which time he occupies his spare time in reading, and graduates from the law school as the other is ready to enter it. Which will derive the more benefit from the professional course? Which will be the broader and more successful lawyer and the more cultured man? It is said that only one newspaper office in the United States prefers the regular college graduate.

"But," says the advocate of the traditional education, "you mistake the purpose of college education. It is not the design of the college to make lawyers, business men, or physicians. The college graduate is a better man, and he will make a better lawyer, physician, or merchant than he could without a college education." We grant it. A young man whose muscles had been developed by the practice of pounding the earth for four hours daily during four years would undoubtedly make a better blacksmith than he could make without that training. A system of training may be beneficial and at the same time narrow and ill adapted to serve the purpose for which it is designed.

"Deciding whether a classical or mathematical education is the best, is," says Herbert Spencer, "much the same as deciding whether bread is more nutritive than potatoes."

The study of the classics, exercises little more than the verbal memory. That the study of Latin and Greek is the best means of acquiring a good English style is a pure assumption. A knowledge of Anglo-Saxon is of more value for this end than a knowledge of Latin. Notwithstanding the attempts of grammarians to Latinize our grammar, English remains an uninflected, almost grammarless tongue, to be acquired more by use than by rule. A knowledge of original meaning is not a safe guide to present use; the history of a word and its present import are of more value than its original signification. Common observation, as well as literary history, shows that there is little relation between ability to write "English pure and undefiled" and knowledge of the classics. "Every language," says Macaulay, "throws light on every other. We acknowledge, too, that the great body of our countrymen learn to grammatize their English by means of their Latin. This, however, proves, not the usefulness of their Latin, but the folly of their instructors. A man who thinks a knowledge of Latin essential to the purity of English diction, either has never conversed with an accomplished woman, or does not deserve to have done so. The orators who are the fondest of quoting Latin are by no means the most scrupulous about marring their native tongue." If a tenth of the time spent on Latin were devoted to etymology, literature, and practical rhetoric, the result would be more satisfactory.

The claim that the study of Latin and Greek introduces the student to the world's greatest wealth of literature scarcely needs refutation. Not more than five per cent. of those who translate from Horace and Homer have the time or inclination to do more than, by the help of lexicon and paradigm, to render a *passable* translation; and of that five, not one per cent. would, five years after graduation, choose to read the original in preference to a translation. Not only because there are in English better translations of classics

than the ordinary student could, at great loss of time and energy, make for himself, but because our own language contains a greater literature than the ancient classics, is it unnecessary to devote much time and energy to Greek and Latin. It cannot be denied that much benefit may be derived from a study of Latin and Greek; but that is true of alchemy and astrology. "No person doubts," says Macaulay, "that much knowledge can be obtained from the classics. It is equally certain that much gold may be found in Spain. But it by no means follows that it is wise to work the Spanish mines or to learn the ancient languages." "Mere classical reading," says Dr. Whewell, "is a narrow and enfeebling education." "A boy," says Spencer, "in nine cases out of ten, applies his Latin and Greek to no practical purpose. In his shop and office, in managing his estate or family, in playing his part as a director of a bank or railway, he is very little aided by the knowledge he spent so many years to acquire. If we enquire what is the real motive for giving boys a classical education, we find it to be *simply conformity to public opinion.*"

It is asserted that English grammar can be thoroughly understood only through the study of a complete and systematic grammar like the Latin; and that, since "grammar is the science of language and the art of speaking and writing correctly," a knowledge of Latin grammar is very important. Grammarians have endeavored to make the English language conform to the rules of Latin grammar, but they have not thereby changed the process of learning the art of speaking and writing correctly— careful practise and systematic, critical study of the best models. A liberal curriculum should, no doubt, include a general course in the elements of the Greek and Latin languages, but that should be with reference mainly to etymology and philology. Such a course necessarily forms part of a complete study of etymology. The study of Greek has of late years declined rapidly. Yet as a model language, Greek is vastly superior to Latin. The lack of the article and of a distinction between the preterite

and the aorist tenses are serious faults in the latter. In everything, except perhaps precision, the English language is superior to any other; and in literature it is the richest of all. If any further argument be needed, there is the fact — apparently of slight importance — that English is the language we use through life; that it is fast becoming the language of the world; and that its resources are such that the devotion of a lifetime is necessary for its mastery.

The study of the higher mathematics is undoubtedly an excellent training in deductive reasoning, and they have a practical application to the arts and sciences. Every system of education gives to the mind a peculiar bent and capacity. A moderate share of mathematical study is highly beneficial, developing a habit of close and systematic reasoning; but exclusive devotion develops a habit of mind unsuited to the conditions of life. In mathematics the axioms, data, and premises are given, and the conclusion is reached by an unerring course of intuitive reasoning. "A man," says Macaulay, "who understands the nature of mathematical reasoning, the closest of all kinds of reasoning, is likely to reason better than another on points not mathematical, as a man who can dance, generally can walk better than a man who cannot. But no people walk so ill as dancing masters, and no people reason so ill as mere mathematicians. They are accustomed to look for only one species of evidence; a species of evidence of which the transactions of life do not admit. When they come from certainties to probabilities, from a syllogism to a witness, their superiority is at an end. They resemble a man who, never having seen an object which was not either black or white, should be required to distinguish between two near shades of gray. Hence, on questions of religion, policy, or common life, we perpetually see these boasted demonstrators either extravagantly credulous or extravagantly skeptical. "None of our intellectual studies," says Sir William Hamilton, "tends to cultivate a smaller number of faculties, in a more partial or feeble manner, than mathematics!" An overdose of mathematics is worse than none.

Dugald Stewart says: "While mathematical studies exercise the faculty of reasoning, they give no employment to the other powers of the understanding concerned in the investigation of truth. On the contrary, they are apt to produce a facility in the admission of data. . . . I think I have observed a peculiar proneness in mathematicians to avail themselves of the principles sanctioned by some imposing names, and to avoid all discussion which might tend to an examination of ultimate truths, or involve a rigorous analysis of their ideas. . . . In the course of my own experience I have not met with a single mathematician who was not credulous to a fault."

As a mental discipline and as a means of storing the mind with useful information, the study of science is open to none of the objections advanced against mathematics and ancient languages. The method of discovering truth acquired from such study is applicable to all situations in life. It is unfortunate, however, that so much time is wasted in memorizing formulæ, tables, numbers, names, and classifications. No memory can retain beyond the examination or recitation room such unnecessary lumber. The non-professional student never needs them; the professional needs only to know how to use them and where to find them when he wants them. Of the principles of science and the method of scientific investigation we cannot well have too much; but time is limited, and much valuable time may be wasted in memorizing magnitudes, numbers, and formulæ.

The average conventional college student thinks that his education will be completed at graduation. He vainly imagines himself superior to everyone who has not passed through a course similar to his. But he surely deceives himself. "It is well known," says Dr. E. L. Youmans, "that in numberless cases, where the student has surrendered himself to college influences and conquered his curriculum, exactly in proportion to his fidelity has been his defeat. He has mastered a disqualifying culture. In hundreds of instances we have listened to expression of bitter regret on the part of

college graduates at the misdirected studies and the misapplied time which their 'liberal' education has involved." One of the greatest living masters of English has defined a conventional college as "a place where pearls are polished and diamonds dulled."

"A Graduate," writing to the New York World, says: "I went to two colleges. I was graduated from one of them. I owe neither of them anything. Such education as I have, I acquired myself. I have written for all the great magazines. I am an editorial writer on one of the greatest newspapers in the world. The 'philosophy' taught me was a deadly drawback to me. I know more than a hundred bachelors of arts who cannot do capably any part of the world's work. No college is best. No college is even good; and none ever will be till somebody founds one in which to educate boys in modern ways of thinking."

That education is not only desirable, but absolutely necessary in a highly developed civilization, no intelligent person denies. That the traditional college curriculum needs to be modernized is evident. Culture is a leisurely process; it is not to be acquired by any system which directs the energies mainly to the exercise of the verbal memory. Technical, linguistic, scientific, and mathematical training have their place — a place which should be filled by the institution of technology and the university proper. The greatest thing a college can do is to cultivate the habit of self culture, to teach the science and art of self education, to cultivate a predilection for self culture. The conventional system is not calculated to do this. The young man who "pulls through" and is allowed the honor of graduation, regards his education as finished instead of merely begun. "The curious part of it is," says President Coulter, of Lake Forest University, "that one may study for a few years and obtain a college degree, provided he studies in a certain prescribed way; but he may study all his life in some other way, and be infinitely superior in attainment to the neophyte of a few years, superior in everything that enters into intellectual living, and yet it is impossible for him to get a degree." It is curious, too, that

the value of a degree is assumed to be measured by the difficulty of obtaining it.

A college should aim to begin, not complete, education. The student should acquire habits of careful, thoughtful study; there should be no mere grinding, no gleaning of the husks of knowledge requisite to pass the conventional recitation and examination room. The development of thought power should be the prime object. The student should be led to "read, not to contradict and confute, nor to believe and take for granted, but to weigh and consider." A rational education gives intellectual liberty.

The following table is designed to show the relative value of subjects in the higher curriculum. The numbers assigned are, of course, roughly estimated. The utility of any branch varies. To a teacher of Latin, that branch would be first in utility. Specialization is not here considered. The values of any subject depend much on the teaching. Some teachers make history a memory rather than an ethical and wisdom study. Law can be made of greater ethical value than ethics. The study of ancient literature, as such, would have the same values as English literature.

SUBJECT.	Esthetic (4)	Ethical (4)	Memory (4)	Reason (3)	Invention (2)	Utility (2)	Wisdom (1)	Average
Law	10	60	50	90	70	90	90	46
Debating	20	60	50	80	90	85	80	43
Rhetoric	25	15	15	55	80	85	40	30
History	20	60	50	50	15	60	70	30
Physical Science, Var.	10	15	30	60	35	70	40	29
Elocution	50	25	20	50	15	75	40	26
Sociology	25	50	5	50	20	60	60	26
Political Economy	10	25	15	90	25	50	50	25
English Literature	50	25	20	25	20	50	20	19
Ethics	20	90	5	90	15	10	50	19
Higher Mathematics, Var.	5	15	20	90	35	20	5	18
English Language	5	5	30	20	5	80	5	13
Classics	20	5	80	25	20	20	5	12

The values assigned are estimated on a scale of one hundred, presuming ordinary capacity. The numbers in each column are divided by the figure in parenthesis at the head of that column. Adding laterally, and multiplying by three to offset the division, we get the averages in the last column.

Memory is one of the most valuable of the mental powers; but it is not susceptible to cultivation during childhood. It is important to consider that the memory is not a single mental capacity, but that there is one memory for form, another for names, another for music, and so forth. The power of recollection depends largely on understanding. As the mind develops, the power of making logical associations increases, and the necessity for memorizing by rote decreases. In proportion as the attention is occupied with arbitrary details will the normal development of the reason and judgment be retarded. Persons remarkable for verbal memory are rarely distinguished by general ability, and those who are superior in other respects are often weak in memory. A system of higher education based largely on memory exercise may be not merely defective, but injurious.

What is the necessary conclusion? That the conventional college curriculum should be entirely revised — not next decade, but now.

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WHERE PEACE DOTH DWELL.

Peace sits eternal on the mountain tops
And looking outward, sees the world grow old.
She knows nor time nor age; forever young,
Calm eyed, she sees the ceaseless ages fold
The world's poor years within their cold embrace.
Sorrow, and joy, and happiness, and woe
To her are not: Above the world of men
She sits at rest to watch the ages grow.

HARRY DOUGLAS ROBINS.

ART IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

THE advocate of art in the public schools has been forced to combat two classes of opponents, one positive, the other negative.

The first class regard art as a useless accomplishment, designed for, and to be fostered by, the wealthy. It deprecates the expenditure of any money upon the poor for their culture in this direction. And, strange to say, this sentiment prevails to a much larger degree, proportionately, among the poor than among the rich. The second class believes that none but the talented can learn, and considers money and time spent upon the ordinary mind as absolutely wasted. This negative opposition is harder to overcome than the open arguments of out and out combatants. It pervades all classes, and every teacher of experience has heard even the pupils who are paying him for their instruction exclaim, "I can never learn—I have no talent." All through the schools in every grade, we are accustomed to the apathy, the antagonistic indifference that suddenly falls upon the class-room like a mist, when the drawing period approaches. Many times the teacher, who is only working for the salary, is the cause of this attitude on the part of the pupils, and the close of the period is welcomed as a relief from an onerous duty.

Thus, the supervisor of drawing has not only to walk between the contending ranks of decided enemies, but he has to meet in front the uninterested, listless pupils, who have heard all the arguments *pro* and *con*, and consider themselves imposed upon.

The children are only following the laws of evolution — moving along the lines of least resistance. Heredity, more than anything else, and their bare, unlovely lives — the force of environment — are responsible for this sad state of affairs. The majority of these wards of the schools have never, for one moment, realized that there is a beautiful world, full of

joyous paths, the acquaintance with which would fill their hearts with song and lighten their weary struggles for exis tence with a peace that passeth the understanding of the ignorant. Perhaps never, among all their progenitors, has there been one who knew anything of the subject, and there is no brain cell which vibrates in response to the words "art," "color," "harmony." All is darkness in minds like these. Strive as we may, we cannot pierce this impenetrable shadow upon their brains by any ordinary process.

But the world moves. Greater things have not been accomplished for man than we are striving for. And because of the immense value to humanity that our efforts possess, we are certain of success. If we can lighten a little more the force of impact from contending forces, at the same time opening more clearly a way of progress, the impetus now given the cause will carry it upon a tidal wave of success.

The past speaks well for the future; considering all the disadvantages we have had to contend with, our success has, so far, been phenomenal. One state after another has wheeled into line as to *permitting* art instruction in the schools, while many *provide* for it, and some *compel.* Among the last, Massachusetts and New York stand at the head, in the order named.

Humanity will always bear the scars inflicted by incompetent teachers. In no branch of education is the thoroughly competent teacher demanded more than in the teaching of art. To speak the truth, they are as scarce as the proverbial "hen's teeth." There are those who try to teach it, but they are not teachers, no matter how conscientious they may be. They may be artists, but all artists are not teachers — very few are. The artistic mind loves too well the freedom of the fields and forests, the irregular, irresponsible open-air life, the bohemian existence, to be cheerfully tied down in a school-room. An artist rarely has executive ability, and without it a teacher is lost. Usually, full of his subject to the exclusion of the claims of all others, he selects the talented, brilliant pupil for praise and encouragement, and leaves the

slow, the plodding, and even the most industrious, to shift for themselves. He cares nothing for the justice that demands a system of education which will reach all alike and will deal out instruction and reward with impartiality.

Like all branches of education, art instruction in the schools began at the top and worked downward. The cart was put before the horse. Much was attempted and little was accomplished. Thousands, who might have known something regarding art, but who had had no training which fitted them to deal with the variety of psychoses momentarily presented to their bewildered minds, filled positions requiring a psychological training of which they were totally devoid. The trash which was produced for many years, the absence of progress on the part of the pupils, and the adverse criticism aroused, and used as a weapon by our opponents, opened the eyes of the heads of departments to the fact that the plan of first introducing the subject and then picking up teachers, had been a bad one. The training of teachers for this special subject was then begun and has progressed steadily. These newly trained teachers, provided they are well grounded in the principles involved in their work, are much better tutors for children than the most brilliant artists who deal in glittering generalities, their heads always in the clouds, while their clumsy feet trample ruthlessly upon the budding flowers and clinging tendrils of the baby minds they know not how to reach down to.

Naturally this condition of affairs has produced dissensions among the teachers themselves. Those who are the most practical, the better educated class, contend for a systematic, progressive method, based entirely upon the principles involved in the work required of the pupil. They believe the child should first be taught a language by which he can be made to understand and express himself. They begin, therefore, with the simplest things and progress slowly, building upon a sure foundation. The smallest pupils are taught what lines they must use to represent the facts of objects, and how to combine these lines to form plane figures, to ob-

tain values, and so on. True percepts are first formed, and the pupil is fitted out with facts which he now perceives continually, but which he would otherwise unconsciously pass by. This is the language of art, and, like all languages, a very mysterious one to foreigners.

When a child has learned, first, the language of drawing, and second, how to handle the lines and plane figures both mentally and by drawing them (thus being equipped with facts which he has perceived and does perceive continually), we can easily lead him along the path of *conception.* An object is placed before him and he is taught to analyze it by separating the facts he has already learned,—vertical lines, horizontal lines, oblique lines, squares, trapezoids, trapeziums, circles, and ellipses,—all, the one from the other, and to compare their relation to each other. Then the synthetical rearrangement of these facts follows, and a drawing is produced as the result of a correctly formed concept. The square, which no longer appears as a square, but a trapezium, is not first drawn as a square and then corrected to suit the teacher, the pupil having no knowledge of the reason for making the alteration. His percept is too well educated for that. He may not draw a trapezium with absolute correctness as to proportional lengths of line, but he will produce the figure of his own knowledge. Then it is very easy to have him make any necessary corrections (again of his own knowledge), by means of his pencil measurements, or by a few hints which cause him to think and to perceive for himself.

There are many in the land of art, as in all countries, who use their own language without having any acquaintance with it. These are the ones who would have foreigners learn it by hearing it spoken, instead of having them begin with the grammar. The class of teachers who base all their instruction upon the esthetic, regardless of principles, may be likened to these. When their language is incomprehensible to the dense mind of the ordinary pupil, they wave him aside from their path as "stupid" or "stubborn," and relegate him to the darkness of ignorance, when the fault lies entirely

with themselves. Emerson says, "We must have an intellectual quality in all property and in all action, or they are naught. We vary the phrase, not the doctrine, when we say that culture opens the sense of beauty." The word culture expresses the doctrine I am trying to impress—culture in the sense of a cultivating energy or force, beginning by preparing the ground, then planting the seed, then watering and weeding until the full plant rewards the effort. Says Ware, in his book "The Essentials of Perspective," "Scientific habits of thinking, and the power that comes with them, have no quarrel with the imagination, and offer no obstacle, but only help to its boldest flights." Let us first, then, lay the foundation in a clear and scientific manner, regarding principles first, and then encourage those flights of the imagination which may not only be possible, but will cease to be grotesque, as at present.

When the pupil advances step by step, every step forward is taken with interest and confidence, and, when he has completed the course, he understands why he is required to do certain things and why doing them brings about certain results. He is always able to test his own work and to criticize *himself* as to the correctness of his outline drawing. When the artistic feeling comes into play, and matters of taste, we have another phase of the question. Here all artists lean on one another to a greater or lesser degree, and the pupil must depend upon his master. Of one point I wish to speak particularly. The method advocated by those who believe as I do, does not have a *showy* result. Many teachers are being carried away with fads, nowadays, advocating methods which *seem* to be educating the children, and which make a great show. They are taught to try to make pictures first, and acquiring principles is left until their mind is hardened against study — until, like children fed on cake, they have no taste for the bread of artistic life. Having made all sorts of things which have attracted attention, and for which they have been praised, they regard with disgust the hard plodding along the only road that leads to success. If they are properly taken in hand

while young, and the acquisition of principles judiciously combined with other artistic knowledge, the ultimate result will be much more easily obtained and much more satisfactory.

Heredity is now recognized as one of the potent factors in mental work. It seems, also, to affect the motor centers. The mind inherits from the parents certain tendencies which in themselves produce what we call intuitions. The child of artistic parents has intuitions which lead him to assimilate artistic knowledge very readily. We also see the effect of intuition every day, and every hour of the day, in the musical world, and there see it a thousand times where we meet it once in the artistic. This is because, and *only* because, music has the advantage of art in its long use, and the manner in which it has been cultivated. Every household, from the cabin to the palace, has helped to deepen the impression upon the human mind.

Were children accustomed, as I was when a child, to see a pencil or a brush in the hands of some member of the family continuously, they would not only become unconsciously educated, but would, perforce, inherit and transmit to their own children these artistic tendencies. I have in my home a large album filled with the drawings of my grandfather, my father, my mother, my uncles, and my aunts. They did not attempt to educate me as an artist, nor did I dream of becoming one in my younger days. I simply drifted into the art life when circumstances permitted it, and that after I was thirty years of age. Heredity was too strong to be resisted. On the other hand *neither* of my parents could sing, nor could theirs, before them, and of a family of *six* I am the only one possessing enough temerity to attempt singing by *note*. My wife's family, however, were *all* singers; *she* has always been a singer; and both my boys are extremely musical. Do not these facts prove to us that by educating the children continuously for generations we can at length produce a national love for, and intuitions regarding, art as well as music?

"Why," asks some one, "should we add art to the school

curriculum, already crowded?" and the same person adds, "If there is anything that children can do without, it is drawing and painting! They have to learn enough to earn their bread and butter and then go to work."

This is the utilitarian view—a view as heartless as a stone, as lifeless as a withered leaf. Are we to educate children to be mere grubbing hoes—to dig and delve in the dirt for gold? Away with such education! we have had too much of it already. This sort of education it is that produces the autocrats of Wall street, men who are today grasping at all the rights and privileges of the people; nay, are now forming a trust to control the very bread the people eat, while they meanwhile refuse to pay the taxes due upon their ill gotten gains, thus forcing upon the less fortunate the expenses of a government the powers of which they have themselves usurped. The cold, heartless education of these men, who have had no ideals above the glitter of a dollar, is in a great measure responsible for this state of affairs.

We are, in the future, to train the children in the love of music and the love of art. When every home resounds with happy songs, and every wall is hung with beautiful pictures; when every ear is trained to appreciate the harmonies of sound, and every eye can understand the harmonies of nature; when every heart throbs in unison with the heart of God, and feels his breath, and knows him as he ought to be known—then, and then only, will we have an ideal republic. The citizens of such a country will care more for intellectuality than for the accumulation of wealth; more for the grasp of the hand than for the clutch on a pocketbook; more for the "true and the beautiful" than for any other physical thing; more for love than for aught else under the canopy.

And that love of which I speak, is the love of man for man, of brother for brother.

STANSBURY NORSE.

Potsdam, N. Y.

COURSES OF STUDY FOR NORMAL SCHOOLS.

IT is still an open question whether normal schools shall exist at all. The scope of their work is also a problem that has yet to be fully settled. The question, What are the proper courses of study? is the one which at present is in most urgent need of discussion.

The number of normal schools already in existence, and the number projected, the number of professors and students, and the amount of money expended, all indicate that the normal school has come to stay. The great number of normal school graduates and undergraduates who have entered elementary school work, also shows that the school has found a permanent place in the educational economy of our country. The number of normal graduates in high school and supervision work indicates that the normal school is slowly but surely pushing its way into the field of the secondary schools. This is especially true in county supervision.

Thus the preparation for the two lines, teaching and supervising, is the business at present of the normal school. But there is another very important field in our educational life, into which the normal has not yet entered, that of preparing professors for college, normal and other schools. Yet there is no reason why the normal school, which really is in accord with the true spirit of our educational life, should not do this kind of work.

The normal school thus far has made one great mistake. It has tried to fill an imaginary gap between the high school and the college. The college has been in part to blame for this, as it has allowed normal school graduates to enter the junior class without examination, thereby acknowledging that the normal has done two years' work in addition to that done by the high school.

The normal either is, or is not, a special school. If it is a special school its work should by no means be that of pre-

paring students for college. If it is not a special school, it has no reason for existing. All will agree that the normal school is a professional school with a special and appropriate work, that of training teachers.

Previous to the present year I have held that no one should be admitted to a professional school — medical, theological, law, normal, or any other — who was not a college graduate. I now see that such may not always be necessary, that in fact it may not in every case give such trained people as we need. This change in my view was produced by an observation of the efficiency of our army and navy, especially the navy, in our late war with Spain. I have studied the result of the work at our military and naval academies, and cannot believe that we should have had more efficient commanders had these men been required to take a college course before entering West Point or Annapolis. Nor do I believe they would have been better commanders if, after graduating from the naval and military schools, they had spent additional years at our great universities. The training at these two national schools is so excellent that I am sure no one thinks for a moment that a college course at either, before entrance or after completion, is necessary or could really add anything. If my memory serves me rightly, inquiries made of great business men have resulted in finding a general conviction that the best business man is he who enters as a boy and grows up with the business. Therefore I am almost convinced that the normal schools are not making a mistake in not requiring all who enter them as students to be college graduates. Yet most of our normal schools might well raise the standard of admission without detriment to the children of our country.

The term "normal" as used in this article, includes not only the so-called normal school, but a teachers' college, which bears the same relation to its university as does the law college and the medical college. From the foregoing it can be seen that in our normal schools, instead of the usual academic, elementary, advanced high school, and college courses, and so on, *ad infinitum et ad nauseam* — from the catalogues of several

normal schools I count thirty-seven such courses,—a true system would be: (1) courses for teachers; (2) courses for supervisors; (3) courses for professors.

The school life of the child quite naturally divides itself into four periods — kindergarten, primary, grammar, and high. Those engaged in child study, cannot help but believe that the American school method, owing to its recognition of these four distinct periods, is superior to the European system, which recognizes only elementary and secondary education. Personally, I am greatly opposed to the latter denomination, as it wholly fails to take note of the most important time in the school-life of the child — the pubescent period. The American grammar school, or the intermediate grades, as has been abundantly proved, does recognize this period, and in this respect, at least, the American idea is far ahead of the European.

In the courses for teachers, it would of course be necessary to give such training as would fit persons to do the work of each of the four school-periods. Thus the courses for teachers would be four: (1) a kindergarten course; (2) a primary school course; (3) a grammar school course: (4) a high school course. I cannot enter into details in regard to these various courses. The one who would prepare herself to work in the kindergarten, would give her whole time in the normal school to such work as would best fit her for kindergarten teaching. The same would hold true in each of the other courses. The first essential would be an understanding of the children constituting the period in life with which the one preparing would have to do. Then would come a consideration of the subject matter to be taught at this period; the necessary relations existing between the mind to be taught and the subject matter to be taught it. In the high school course the work in subject matter would be that of the special subject or subjects which the one preparing is to teach. He who is to teach English would have special preparation for this, and so in mathematics, or in modern languages. In the course for supervision, there may be four

lines of work: (1) course for city superintendents; (2) course for county superintendents; (3) course for principals of schools in towns and cities, ward, special, and high schools; and soon I believe must come (4) courses for principals of township schools. If the time-honored four years is taken as the standard for these courses, it might be well for the first two years to be devoted by all students to general studies such as may be needed by all. This also gives time for student and professor to know better what the student is best fitted for. The proper course is then selected, and for the next two years specialization is the work for the student, which can be continued, if necessary, by further study in graduate work. It might be wise to demand that all who would enter the courses for supervisors should be college graduates.

The courses for professors could well include presidents of schools. No one but college graduates should be allowed to enter these courses for professors, or men having equivalent attainments. These courses should not deal so much with subject matter as with ways of doing. Many students who read this article have for their professors, men and women who are very competent in subject matter, but thoroughly incompetent in teaching force. I have heard students in college remark that certain professors needed a two years' drill in learning how to teach. There are great teachers in this country who could, if opportunity was given, help just such professors.

I believe our normal schools must cease to prepare for colleges, and that their courses should no longer be planned to such an end. In other words, these schools must no longer be advanced high schools for the towns in which they are located, but must be used for the sole purpose of training teachers. It seems to me that the courses of study as designated in this article would most of all make normal schools professional schools, and cause them to be so recognized and accepted by all educators. Specialization is taking place in every other kind of professional school in the country and in the colleges, and such must and will occur in the

normal schools. There is no finer body of students attending any schools than that attending our normal schools, and when these excellent young men and women are properly trained they will lift our educational life into the highest plane possible.

It is sad to have to acknowledge that our teachers' professional school, the normal school, has at present very little to offer the graduates of our best colleges. But what a world of work and thought would open to the college graduate if he might have offered him such courses of study as I have designated.

What we most need in this country is a normal school, national in its scope. This should be well endowed and in such a way as to have it entirely free from strife and the control of political and religious bodies. It should pay by far the highest salary to its president of any school in this country, and also the highest salaries to its professors, so as to procure the best talent that money can command. Add to this perfect freedom to president and professor, and the greatest talent in the world can be procured for it. It should be allowed to develop its own plans by the studies and experiments of the great educators constituting its faculty. Its special work should be the preparation of teachers for the common schools of our country, and thereby it should be a great model for the other normal schools.

Such a school cannot be founded too soon. If some one wishes his name carried down to posterity as one of the greatest benefactors the educational world has ever known, let him found such a school.

OSCAR CHRISMAN, PH.D. (Jena.)

Emporia, Kansas.

THE "KINGSVILLE PLAN" OF EDUCATION.

THOSE who have any acquaintance with district schools know that their advantages are meager, as compared with those of the town or city school. There are thousands of these rural schools which furnish their pupils scant preparation for the duties of life. As a rule, they are not graded; the studies taught are the most elementary; the classes are small, and the attendance is irregular. Many districts are so sparsely settled that it is impossible to raise by taxation sufficient funds to build good schoolhouses, or hire a sufficient number of teachers. And, even if this be possible, the attendance is such as to make the per capita cost of maintenance unduly large, so that even a common-school education becomes very costly.

To overcome the many disadvantages of the subdistrict system, and for the purpose of offering an advanced graded-school education to every boy and girl of the proper school age, in Kingsville township, Ashtabula county, Ohio, its citizens have adopted a plan of consolidation, or centralization, of the subdistrict schools of the township into a common central school, conveying the pupils from every part of the township to and from school by means of coaches.

The plan was not original with the citizens of Kingsville, Ohio; it was adopted by the citizens of Quincy, Mass., in 1874, and reported as successful. In Concord, Mass., it has been in operation since 1878. Up to the time the "Kingsville plan" went into effect, a large proportion of Massachusetts towns had consolidated their schools. No similar plan, however, had been tried in the state of Ohio, or in any states of the west. Generally speaking, the people were ignorant of this advance in methods of common-school management. The plan was favored by many educators, but up to the year 1892 no practical step had been taken to introduce a system of consolidation.

While the township is the unit of school organization and administration in Ohio, and is the school district proper, it is divided into subdistricts for the regulation of school attendance, and to serve as a unit of representation in the township board. Previous to 1892, a board of directors, consisting of three men elected by the voters of the school district, employed the teachers and carried on the schools. In the year 1892 all the old powers of the directors were transferred to the township board, which was now represented by one director from each subdistrict. It was this year that the question of building a new schoolhouse in district No. 4, in Kingsville township, came up for discussion before the school board of the township. The schoolhouse was a necessity, but the school attendance was small. The board hesitated about expending the money for a new building. It was at this juncture that Prof. F. E. Morrison, then the principal of the village high school, urged upon the school board the adoption of the plan suggested the year before, that the few scholars of district No. 4 be brought to the village high school at the expense of the taxpayers of the township. As the expense of conveying the children of that district to the high school was far less than the cost of hiring a teacher, to say nothing of erecting a new building, the board of education favored the idea. Upon investigation it was found, however, that there was no law on the statute books of the state, which authorized the expenditure of money out of the public-school fund to pay for conveying children to and from a centrally located school.

While discussing the question of conveyance, the idea of school consolidation took deeper root. A bill was passed in the Ohio state legislature, which enacted that any board of education in any township which by the census of 1890 had a population of not less than 1710, nor more than 1715, may, at their discretion, appropriate funds derived from the school tax, for the conveyance of pupils in subdistricts, from their homes to the high school of said township, provided such appropriation for any subdistrict shall not exceed the amount

necessary, in the judgment of the board of directors, for the maintenance of a teacher in such subdistrict for the same period of time. The law was based specifically upon the rate of population for Kingsville township, and was passed for the benefit of that township only, so as to gain the support of legislators from other sections of the state who were attached to the old plan, but who did not object to a trial of the plan, which they regarded as chimerical.

The system was put in operation in Kingsville township with but little opposition, which came wholly from teachers and their friends, who saw that by the consolidation of the schools the number of positions open to them was lessened. Each subdistrict was admitted upon a written petition signed by the taxpayers of the school district. At first only three subdistricts availed themselves of the privilege. A fourth followed later. At present there are only two subdistricts which still maintain separate schools; but these, it is confidently expected, will follow within a year.

When the taxpayers of the subdistrict have by petition signified their willingness to abandon the school of the subdistrict, and send their children to the central school, the board of education employs a teamster to convey the pupils of the subdistrict thither—one teamster employed for each subdistrict. These teamsters work under a special contract, and agree to construct covered wagons, approved by the board of education, to be used in the conveyance of the pupils. These wagons are provided with side and end curtains, which may be raised or removed on warm days, and tightly closed in cold or stormy weather. They have steps in the rear by means of which the pupils enter or leave the coach. The seats are arranged lengthwise, and are provided with cushions, and suitable blankets for the covering and comfort of the pupils. Each coach carries from eighteen to twenty-four persons.

The contracts for conveying the pupils from each subdistrict are let out to the lowest responsible bidder; the board, however, reserves the right to give the contracts to

those whom they deem fit to be entrusted with the care of the pupils. The moral character of the bidder, as well as the lowness of the bid, is considered. The teamster enters into a written agreement that he will get the pupils at their homes, convey them to the central school, at a time set forth in the contract, and be ready to return them within a specified time after the school is out. He also agrees that no profane, immoral, or indecent language shall be used by himself or others, during the transportation of the pupils to and from the school building. He further agrees that he will allow no tobacco or spirituous liquors to be used by any person in the conveyance. Every morning, during the school year, the teamster drives to the homes of the pupils on his route, makes his presence known by ringing a bell, or blowing a horn, to which the pupil responds by promptly entering the wagon. If he does not appear within a few minutes, the wagon drives on, and the pupil is marked tardy. Thus far, there have been very few cases of tardiness. The price per day, for each wagon, varies in the different districts. During the present school year, the price per wagon for conveying the pupils from the four outlying subdistricts is one dollar and fifteen cents a day. Up to the present time, there have been more bidders than contracts to award. While the price is low, it offers fair and sure compensation to those who accept the contracts.

The experiment was watched with much interest by educators, and those interested in education, throughout Ohio. Some thought the plan impracticable, others championed it with ardor. The latter looked upon it as the most practicable and economical solution of the vexed "country-school problem." This was specially true among educators of neighboring townships and counties. They saw realized in this plan their hope of giving to the country pupil all the advantages of education which the city boy or girl enjoys. And they urged the adoption of the plan in the localities in which they taught schools. Accordingly, two years later, a more general law was passed, which provided for the extension of

the "Kingsville plan" to other townships. It has also been adopted in townships in New York, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Kentucky, and other states of the west, since its trial in Kingsville, Ohio.

The residents of the subdistricts of Kingsville township which have adopted this plan, would deem it retrogression to go back to the old subdistrict plan. It has given the school system of Kingsville an individuality which makes it unique and progressive. Pupils from every part of the township enjoy a graded-school education, whether they live in the most remote corner of the township, or at the very doors of the central school. The line between the country-bred and village-bred youth is blotted out. They study the same books, are competitors for the same honors, and engage in the same sports and pastimes. This mingling of the pupils from the subdistricts and the village has had a deepening and broadening influence upon the former, without any disadvantage to the latter. With the grading of the school and the larger number of pupils, have come teachers of a more highly educated class. Higher branches of study are taught, the teachers are more conversant with the needs of their profession. The salaries are larger; the health of the pupils is preserved, because they are not compelled to walk to school in slush, snow, and rain, to sit with damp, and perhaps wet feet, in ill-ventilated buildings. Nor is there any lounging by the wayside. As the use of indecent and obscene language is prohibited in the wagons, all opportunities for quarreling, or for improper conduct, on the way to and from school, are removed. The attendance is larger, and in the subdistricts which have taken advantage of the plan it has increased from fifty to one hundred and fifty per cent., in some cases; truancy is unknown. It has lengthened the school year for a number of the subdistricts; it has increased the demands for farms in those subdistricts which have adopted the plan, and real estate therein is reported more salable. The drivers act as daily mail-carriers. All parts of the township have been brought into closer touch and sympathy.

The cost of maintenance is less than that of the schools under the subdistrict plan; the township has had no schoolhouses to build; it has paid less for repairs and fuel. "Since the schools were consolidated, the incidental expenses have decreased from eight hundred to eleven hundred dollars per year to from four hundred to six hundred dollars per year." In the first three years following its adoption, Kingsville township has actually saved one thousand dollars.

State commissioner of common schools, O. T. Corson, in his forty-third annual report to the governor of Ohio, referring to the Kingsville experiment, states that "the expense of schooling the children has been reduced nearly one-half, the daily attendance has been very largely increased, and the quality of the work done has been greatly improved." Prof. J. R. Adams, superintendent of schools of Madison township, Lake county, says that "under the new plan the cost of tuition per pupil, on the basis of total enrolment, has been reduced from sixteen dollars to ten dollars and forty-eight cents; on the basis of average daily attendance, from twenty-six dollars and sixty-six cents to sixteen dollars and seven cents. The total expense will be about the same in this district as under the old plan, but the cost per pupil will be much less." This is because the school attendance has increased in Madison township from two hundred and seventeen to three hundred pupils, since the plan went into operation.

In the townships where the "Kingsville plan" has been adopted it has met with general favor, and has received the warmest support of educators, who regard it as a long step forward toward placing the country schools upon a higher plane of efficiency. Superintendent Adams, referred to above, writes: "A trial of this plan of consolidating our schools has satisfied me that it is a step in the direction toward whatever advantages a well-graded and well-classified school of three or four teachers has over a school of one teacher with five or eight grades. I am more thoroughly convinced than ever that centralization is the true solution of the country-school problem." Prof. F. E. Morrison, to whom

its adoption by the board of education in Kingsville township was in a great measure due, speaks of it as "a system of education superior to any in the state of Ohio, and one which is to be the system of the future." And in the forty-fifth report to the governor of Ohio, State Commissioner O. T. Corson, referring to the "Kingsville plan," says: "I anticipate none the less an increasing tendency in all parts of the state, year by year, to make the law serviceable in reducing school expenses, and in extending the benign influence of well-graded instruction. Incidental to the operation of this law, township high schools will be established, township libraries will be built up, and possibly it is no idle hope that the same wagons that carry the children to and from school may also carry, under government contract, the mails, and distribute them free to our farming communities."

Prof. L. E. York, superintendent of Kingsville school, in writing concerning the system, says: "The best physical laboratory in America is the well-regulated American farm. Here the boys and girls study nature first-handed. Here they observe the growth and life of plants and animals. Here they breathe pure air, become familiar with the beauties and wonders of the natural world. Here they make character. To have added to all these opportunities the advantages of a high school education, without any of the disadvantages that attend the spending of evenings, without chores or home duties, in the town, is an educational condition that is almost ideal."

The pupils like the system, as do the teachers employed. It has gained the favor of parents, and in general is regarded by those who have studied it and understand its workings as a most practical advance in methods of rural education.

EDWARD ERF.

Ashtabula, Ohio.

WORKERS AT WORK.

V.—F. HOPKINSON SMITH IN THREE PROFESSIONS.

AT his Wall Street office, a civil engineer; at his home near the Waldorf-Astoria, an artist and an author. His office is like a thousand others. His home is like only F. Hopkinson Smith—outside, merely one of a row of brownstones; inside, overflowing with evidences of the owner's originality and versatility. I found him in his studio on the top floor, standing before the fireplace, where a chestnut log crackled gleefully. Tall, soldierly, magnetic, strength lurking beneath the gentleness of evening clothes, seemingly not a moment older than forty, yet a man of more than sixty years of worldly experience and unceasing work; to men a friend, by women admired. We made a tour of the world, the man of three professions as the guide. That is, we journeyed round his studio-museum, stumbling upon souvenirs and curios gathered during painting days in Cuba, England, Holland, Switzerland, Spain. Here was "The White Umbrella in Mexico," famous cotton shade giver now decrepit, servant of long service. In this room of relics, under the skylight, through which the stars peeped, he told me the story of the working days of F. Hopkinson Smith—creator of "Colonel Carter," maker of a dozen books from "Well Worn Roads," his first, to "Tom Grogan," his latest; painter of Venice, of Constantinople, of other places picturesque today; builder of the Race Rock lighthouse, near New London, the jetties at the mouth of the Connecticut River, the breakwater at Block Island and others elsewhere, the sea wall surrounding Governor's Island in New York Harbor, the foundation of the Liberty Statue. Engineering is his business; it is his meat and potatoes. Painting and writing he found waiting like waifs on the door-step of his life; and he took them in. They are

his salad and dessert. As an engineer he makes his living; as a painter and writer he enjoys his living.

He gave the sum of his life work — the Race Rock lighthouse. That light has burned steadily for twenty years. F. Hopkinson Smith put it there; he is proud of it — "because it made such a profound impression on my life." "It helped me," he said; "It made me depend upon myself. I spent six years building it, and I lived on the rocks all the working months, with my men as my companions. It was a tough problem, but what helped me then has helped me in every undertaking since — stickedness of purpose. I made contracts not only with the government, but with Hop Smith. To bind myself to the unwritten part of the contract I resorted to absurd whims. "See here." He snatched a drawing from the wall. "Here's a sketch I made of the lighthouse during its construction," he continued, flinging his cigar into the fireplace to give full play to enthusiasm. "Now, each of those big foundation stones weighs ten tons. When we began laying them, the top button of my coat came off and I contracted with myself not to have that button sewed on till the stones appeared above water. I kept the contract. Next, I would not get my hair cut until the foundation was complete. So I went around with my hair hanging over my collar. When storms came and it looked as if a year's work would be swept away in a single night, when neither button nor hair would help me, I worried. I still worry when absorbed in any unfinished work, whether lighthouse, painting, book, or series of lectures. But I never cease trying to do better."

In winter, this Jack of three trades and master of each is engineer by day and author by night. In summer, day and night, he is simply the painter. When he is in Venice no mail whatever is forwarded to him. When painting, he neither knows nor cares what is going on in the world. With him, Venice is a passion; and he is not the only painter who has it. For fourteen years, broken only by a season or two elsewhere, he has spent the summer months there painting all out-doors, reproducing Venetian beauty, color, atmosphere.

All through his business career he has always found time, somehow, for art. Before Venice captured his brushes, he went to the White Mountains,— spent fifteen consecutive August vacations there, each time bringing some of their beauties back in his portfolio. To his work in art he applies the principles of business. The moment his picture is framed, it is, to him, simply an article of merchandise for which he asks — and receives — the highest market price.

Now the artist turned author, and something was said about inspiration. "The only inspiration I know of, in writing," he said, "is days and nights of the labor called thought. I wrote the first chapter of 'Colonel Carter' nine times and corrected the proofs till the printer refused to send more." On the table before which he was now sitting, was a score of thick Six B lead pencils and a big pad of yellow paper, the literary worker's tools. He comes up town from his office at four in the afternoon and writes until six. When anything interrupts this plan he writes through the two hours following midnight. When the words necessary to make the proper rhythm will not come, he makes dashes representing the length of the missing words and fills them in when revising. When he sent his first story to the publisher, he asked if that was what was wanted, adding that his friends had been advising him to write, some this way, some that. Came the answer by telegraph: "Keep right on. Don't let anyone interfere." Ever since, in all his work, as author, artist, or engineer, he has followed that publisher's advice. The telegram, framed, hangs on the wall over his writing table, between a photograph of the original of "Colonel Carter" and a painting of the Race Rock lighthouse.

GILSON WILLETS.

New York.

THE BUFFALO CONFERENCE.

I. PLAN AND SCOPE.

THIS conference is designed to be a reform "sociable," outing, or picnic, or more properly, a school of method, a normal institute for teachers of political economy.

It is not a political convention, and there are no delegates — duly authorized or otherwise. Men and women have been invited who are known to be true, public spirited, fair, and courteous; who regard not creed or faction when facing the future. Democrats and republicans; all kinds of populists, socialists, and prohibitionists; Hebrews, Catholics, and Protestants, together with advocates of organized labor, direct legislation, good roads, the single tax, the Y. M. C. A., the Salvation Army, civil service, coöperation, municipal ownership, and colonization; all these will attend.

The work of the conference will be for organization, rather than for education. Only the first two days will be devoted to a discussion of principles; for, as a rule, those who attend are acquainted with all the measures upon the program. Those who are not thoroughly informed, will have an opportunity to obtain further information in the social gatherings, and at special meetings. Three days will be given to the discussion of methods, in executive session, and two days will be given the general public. It does not seem possible, nor altogether advisable, with so many different elements, that the conference should attempt the formation of a political party, or attempt an affiliation with any party now in existence. Those who attend will have no power to act in accordance with either of these ideas, except so far as each may be personally concerned. No action is to be binding, except upon those who vote for it.

Men as capable as they are well disposed, and with a common interest, can do much, and the indirect results of this

gathering may be far greater than the direct. When it shall be known that the greenbackers, the single taxers, the prohibitionists, the evangelists, the municipal reformers, and the chiefs of labor are counciling together in America, the star of progress will shine brighter the world around. We propose to have a candid discussion of methods among ourselves, to get together and compare notes, to recite our victories and count our bruises. "How may we make the greatest progress?" is the question to be answered; hence this invitation to the theorist and to the practical politician, to the author and speaker, to the organizer and evangelist. Are the best results to be obtained along partisan lines, or non-partisan? Shall we advance one measure at a time, and which one first, or shall we push the whole line? Shall we denounce, persecute, and punish our opponents, or advance with dignity, with a fair front and well measured words? Shall we frighten and drive, or seek the confidence and respect of the unbeliever? Can we reach the people most quickly and with permanent results through the press, with fragmentary literature, from the platform, or by personal effort and through social functions? These things we desire to know, and we expect to obtain much of this information from master minds at this experience meeting.

To have a conference of two hundred and fifty people was the purpose of the committee when the invitations were issued. But four hundred and fifty have already accepted the invitation and at least fifty more will do so, swelling the number to five hundred. From the character of those who will attend, the conference must be world wide in its influence.

The subjects arranged for discussion are: "The monopolies — shall the people leave them alone, abolish, control, or own them? local monopolies — what shall the city own? industrial monopolies, transportation, currency, expansion and militarism, a permanent international tribunal, proportional representation, recall or imperative mandate, single tax, non-partisan temperance, organized labor, value of direct leg-

islation, present status of the direct legislative movement and its future, failure of other systems and what can the existing political parties do?

There will be numerous open meetings for the public between sessions. Many of the pulpits of Buffalo will be occupied on Sunday by members of the conference, and on the Fourth of July, public meetings will be held all day, with excursions from the near-by towns.

JAMES H. FERRISS.

Joliet, Ill.

II. POSSIBILITIES OF THE CONFERENCE.

The possibilities of the Buffalo conference of the many reform parties seem great for the advancement of human fellowship and a better understanding among men who are agreed in desiring better things, but not yet agreed as to how those better things shall be instituted and established.

In all ages and all places reformers have been men who have been "sternly just," men of intense convictions, men who would not compromise. They would not have been reformers had they not possessed these qualities. But because human nature at best is incomplete, and because it is difficult for our human nature to differentiate between the sinner and the sin, reformers have usually been men who not only stood like adamant for what they believed was true, but also men who have been contentious and controversial over every point, essential or otherwise, that might arise. Among reformers there has been a true apostolic succession from those apostles who forbade others from casting out devils in Christ's name because they followed not him. In the struggle for the right, men have learned to regard almost as criminals all other men who disagree with them. If they condemn the thought, they no less fiercely condemn the thinker. Each claiming for himself the right of private judgment, they have been oftentimes bitter and intolerant in condemning all others who claim the same right for themselves.

This has been a serious hindrance in progress. Men fought each other when they should have fought a common foe; they learned to feel that the unpardonable sin was difference of opinion. It was left for an organization of farmers to proclaim the truth that "difference of opinion is no crime, but advances towards truth are made through differences of opinion; while the fault lies in the bitterness of controversy." And yet, to my personal knowledge, this same organization has fallen far short of its declaration on this subject.

What is the possibility of the Buffalo conference? It can bring together men of every shade of thought concerning the advanced requirements of the human race. It can enable them to hear each other, see each other, greet each other; and each can learn that a man may differ from him widely, and yet be a Christian gentleman. It may enable many of them to learn that the points wherein they differ are non-essential, and that they really stand together on those things which are essential. It can help to bring about a better understanding between men who should be fighting side by side in the great battle for humanity. It can be productive of a broader tolerance, a deeper charity, and a better understanding. It can wipe out prejudice and personal ill will, and establish a human fellowship instead.

But what of the possibilities of the Union Reform Party? The Union Reform Party is an organization composed of men who have come up into it out of every political kindred and tribe upon the face of the American continent, and united for the sole purpose of securing to the people, through amendments to state and national constitutions, the right to make their own laws, to control their own officers, and to be in fact, as well as in name, the sovereigns of the land.

That is the whole of it. In accomplishing this work, we are obliged to adopt the name and some of the forms of a political party, because, under our present system of government, it is only through a political party that the citizen can have any voice in affairs of government. But it is not the purpose of this organization to build a political party which shall

stand through years, retain possession of the government, administer it according to its will, and rule the people as the party and its organization may deem best. It proposes nothing of the sort, because it holds that the people themselves are the only fountain of legitimate power in government. It believes that when the power is given to the people to whom it belongs, and they can exercise that power directly under the system known as the initiative and the referendum, no political parties will be needed to voice the popular will, and that, in fact, political parties as we know them now could not exist.

Its possibilities? It seems possible that in such a movement could be gathered every citizen who in his heart believes the grand principles of the Declaration of Independence, that all men are created equal, and that governments derive their just powers only from the consent of the governed.

It matters not what may be the views of these men on tariff or free silver, prohibition or municipal control. The party is not organized to legislate on these or other questions. It is organized simply to secure such change in our form of government as will put the power to legislate on all these questions into the hands of the people themselves. He who believes in a protective tariff, and he who does not, can work side by side in securing this change, provided only both are willing that the matter of tariff or free silver shall be determined by the sovereign sentiment of the sovereign people, and not by party conventions and party bosses. Each will claim the right, when direct legislation is secured, to have his views presented, for adoption or rejection, to the people; and each must grant to all others the same right.

With such an opportunity, there would seem to be a possibility of gathering quickly such an army of honest citizens, that victory would be immediate, and this government be made in fact, as well as in name, a government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

This accomplished, what, then, are the possibilities?

The first is not a possibility, but a certainty. The whole

corrupt party system as now known, which has become a disgrace to the nation and an offence to every good citizen, would disappear. There would be no struggle, there would be no need of laws against it; it would cease and disappear because that which created it was gone. Men could not be herded into parties and driven on some boss made platform as sheep are herded in a cattle car, because there would be no need of party platforms. Each man could declare his own sentiment on every question before the people, without the need of party platforms, party conventions, party bosses, and all the crimes and corruption which result. Each man would make his own platform when he marked his ticket at the ballot box.

Another possibility — which would become a certainty — is that the "third house," that great source of oppression, injustice, and corruption would disappear. There would be no need of legislation against the lobby, for there would be no lobby against which to legislate. There would be no need of laws against bribing legislators, for there would be no one who would waste a penny in such work. There would be no more farcical investigation of legislative bribery, for there would be no legislative bribery to investigate. A corporation with a hundred millions at its disposal would not spend a nickel in purchasing an entire legislature, when it knew that the action of that legislature, if unsatisfactory to the people, could be rejected by the people at the next election. Corporations would become honest, because it would not pay them to be dishonest. They would abandon the policy of bribery and corruption, because there would be nothing gained either by bribery or by corruption. Members of the legislature would not be tempted and corrupted, and changed from honest men to corrupt political boodlers in a single session, because there would be nothing gained by succumbing to temptation and becoming corrupt and dishonest.

Then there are other possibilities. It would be possible then for the people of any state to wipe out the liquor traffic. All that would be needed would be to get a majority of the

people to believe it should be wiped out. It would not be necessary that the men who desire this agree on tariff, or money, or monopoly; they could simply vote together for prohibition. It would be possible for any city to adopt municipal ownership. All men who desire municipal ownership could vote for it, whether or no they agreed on tariff, free silver, or prohibition. It would be possible to secure a just and righteous currency system which would provide equal opportunities for all, and give special privileges to none, if the people could establish such a system; and all who sought it could unite, no matter how they differed on prohibition, or tariff, or municipal control.

It would be possible for the advocates of that great fundamental act of justice, the abolition of land monopoly, to get their great principle before the people as they have never been able to get it before.

R. S. THOMPSON.

Springfield, Ohio.

DEAD IN HIS HARNESS.

'Tis the way to die! Let the fight be fierce,
'Till the day be won — or lost!
Though axe may cleave, though lance may pierce,
May no one count the cost!
And know, timid souls, who faint with fear,
Who tremble and turn in dread,
There is highest fame for the warrior, here,
Who fights till he falleth dead!

FRANK C. LOCKWOOD.

Malden, Mass.

UNITE OR PERISH.*

THERE will be, on the republican side, in the campaign of 1900, the organizers of every trust, the president and directors of every bank, the officers and larger stock holders of every railroad, the employers in every protected industry, the managers and beneficiaries of every corporation operated under, or in hope of, special privilege; and, above all these, the creators of and gainers by the great monopoly of money. There will be exceptions, but so few as only to illuminate the fact; and this will occur, no matter what the platform, or who the nominees of the party. The platform will be framed to deceive, the nominees chosen to mislead. The controllers of the trusts can be counted on to control republican legislation, no matter what the platform, or who the chosen tools. Principles count for little in a party that represents eighty-four per cent. of the wealth of the land, owned by twelve per cent. of the people. But this is by no means all. Upon the republican side will be, not only those of great wealth, who are few, but those whom they directly or indirectly control, who are many. This will include, for example, nine-tenths of the wealthier clergy, who preach to rich men's wives and receive the rich men's checks. It will include most of the poorer clergy and religious workers among the poor, who, as a rule, are more dependent upon wealth even than those with larger salaries. It will include the lawyer who expects large fees, or who seeks a bank, railroad, or corporation practice. Standing for silver in 1896 cost many a lawyer a remunerative practice. It will include most editors; at least most editorials will favor the republican party, though not a few journalists will write one way and vote another. The exception to the republican attitude of the press will be a few brilliant and well-known

* An open letter from the Union Reform League of America to the members of the Buffalo Conference of June 28, 1899.

papers of the established press and the noble army of martyrs of the unestablished reform press. Among those directly or indirectly influenced by wealth will be most college presidents and professors, those who desire to become such, and teachers very generally in schools, both public and private. Few are so dependent today as teachers; those in public schools upon machine politics, those in private schools directly upon wealth. The only professional men who, as a class, are still largely independent, are physicians. The present system so wears on the nerves of the wealthy, of the poor, and particularly of those who are neither, that a physician with a practice can be reasonably independent. Besides the professions, there will be at the command of the moneyed a large number of the unmoneyed, in need of money. This includes the multitudinous small merchants who may need loans from banks. It includes many who have mortgaged property, and, according to the last census, only thirty-five per cent. of our people own unmortgaged homes. It includes vast numbers of the salesmen and clerks in stores and offices. Indeed, the whole commercial class as a whole, can be counted upon faithfully to kneel before its feudal lords.

Yet this is not all. It is startling to realize that on the republican side will be many workingmen, especially among the poorest. Almost all railroad employees, a large percentage of the employees in protected manufactories, monopolized industries, street car companies, etc., with a vast proportion of the ignorant foreign voters of the cities will, of necessity, be enforcedly republican. Practically the whole bought vote, the whole ignorant vote, the whole bull-dozed vote is today republican. This, together with the great, ignorant, respectable vote that it can indirectly buy, is money's main reliance.

Do we realize how the republican party is now at work? There are four national bureaus at present in its service. A single one of these employs one hundred and fifty clerks; and one hundred and fifty clerks can send out many letters in two years. Let us open their mail bag and see where these letters go, and what are their contents.

Many of the letters go to the city press, and more to the country papers over the whole land. They contain matter for publication. They tell us that business is improving, and how much money is going through the clearing houses. It is easy to show this. Last year on the average nearly two trusts were formed a week. This year business is better, and now a new trust appears almost every morning. If the trusts could only perform a new robbery every hour, still more money would be "transferred" and go through the clearing houses. The letters, too, report in glowing terms what cases there are of wages being raised five or ten per cent., but forget to explain how, in the previous two years, wages have been cut again and again five or ten per cent., twenty or thirty per cent. in all. They also forget to state how the product is increasing and what is due to a heavy export trade. This will probably increase still more. When our people are completely robbed so that they can buy nothing, and work for nearly nothing, our manufacturers will be both able and compelled to export still more.

These letters also usually contain the statement that silver is dead. Some of them also quote certain professors in certain colleges. Later, after correspondence with Washington, these professors are appointed "experts on statistics" to certain United States bureaus and commissions. Still later, workingmen are surprised to hear that "expert statistics" show that wages in the United States "have increased eighty per cent. in the last fifty years." Others of these interesting letters are sent to the religious press, and argue that silver means financial dishonor and national disgrace. Moreover, silver is dead! Obituary editorials are requested and papers are asked to "please copy." These letters contain no checks. Religious people cannot be bought in that way. The letters to the regular press only occasionally contain checks. Most editors can be trusted of themselves to be on the side of money. Still other letters go to the papers in the United States published in foreign languages. These contain editorials prepared in the various languages, with a

note to the editor promising payment, on receipt of a copy of the paper containing the editorial. These letters are also sent in mourning over silver. Other letters go to certain great republican organs, with directions to send their weekly editions for six months to such and such doubtful voters, with notes informing them that the paper is paid for by "a friend," and that they need not be afraid to take it from the office. The paper is told to send the bill to the bureau.

Other letters do not go to the press, but are sent to the banks, railroad corporations, etc., and contain suggestions for the treatment of employees, financial dependents, etc. One suggestion is that banks make no loans to parties advertising in reform journals. This suggestion is now being acted on in the United States. Is not this a free country? Cannot the banks do as they please? All such firms are also reminded that silver is dead, and to spread the news. Perhaps the most important letters, however, go to republican organizers through the land, and usually contain large checks. This money goes ultimately to representatives more or less under pay, in every contested district, in every doubtful ward, in every close precinct in the United States, especially in the foreign precincts. In many doubtful cities the party has, in the close wards, representatives, more or less under pay, in every block. Finally, still other letters contain no checks, but receipts. These are addressed to the great combines and monopolies. This department makes all the rest possible. Mr. Hanna means to win in 1900.

What is there on the opposite side? Only two good things, Humanity and Truth. But unfortunately, there are also on the reform side four evil things, weakness, discouragement, poverty, division.

Truth and humanity will win, but only on two conditions. The first of these is the less important of the two; yet it is inexorable. Without it we cannot win. It is that the reform forces unite. This, we say, is the less important of the two conditions, but it is the inexorable one.

There are now in the United States these parties opposed

to the Republican party: Democratic, Fusionist, People's, Middle of the Road People's, Silver Republican, Prohibition, National Prohibition, Socialistic Labor, Social Democratic, Union Reform, American, Labor, Farmers', Public Ownership, Federal. There are others. A new party is started almost every month. Some people desire the Buffalo conference to start one more.

If we are really to have union, every party except one, and perhaps every party, must lay down its name. This does not mean that any reformer must give up any opinion. He need not even stop working for his ideas. He can work educationally for what he will. But it will require a political platform containing only those measures on which the majority agree. Probably, if we have a union, every reformer at Buffalo will have to see some of his ideas set aside upon some point. This is not compromise, but belief in majority rule. Unity calls for no seared consciences. It asks not sacrifices *of*, but *to* the truth — the truth that we cannot do everything at once, and that we are politically inter-dependent, and that in politics majorities must rule.

One thing will make this easy. On direct legislation all can unite, and thus afford to see their particular ideas not named, because with direct legislation gained, almost any other reform can be then more speedily gained. Reformers must therefore come to Buffalo ready to give as well as to take, and to take ideas as well as to give. Only in this mood can we possibly unite.

But there is one other condition of success, a condition greater than that of union. It is truth. Truth is greater than unity. The people will gather round truths; they will not gather round a machine. Principles must lead to party, not party to principles. For what principles must United Reform declare?

Three things must decide: First, the principles must be true. Reformers cannot unite for lies. Death is better than that. Second, they must be adequate to the situation. No bauble or string of baubles will answer. Division is better

than useless union. Third, the measures adopted must be within the range of political possibility, which includes the fact that they must be acceptable to millions of voters. Dreamers may unite for the impossible. Practical men cannot.

What measures, then, fulfil these three conditions ?

Direct legislation is one of them. This will not accomplish everything, but it is today a *sine qua non.* Without it we can get nothing. It only can give us control over our legislators. Legislators have sold us out before. Without direct legislation, they can do so again. But with direct legislation, they cannot, at least not to any important extent. Direct legislation is the way today to spell democracy, the people's rule. Moreover, direct legislation leads to and includes all other reforms. It is almost the one measure upon which *all* the schools of reform agree. Its growth into favor has been unequaled in rapidity. It occupies the head of the marching columns of reform. But alone it is not enough. Some think it is. The Union Reform party of Ohio thinks it is. It says that any party unwilling to leave all else to the people shows thereby that it does not believe in direct legislation. This is specious reasoning. Certainly any party that believes in direct legislation should refer all legislation to the people ; but this should not except direct legislation itself. But a party does not legislate, it only proposes legislation ; and any reform party that would win today must *propose* much more than direct legislation. People want direct legislation ; but why ? Because they think it the means to something else,— principally public ownership.

This is another measure which fulfils the conditions indicated. It is only because of the end that most of them care for the means. It is the end which will create enthusiasm, call out votes, carry the platform to success. Reformers may realize the necessity and all sufficiency of direct legislation, but the people cannot be roused over any mere machinery of legislation. Public ownership will carry direct legislation to success at the polls, and then direct legislation will make

public ownership possible. Do we realize how popular public ownership is? The most popular papers of New York, Chicago, and San Francisco have come out avowedly for it. It was to some extent in the platform of every municipal party in Greater New York, two years ago. It was favored by every party, in one way or another, in Chicago's recent election. Because of his active hostility to private franchises, Carter Harrison was elected. It is embodied in the new charter of San Francisco. In Toledo, Mayor Jones made it his main plank, and received twice as many votes as both his opponents combined. Is is favored by the Gold Democrats of the East, and by Henry Watterson in the heart of Bourbon Kentucky. And these instances show not only what editors and politicians think, but their judgment of what is popular with the people. If direct legislation has grown rapidly, public ownership has grown widely in favor. If direct legislation is the head, public ownership is the heart of reform, and a reform platform today without public ownership, would mean a campaign that had lost heart in the beginning. Hence the folly of declaring for direct legislation alone. We cannot get everything at once; it is well to be definite and concrete; we must use language that the dullest can comprehend, and the acutest cannot twist into the declaration that we want to socialize everything at once; hence we favor language neither too vague nor too inclusive, but a definite declaration for "the national ownership of railroads, telegraphs and telephones, and the municipal ownership of water, light, and local transit."

Two other planks must be added. The first of these is an anti-imperialist plank. This is necessary because the conscience of the land is aroused upon this point, and reform cannot neglect conscience. The attitude of the administration is a direct violation of the fundamental principle of all popular government, as deriving its just powers from the consent of the governed. The additional facts that it has broken the nation's solemn pledge, given before the war, is holding cheap our soldiers' lives, and taking the lives of thousands of half-tutored islanders, while at the cannon's

mouth it talks of spreading the principles of christianity and of enlightened government, has called down a tempest on its head, even from its own party. Unless such a policy be immediately changed, it will be necessary to condemn it in any reform platform, and to do so so loudly that all the world may hear. It is not a question of the Philippine islands, but of the United States. It is not a question of policy, but of honesty and moral right. Upon such a question, reform can neither be silent, nor utter uncertain sound. There will, too, as always in standing for the right, be political gain in such a plank. Few planks will rally more to our cause the best conscience of the nation, and few planks will better serve to divide the enemy. If we make the plank an issue, the republican party will be compelled either to support or condemn the administration, yet either course will cost the party hundreds of thousands of votes, for it is strong proof of the perniciousness of its policy, that thousands, and, perhaps millions, of republicans blush at their champion's course.

The fourth plank that we must adopt is the endorsement of the fundamental principles of the Chicago platform of 1896. This at first will not appear necessary to some, but it is so. To leave it out would mean absolute defeat. Let any who doubt ask themselves two questions. First, can reform win without the coöperation of that great new democratic party which, in 1896, polled 6,500,000 votes? Secondly, can that democratic party, fresh from that battle, go back on the issue that gave it birth? It can go forward, but it cannot go backward. The proposition to leave silver out of the union platform means to ask the democratic party, led by strong men, and backed by millions of voters who deeply believe in the silver principle, after a magnificent campaign, in which they almost won, and after standing for the cause since, suddenly to drop it; to eat their own words; to shift their ground under the enemies' fire. The party will not do it. Or, it means to leave the democratic party out of the union and to form a new party, and then expect to win. This would be madness! It would be reform's suicide.

Realize the democratic position. That party is willing to take up all else that we ask. Direct legislation is already in most democratic state platforms, and in 1896 came within one vote in the platform committee of being put even into the national platform. In 1900 it cannot be defeated. The utterances of all the great popular democratic papers and of almost all the leaders show that the party is equally ready for public ownership. If one doubts this, let him read again the details we give above. Public ownership cannot be defeated in the next democratic convention. The east will work for it with the west. The democratic leaders, too, are with us on the anti-imperialist plank. It will thus declare for all other planks in our platform, *and if it does not, we do not favor union with it.* Can we not then, to get that union, declare for free silver, which the democrats and most populists want? Why should we not? Some say that other issues are more important. Perhaps: but this is argument, not for leaving silver out, but for *adding* other propositions to it, which is exactly what we propose.

Some say they want, not silver, but "scientific money." Perhaps they do; we do ourselves; but can we get it? Others say that the whole money question is unimportant and befogs the issue. If it be unimportant, can they not accept that little thing to win the great democratic party? A few, very few, reformers have conscientious scruples against the silver dollar. They really believe it would be a dishonest or fifty cent dollar. We ask no men to compromise honest belief. But reformers who so think are few. Of the 6,454,000 votes counted for silver in 1896, to say nothing of the votes *cast*, probably less than 1,000 now think silver *wrong*. The coming up of new issues, the fresh crimes committed by the republican party have, perhaps temporarily, in part obscured the silver question; but, for every silver man who has come to think silver *wrong*, and whose vote we may therefore lose, we shall win hundreds of votes of those weary and sick of gold and the rule of gold. It must be remembered, too, that at any moment the money question may blaze up into a con-

flagration. The long-time debts of the nation are estimated by some at $20,000,000,000 of dollars, the short-time debts at perhaps as much more. There is in the whole land, according to republican authority, considerably less than $2,000,000,000 of legal money. Let there be a financial or an industrial panic, (and with trusts, capitalized at $7,000,000,000, largely water, a crash seems only a question of time), let confidence once go, and the people may have to pay $40,000,000,000 of debts with $2,000,000,000 of money. What that will mean, no one can even faintly guess.

We grant that large numbers of populists, and others outside of the democratic party, would prefer something better than silver; but that is not the question. The question is, Can we get anything better? If not, our silence would mean gold. To go over to the gold standard is an impossibility for most democrats and populists; yet this is what silence would mean. Hence the insertion of a silver plank is necessary, if we are to have the democrats and most populists with us. We ask no reformers to vote for it who have conscientious scruples against silver; but everybody else should vote for it, whether he personally desires it or not. *The success of union may depend on this point.* Direct legislation is the head, public ownership the heart, anti-imperialism the conscience; but free silver furnishes the feet of reform, and it alone can give us a standing that can unite with us the largest party opposed to republican domination. Without the democratic party we cannot win.

What then definitely should the Buffalo conference do? Declare for these four measures: direct legislation, public ownership, anti-imperialism, and free silver; for union upon them, and for union *through the largest party that will accept these measures.* We do not recommend that the conference declare for any party. If the democratic party will accept all four propositions, as we believe it will, undoubtedly the best chance for success will be through that party; but, if the democratic party should fail to do so, we do not recommend union with it. Some dislike, and more fear, the demo-

cratic party. We remind such that the present democratic party is practically a new party, under a new, honest, and fearless leader, a leader committed to the people's cause and whom the people trust. There are, of course, bad people in the democratic party, as in every party, and there are good people in the republican party; but this is of small political moment, because the bad do not control the democratic party, and the good do not control the republican party. If we doubt that, look at their doings. Some will favor establishing at Buffalo a new party, but wise men will pause twice ere they attempt this. A new party is not built up in a day. It would in all probability mean but one more division and one more *defeat.* The democratic is the only party that can carry the one hundred and thirty-three electoral votes of the south, and against that solid argument, all arguments for a new party fade away. The only other present reform party that can at all compare with the democratic party in strength is the people's party; but that party cannot give us the south, and without that we cannot win. If the people's party gain practically all its principles, surely it ought to allow the democratic party to have the name. It will be the greatest deed of the great people's party, if in giving its principles to the democratic party, it can also be great enough to lay down its life for the nation. Yet we no not advocate at present breaking up the people's party, or declaring for or against any party. Let us declare for measures, for union, and for the largest party that will accept the measures.

One word as to details. Let the Buffalo conference not adjourn; let it create a great Union Reform League, to carry out this policy. In it our present Union Reform League started in California, and we hope the Union Reform Party of Ohio, can merge themselves. Then let such a league go to work. Let it choose a representative national committee. Let it at Buffalo get, or commence getting, three hundred names of men who will each give one dollar a month, until November, 1900. With that sum the committee could put three organizers in the field, one in the east, one in the middle

states, one in the west. They, working on a common plan, could call out a movement that, by the end of this year, would have an organizer in every state. We suggest, also, that the league should organize in every state *exactly as if it were a political party*. Then if the new democratic party should not accept our measures, the league could immediately *become a party*, and, with its organization already formed, put a ticket in the field. This would give us all the advantages of organizing a new party now, without preventing our working through the democratic party if in 1900 it seem wise. Let us not make a new division unless we must. If the Buffalo conference will really declare for the above four measures, will unite for them through the largest party favoring them, and will then go to work in this way, in 1900 we can win direct legislation, public ownership, anti-imperialism, and free silver. Let us "unite or perish." We ask the men and women at Buffalo to consider this proposal, and tell us wherein it is impracticable, unwise, or wrong. If it is practicable, wise, and right, let us act.

W. D. P. Bliss.

Alhambra, Cal.

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY IN GERMANY.

IT is related in history that a certain school of religious thought, which in the present year of grace dominates civilization, was condemned to death by the Roman emperors during the first years of the Christian era, because its teachings had been adjudged subversive of public order and hostile to the political state. This sentence of death continued in force until one emperor of Rome discovered that the teachings of the new propaganda had affected the bulk of his army. It was at this moment in history that the blazonry of the cross led an armed host to victory, just as it had led thousands of brave men and women to a moral triumph over the brute forces of repression upon the bloody sands of imperial Rome.

History has repeated itself with startling accuracy of detail. The heavy hand of Bismarck was laid with pitiless weight upon a group of Germans who had been led to believe that the present social order, especially as exemplified in the German state, was an insult to human intelligence. The "Iron Chancellor" caused proscriptive legislation to be passed against the social democrats by a subservient reichstag on the plea that the new school sought the disruption of the state, the destruction of property, the dissolution of the family and the general annihilation of the entire social order. It is singular that Bismarck should not have anticipated the inevitable result of such a policy. With the exception of a slight reduction in the vote polled by the social democracy in 1878—the year in which Bismarck's law of terror went into effect—the new party continued to gain recruits at a rate that alarmed conservative Germans. The process which Bismarck had designed to crush the social democracy accomplished the unexpected result of crushing Bismarck himself. Kaiser Wilhelm II. observed that in the interval of twelve years during which the "law of exceptions" had been in effect, the strength of the social democracy had tripled, and the party disposed of nearly a million votes. Bismarck fell because he had committed the fatal error of assuming—as had been assumed by sundry pagan emperors, christian hierarchs, and unteachable Bourbons before him—that a moral movement can be suppressed by brute force.

Bismarck fell before the pressure of the social democracy; but Kaiser Wilhelm II. soon discovered that he had evoked the genii out of the jar. There could be no question of closing the jar. In 1893 the social democrats organized an opposition in the reichstag which fairly astounded the Kaiser by its tenacity and its force. The imperial government formulated a demand for an increase of one hundred thousand men in the army at an additional cost of sixty-nine million marks. The group of political outlaws whom Bismarck had hoped to annihilate with a stroke of the pen in 1878, stood up in the benches of parliament and attacked the imperial plans with

great strategy and daring. A scattering of radical elements joined in the cry of opposition, and the army bill was rejected.

The Kaiser was alarmed by the unyielding attitude of the social democrats, who had succeeded in striking so effective a blow at the most sensitive spot in the imperial system. During the next year the party was called upon to fight a battle for its existence, and won it by a series of brilliant moves and counter moves in the reichstag, which demonstrated convincingly that the group of dreamers who had been fascinated by the abstractions of Lassalle, had mastered all the devices of parliamentarism and of political procedure—that they had ceased to be theorizers, and had become fighters. In the session of 1894, Chancellor Hohenlohe, who is animated with a Bismarckian purpose of reaction without possessing more than a trace of the Bismarckian force, introduced into the reichstag a bill which contained rigorous anti-revolutionary provisions. It was aimed chiefly at the rights of working men to associate themselves for purposes of coöperation in politics. The Kaiser attempted to repeat the blunder which had cost the founder of Germany his chancellorship. But the reichstag proved obdurate. Even the quiet and docile Center — the largest individual party in the Reichstag, which is always ready to respond to the wishes of the emperor if its concession promises to extort a return favor for the catholic church—declined to acquiesce in the new plan of repression. The catholic party had been convinced by the serious attitude of the social democrats that sensational results were to be expected if the reichstag passed the law prohibiting the association of workingmen. The Kaiser's discomfiture was complete. The new "bill of exceptions" was defeated, thanks to the defections of the Centrists, and the social democratic party in the reichstag once more attracted the attention of unaffiliated workingmen by its uncompromising defense of the rights of the German proletariat.

The latest victory of the party occurred last March when, at its energetic insistence, the reichstag radically modified the Kaiser's demand for an increase in the armed forces

of the empire. In its original form the army bill provided for an increase of forty thousand men in the imperial army. The social democrats declared that no augmentation of the German army was called for by existing conditions — a contention which is justified amply by the fact that France, the traditional enemy of Germany, is absolutely debarred from any possible aggressive movement by the complete paralysis of the French war office, and by the additional circumstance that Germany is more conspicuously on a footing of friendship with the rest of the world than she has been at any other time since the historic salutation of *"Ave Imperator"* was first pronounced by Bismarck in the palace of Versailles. The Kaiser was convinced of the necessity for concessions to public sentiment, uttered by the lips of the social democrats. The minister of war declared that the government would content itself for the present with twenty-five thousand additional men. The Centrists were willing to accept this estimate; but the social democrats announced themselves fully prepared to defeat this measure should it be introduced into the reichstag. The government party was not prepared to risk another victory for the social democracy. The government was notified that it must reduce its estimate still further.

At this juncture occurred one of those coincidences that are full of strange and almost mysterious significance. The Kaiser, after declaring his solemn determination to dissolve the reichstag if his demands were not approved, departed for Carlsruhe to attend the formal entombment of Prince Bismarck. In the midst of the solemnities of the occasion a despatch reached the Kaiser from Berlin, informing him of the fact that the opposition, led by the social democrats, had placed the passage of the army bill in jeopardy, and that further concessions were imperative. The Kaiser yielded, almost at the moment when he beheld for the last time the bier of the man who had essayed to annihilate social democracy in Germany with a stroke of his pen!

A political battle in which the social democracy is profoundly interested is now going on in Germany. The agrari-

ans, or gentlemen farmers—the class in German political society that found its supreme development of brutal strength in Prince Bismarck—has discovered that if American agricultural products can be excluded from Germany, the price of German meats and cereals will rise considerably, to the corresponding enrichment of the *Junkerthum*. The gentlemen farmers choose to close their eyes to the fact that the exclusion of American products from Germany would result in serious hardships for the great proletariat which finds the prices of meats and cereals, even under the present conditions of comparatively free competition, altogether too high for the average workingman's purse. The notorious scarcity of meat at the tables of the German proletariat is a conspicuous commentary on the economic conditions that prevail in the German empire. Now the agrarians have devised a curious measure under the nomenclature of a "meat inspection bill," which places a number of restrictions upon the importation of American meats into Germany—restrictions that are virtually prohibitive in their severity. The *Junkerthum* is, in fact, trying to introduce into the German political system at this end of the century, a series of hardships for the great mass of the working people, which the English people refused to tolerate at a much earlier period in the progress of the world.

It will be interesting to note by just what methods and combinations the social democrats will defeat this latest attempt of the landed nobility to trade upon the necessities of the proletariat. It cannot be doubted, however, that the party will discover some means of asserting itself. The real strength of the social democracy in Germany is not to be measured adequately by the number of seats that are occupied by its representatives in the reichstag. One is in serious danger of being misled as to the real standing of the party if one considers merely the fact that it has 56 members in the reichstag out of a total of 397. These 56 social democratic members represent, it must be remembered, a vote of 2,120,000, or nearly 28 per cent. of the total vote cast in the election of 1898. The discrepancy is the result of a clever

manipulation of the voting districts, whereby the rapidly growing cities, which have hitherto furnished the vast bulk of social democratic representation, are allowed today precisely the same numerical strength in the reichstag that they had at the beginning of the federated existence of the empire, when the urban population was out of comparison with its present size. This increment of the cities has gravitated for the most part from the country districts. These latter have lost population enormously in comparison; but they are entitled to as many representatives as they had in the beginning. One of two things is destined to happen in the near future, which will have the effect of giving to the social democracy something like a clear majority: either the system of districts will be changed, so as to give the cities a representation in proportion to their population; or else the social democracy will enter upon an energetic campaign in the country districts. The latter alternative will involve some serious questions of party policy.

A section of the German social democracy regards with outspoken misgivings the tendency of the party to work along evolutionary lines, instead of adhering to the primitive doctrines of Lassalle. So far as the present day workings of the social democrats are concerned the party is essentially a party of evolution. It employs the instrument of parliamentarism with effectiveness and is content to await the day when the logic of events shall drive the existing system of capitalism to the wall, by depriving it consecutively of all motives for continuing its operations. An emphatic group of the party has no patience with parliamentarism, and declares that the social democracy must return to its earlier teachings. It is this difference of opinion that has given some apparent color to the prediction of the impending disruption of the party. This view of the destiny of the social democracy is combated most effectively by the Kaiser's attitude toward the party. The increasingly narrow construction of the laws of *lèse majesté* by the German courts, doubtless deriving their motives and their inspiration from the head of the German government, is a lucid and convinc-

ing betrayal of the fact that the Kaiser, at least, does not regard the social democracy as being on the eve of dissolution as a political party. In the absence of any special legislation against the social democrats, the German courts and the German police are taxing their ingenuity to construe existing laws in such a manner as to exert the greatest possible weight upon the social democracy. An unguarded comment, a shrug of the shoulders, a grimace, or a jest is construed by court and constables as an insult to the person of the Emperor, punishable by fine and imprisonment.

An attempt has lately been made to attack socialistic teachings at their source by depriving the universities of their time-honored rights of academic immunity. Men of learning are being shadowed by the police in the sanctuaries of the university lecture rooms, and the political soundness of candidates for academic preferment are being subjected to rigorous tests, all for the purpose of ensuring orthodoxy and guarding the youth of Germany from the blight of socialistic doctrines. In all this system of governmental precaution there is ample evidence for the contention that the Kaiser is convinced of the permanency of the socialistic agitation.

A difference of opinion is by no means a novel or unexampled development in the life of the German social democracy. A divergence of aims threw the party into temporary disorder after the Erfurt convention. The opposition, after making an unsuccessful effort to graft its revolutionary ideals upon the platform of the party, formally withdrew from the organization, and began a separate political existence as the group of the *Independents*. The seceders, after a variety of noisy tactics, lapsed into an insignificant faction which eventually declared its adherence to anarchism. Needless to say, at this point the *Independents* ceased to exert any effective influence upon politics, because their aims became incompatible with the existing mechanism of political life. On the other hand, the social democracy continued to grow in numbers and influence, until it has reached a position of absolute supremacy among the combative political elements in the German empire.

The present political and economic tendencies of Germany offer a strong guarantee for the continued activity of the social democrats. German commerce is advancing with enormous strides. The industrial system of Germany is infinitely greater, more complex, more far-reaching in its operations than it ever was before, and the workingman—the producer of manufactured articles as distinct from the tiller of the soil—is a much more conspicuous element in the political life of the empire in 1899 than he ever was before. If the battle of the social democrats against the existing industrial order in Germany is to be won by the factory hands, the material for the recruiting of the army of aggression is more plentiful than ever before. The small army of ants before which the political lion of the German empire fled roaring through the jungle, has become a tremendous multitude; and its organization is probably the most complete of its kind the world has even seen. It did not take the German social democracy long to discover that if it was to stand upon an approximately equal footing with its antagonist—an antagonist who has been perfecting a complex organization since industrialism began—it must work systematically. The result of this early discovery is to be seen in the fact that today the German social democracy has reached a complete arrangement of its offensive and defensive forces. It supports its publications, furnishes sustenance for its unpaid representatives in the Reichstag; defends its members when they are brought into court upon charges involving the party platform; and in most other respects acts as an enormous industrial corporation that has set before itself certain problems, and proceeds to their solution in a systematic, conscientious, and practical fashion. The social democrats prosecute their mission with energy as with calm reason. They employ personal pressure and avail themselves of political exigencies with a sagacity and a continuity of purpose that plainly disproves the contention that the party has reached the end of its corporate existence.

S. Ivan Tonjoroff.

Boston.

DIRECT LEGISLATION.

I. NOW IN OPERATION.

MANY friends of direct legislation withhold their support of the measure, believing it inopportune to press the issue at this time. They seem to be lost in contemplation of a reform so radical in its character as to give every man a right to exercise the prerogatives of an elector unrestricted by the ties of party bondage, and free from the sting of the party lash. Discussion of the subject with the average elector almost invariably elicits the response, "I am heartily in favor of direct legislation when the time comes, but we are not quite ready for it."

In answer to this general objection I want to ask, were "the people" ready for self government when the Puritans, before they left the cabin of the Mayflower, entered into a "political compact" to obey all laws passed by them for their mutual benefit? Were the people ready for national independence when Franklin, Jefferson, Adams, Hancock, and others first began the agitation for freedom from monarchical rule? Were the people of the nation ready to abolish the institution of slavery when Lincoln and John Brown, and William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips first appeared in the forum as champions of human liberty? The lessons of the past demonstrated that great reforms intended to benefit and elevate the human family have to contend against prejudice, public sentiment, and political fidelity to party, regardless of the merits involved in the cause.

Is direct legislation practicable? has it been employed to the advantage of mankind anywhere on earth? are questions frequently asked by many honest men.

Direct legislation is employed throughout Switzerland, and the people have destroyed the power of the legislator to legislate for personal ends. They have made it easy at any time to alter or change their Federal Constitution, and have simpli-

fied their form of government. They hold their public officers responsible direct to their constituencies as servants, and do not permit them to be tools of corruptionists, who maintain an expensive lobby about the halls of the legislatures to buy men's souls and enslave the people through vicious legislation. They have defeated monopolies, improved the method of taxation, reduced the rate, avoided national scandals growing out of extravagances; they have husbanded the public domain for the benefit of their own citizenship; they have established home rule in every community; they have destroyed partisanship and established a government of the people; they have quieted disturbing political elements, disarmed the politician, enthroned the people; by the vote of the people they have assumed authority over the railroads, express companies, telegraphs, and telephones, reducing freight rates, express charges, and tolls, more than seventy-eight per cent. below the cost for like service under private control.

In our own country, direct legislation has been endorsed in thirty-eight state platforms. More than three thousand newspapers and magazines are advocating it as a primary reform. All labor organizations have adopted it as a part of the organic law for their government. The National Woman's Christian Temperance Union has unqualifiedly endorsed it, and many Catholic and Protestant societies have approved it. Constitutional amendments go direct to the people for a vote in every state but one.

In fifteen states, the location of the capitol cannot be changed by act of the legislature, but must go to the people direct. In seven states, banking institutions can only be organized by a vote of the people. In eleven states, no debts can be incurred except such as are provided for specifically in the several constitutions; in many states, "no rate of assessment exceeding a figure proportionate to the aggregate valuation of the taxable property" can be imposed without the consent of the people by a direct vote. Illinois cannot by legislative enactment sell its state canal; the state of Minnesota cannot pay any part of its debts incurred by the building

of the Minnesota railroad, or pay its interest, without first "referring" to the people. North Carolina cannot employ the credit of the state in aid of corporations or industrial enterprises without first submitting the proposition to the electors. By the vote of her people only could Colorado adopt woman suffrage, or create a debt for public buildings. The people of Texas can select a location for a college for colored youth. Wyoming cannot choose sites for state institutions until her electors first determine by vote where they shall be situated.

Mr. J. W. Sullivan, author of "A Manual of Direct Legislation," of which more than one hundred thousand copies have been circulated, tells me that there are many county, city, township, and school district referendums. Nineteen state constitutions guarantee to counties the right to fix by vote of the citizens the location of county seats; so also, usually, the location of county lines, divisions of counties and like matters. Several western states leave it to a vote of the counties as to when they shall adopt a township organization, with town meetings. Several states permit their cities to decide when they shall also be counties. In several states, there are debt and tax matters that may be passed on only by the people of the cities, boroughs, counties, or school districts.

Without the referendum, certain southern communities may not make harbor improvements, and other communities may not extend local credit to railroad, water transportation, and similar corporations. The prohibition of the liquor business in a city or county is often left to popular vote; indeed, "local option" is the commonest form of the referendum. In California, any city with more than ten thousand inhabitants may frame a charter for its own government, which, however, must be approved by the legislature. Under this law, Stockton, San José, Los Angeles, and Oakland have acquired new charters. In the state of Washington, cities of twenty thousand may make their own charters without the legislature having any power to vote. Largely, then, such cities make their own laws. The city of Bussey, Iowa, employed the

referendum in voting for a bond issue to establish an electric light plant. The city of Cincinnati, in refusing to sell the Cincinnati Southern Railroad, demonstrated the will of the people to be overwhelmingly opposed to the politician. After Boston had built a three and a half million dollar subway to take cars off one of her most crowded streets, the legislature of Massachusetts granted permission to the street car company to relay the recently torn up tracks; but a member put through a referendum amendment, and the people of the city, not "country members," will eventually decide the matter. The city of Duluth, Minnesota, made a practical test of the referendum in voting for the issue of bonds to build a water plant, in opposition to a private plant already in operation. Milwaukee and Detroit have made remarkable strides in fighting monopolies and corruption, through the vote of the people.

In Ohio, the referendum is employed by municipal corporations in voting for improvement of streets, sidewalks, for bond issues, for sewerage, electric lighting, etc. With this form of the referendum, our people are already familiar. They have witnessed the people going to the polls, and voting on a measure of common interest, partisanship having no part in the contest, politicians being ignored; the good of the community being the only motive.

The platform of the Union Reform party recently formed at Springfield, O., contemplates the extending of this system to state and national affairs. It means to give the people the right to declare what burdens of government they shall bear, instead of being bound through unscrupulous and unprincipled politicians to the money power that now controls the legislation of states and nations.

A. A. Brown.

Cincinnati.

II.—OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

I want at the outset of this article to present three definitions of fundamental importance:

"DIRECT LEGISLATION. — Lawmaking by the voters.

"THE INITIATIVE. — The proposal of a law by a percentage of the voters, which must then go to the Referendum.

"THE REFERENDUM. — The vote at the polls on a law proposed through the Initiative, or on any law passed by a lawmaking body, reference of which is petitioned for by a percentage of the voters.

There is one class of objectors to direct legislation whom I do not expect to satisfy. Those who expect a perfect system, embracing all sides of life, a Utopia which will work itself, without human effort, a system under which mistakes are impossible, will not find it in direct legislation; nor anywhere else that I know of. For the objector who says: "I will not have anything to do with direct legislation because it won't always do justice, because it won't directly give the workless man work, because it won't directly abolish the saloon, relieve the destitute, etc.," I have no answer. He had better not waste time reading this article, but continue his search for the impossible. I wish those to read this article who are looking for a definite remedy for a definite evil, one of the greatest group of evils of our time, legislative corruption and foolishness and popular ignorance and apathy.

All the objections to direct legislation may be embraced under three heads:

1. Fear of the people.
2. That direct legislation is impracticable.
3. The anarchistic objection that we do not want any laws at all, but should do away with them all so as to secure complete freedom.

The man who makes the first objection, always makes it about others than himself and his class. He is fitted to take care of his own affairs, and he and his class are fitted to take care of the government. It is thus a question of individual and class pride. What he wishes for himself — the care of his own individual affairs and a share with others of his class in the government of all — he is unwilling to give to those outside his class. He is intolerant, a species of political bigot. He thinks that we should have a paternal and coddling government by those in his class over those not in his class. What he who fears the people really wishes to discuss is not the question of direct legislation, but the limitation of the franchise.

"People are apathetic and will not vote. A principle has to be dramatized in a man, be personified in a person, before the people will really consider it." Suppose this to be true, what happens? Those who are interested in a measure vote for it. There is thus an automatic selection of those best posted and most interested; hence a better decision. I would have all interested, posted, and vote at every election, but if they are not interested and posted they had better not vote.

Then will the apathy of the people equal the apathy of our present lawmakers concerning vital issues? Legislatures smother, dodge, and avoid vital questions. Some legislator may create an opposition which will limit his popularity and hinder his re-election if he tackles a burning issue. The mere statement of this question is sufficient for its negative answer, by those who know anything of the workings of our lawmaking bodies.

But there is no apathy among the people on a really vital question. As long as the referendums come down from above and are sporadic and occasional, just so long will legislatures make frequent mistakes as to what is a vital question. But when they come up from below and are a regular function of government, then will arise the vital questions in which the people are interested. This is shown

by the fact that in Massachusetts, where they have yearly municipal referendums on the question of license or no license, the vote is very frequently larger than that for candidates.

Thus the answers to the fear of the people because they are apathetic are that, supposing it is so, it means a vote of the interested and best posted, that it will always be less on vital questions than the apathy of the legislatures, and, third, that on vital questions, the people are not apathetic.

The second reason for fear of the people is that they are foolish, ignorant, and cannot wisely decide intricate questions of administration or policy. They say that when a man is sick he hires a doctor who has studied diseases and had experience in their treatments; that when he has litigation he hires a lawyer and takes counsel with and from him. This is just what we will do under direct legislation. We will elect our advisers and counselors. Our present system is like a broker managing a blind pool; his clients confide their interests to him not knowing what he is going to do. This is an entirely different thing from the rôle of a counselor. It is true that experts and students may know how best to accomplish a given end, but it is not true that they know best what ends to accomplish. A man would be a fool who would turn over all his affairs to a lawyer with complete power to do as the lawyer liked for two years. But that is just what we do with our legislative bodies. The best class of lawyers will advise a course, but they always leave the decision to the client.

Under our present system of choosing representatives who have sole power of making laws, the people have to choose the men. Under direct legislation they would choose the measures. Which is easier, to delve into the record and heart of a man and determine not only that he is well-intentioned, but also that he is wise on these questions, or to read and understand the terms of a law for some purpose and decide whether that purpose is wise and right, and whether the law is a proper carrying out of that purpose?

Another reason given for fear of the people is that they are impulsive and will be rash and hasty. This is the opposite of the first, that they are apathetic. The people will be impulsive at times; but far less so than legislative bodies, which every now and then are swept by gusts of passion and folly. The reason for this lies on the surface. The larger a body, the harder is it to arouse and move it. When the whole people consult and vote on a measure, there is first the agitation of getting petitions signed and filed, then the discussion in the legislature and before the people, and the time which must elapse before a vote is taken. These all repress impulsive, hasty action. In fact, so strong is this tendency that many people urge the reverse as a fault of direct legislation, that it will be a drag on progress. The fact is that it will be a drag on progress when the tendency to advance is too strong, but it will be a spur to progress when the social movement is too sluggish. Under it, as in Switzerland, the power of the government vibrates slowly between the progressives and the conservatives, between those who want to go ahead rapidly and those who wish to hold back. Both the radical conservatives and the radical progressives are often dissatisfied with it, but the great mass of the people are thoroughly satisfied with it.

Others say the people will be called on to vote so often that it will take all their time. Such objectors overlook the great decrease in number of laws passed, as I will show later in this article. It is also objected that under the optional referendum, which alone is advocated in this country, every law is not submitted to the people, but only those petitioned for, so that only important laws would be submitted, and these are few. Lastly, the expense, supposing all that is said about it is true, will not be one tenth of what the indirect expense to the people is now, through the errors and the sales of franchises during one session of the legislature.

Others say the people will follow the regular party leaders. Such is not the case either in Switzerland or here, where the results show great independence of party in voting on meas-

ures. For instance, a Republican legislature in California recently submitted six constitutional amendments. Three were accepted, three rejected, and the Republicans returned to office. In Nebraska, the Republicans submitted twelve amendments, all of which had a majority, and the Republicans were beaten. In Massachusetts, the Republicans submitted two amendments, which were both lost, yet the Republicans were returned.

"The people are corrupt, and can be bought." I do not believe it. At heart the people are sound. But suppose they are corrupt. They will have to be not only knaves but fools also; they must be bought to do something contrary to their own interests; and it will not pay the power which buys them to pay the voters more than it is worth, else that power would be a fool; and it will not pay the voter to sell out for less than it is worth, else he also would be a fool. It is easy to give to each of a majority of one hundred representatives far less than a small percentage of the value of some franchise, to far more than counterbalance the direct personal injury which the giving away of that franchise will occasion him personally. But if you start to corrupt the voters, each will have to receive more than the direct personal loss to him, and that will be more than it is worth to the buyer.

"The people will be tyrannical." As one man puts it: "Populous portions of the country will legislate in their own interests to the detriment of sparsely populated sections, particularly in the matter of public improvements." I am afraid that this would occasionally happen at first, but it would be much less than under the present system. This is a serious evil now. Under direct legislation it would gradually be cured for two reasons: (1) The mass of the people are swayed by great general principles of equity and justice; a small body, by questions of expediency and a dominant personality. The larger the body which decides, the larger, more simple and general will be the principles on which they decide. (2) Direct legislation will gradually bring

about, as it has in Switzerland, a decentralization of power. Many things which are now done by the nation will then be done by the state, many more things which are now done by the state or nation, will then be done by the municipality or county, and many things which are done by the municipality or county will then be relegated to the ward, parish, or township. When a thing comes up which concerns only the cities in a state, such as the passing of a charter to govern a city, the people will see that as long as city charters conform to certain fundamental principles in the state constitution, the people of one city or of the country have no right to say what the charter or laws of another city should be. That alone concerns the city itself. It is absurd and unjust that the charter governing New York City should have been made at Albany by a body of men, the majority of whom have no interest in, nor special knowledge of, its needs.

The second class of objections to direct legislation is that it is impracticable. This objection has been made to the Australian ballot, the abolition of slavery, popular government; in fact, to every reform. Happily for direct legislation, there is a very full and explicit answer. It is already in successful operation. The New England town meeting, which is older than our national government, is the most direct form of direct legislation. It has the approval of the keenest political observers of the century, and, what is better, the men who operate it would not give it up under any considerations; and it is extending to other states. The country part of New England has better roads, and schools, and more public libraries, water works, etc., than the country part of any other section of the United States, and a smaller debt either per capita or per acre. Direct legislation in that field is an emphatic success.

It is resorted to sporadically in many municipal matters. Local option is only the application of the referendum to the liquor question, and under it an actually enforced prohibition has spread over many of the southern states, and in some states, such as Massachusetts, yearly referendums

are held on this subject with admirable results. The same method is used regarding school and other questions in various states. This is not an argument, but a fact for those who say it cannot be done.

State affairs are being referred to the people more and more, and constitutions are enlarging in scope and size. This is a crude and awkward form of direct legislation, as many of our constitutions are becoming codes of laws enacted by the people, instead of bills of fundamental rights, such as were the early ones. The fundamental law of the land, the constitutions, state and national, are formed by the referendum. Is not that method good enough for the minor laws, the statute laws ?

Again, direct legislation has been used for years, and is now being used by the trades unions and other organizations with eminent success. They are deciding many and complex questions by it, with, at times, a membership extending into hundreds of thousands, scattered all over this country and Canada. It is thus even international in its operation. It is used among the trades unions of Great Britain, and to some extent in other European countries. These are facts which the man who says it is impracticable either does not know, or ignores.

In Canada we find it used extensively in local matters. In England many local questions are decided by it, and the number of these is increasing. The referendum effect of the rejection of a bill by the House of Lords has been repeatedly pointed out. France, Belgium, Holland, Germany, and Austria use it in many local affairs in about the order named, and in France its use in local affairs is rapidly increasing. It is even occasionally used in Italy and Spain. In Australia and New Zealand it has always been used locally, and that use is increasing. In New Zealand there are triennial referendums on the liquor and land tax questions, and in the other colonies on those and other questions. There is an influential and growing party in almost every Australian colony, who favor its complete extension to all the affairs of the colony.

But for the completest refutation of the statement that it is impracticable, we turn to Switzerland. No more unfavorable spot could be selected for its trial. It is a nation separated from other nations, not by boundaries of geography or of race, language, religion, former government or conditions; but a nation formed and built around a government, and the corner stone and the crown of that government is direct legislation.

Direct legislation, taking its first great impulse from the almost universal European democratic movement of 1848 and 1850, but taking its direction from the democratic habits and customs of the mountain cantons and the democratic tendencies of many of its cities, began to effectuate itself in the '60s. It began first in the cantons, and it was not till 1874 that the referendum became the fixed and universally applicable law in national matters in Switzerland, though there had been isolated national referendums previously, and the initiative was not adopted in national matters till 1891. Zurich was the first to adopt it in a complete form in 1867. Since the '60s it has been continually extending to hitherto unoccupied fields of government. The city of Geneva only adopted a partial form within the last two or three years. Often at first it was tried tentatively regarding a few things, but ever its scope has been extended wider and wider, and the laws regulating it have been made stricter. Thus the movement is from the optional referendum, under which a petition for its submission is required before any law is submitted to a vote, to the obligatory referendum, under which all laws must be submitted to the people. Berne and Zurich have had this obligatory referendum for a score of years, and other cantons have had it regarding certain laws. We have the obligatory referendum in the United States regarding all constitutional amendments, save in one state — Delaware. It has been stated of Switzerland that no law relative to direct legislation has been amended or repealed without placing a stronger one where it had stood. It has made of them a nation which spends less per capita on the

army and more on education than any European nation. In Switzerland there are no millionaires and no paupers. From it there is practically no emigration, though from surrounding countries, similar in race and language, the emigration is large. Though there was governmental corruption before direct legislation was adopted, that is now a thing of the past. While the world tendency is to centralize our governmental and other powers, direct legislation has produced the opposite action in Switzerland. It has forced a decentralization of power and has fostered a healthy local independence of feeling and a desire that each canton, city, and commune should attend to its own affairs as much as possible. By remitting to localities as much as possible all local affairs, it has obviated an unseemly clashing between authorities, and yet when the nation has spoken out, that voice has been almost universally accepted as decisive. By referring to each locality its own affairs, it has settled most of the violent clashings of labor and capital. An employer knows that if he is unjust to his men they can and will retaliate in voting. Its labor laws are in advance of the world, as its educational system is one of the finest.

The third and final class of objections to direct legislation is that in order to have perfect freedom we should do away with all laws, that man should be governed entirely from within, that when we have reformed the individual man and made all his motives pure and honorable, we will then need no laws, but each will be a law unto himself; that we have far too many laws at present.

There is temporarily a partial truth in this. At present we do have far too many laws. Scientists tell us that the lower down we go in the scale of living creatures, the larger is the birth rate, the greater the productivity, and, of course, the greater the death rate, and the higher we go the less the productivity. In the last United States Congress, twenty-four thousand measures were introduced; at the winter sessions of the Swiss Federal Congress of 1896–97, sixty-five measures were introduced and twenty-five passed. The New

York Legislature of 1897 passed seven hundred and forty-seven laws, and for the twelve years from 1874 to 1885 it passed six thousand four hundred and twenty-four laws, or an average of five hundred and thirty-five laws a year. The cantons of Berne and Zurich in Switzerland, during the last twenty years, have each passed less than one hundred laws, or an average of less than five laws a year. The one is the vast productivity of a low organism whose offspring are weak; and most of them useless and destroyed. The other is the high organism whose offspring are few, highly developed; and most of them live.

The anarchist and I will agree that at least three-fourths and perhaps more of our laws are useless and often worse. He is for the time partially right. But when he says that all laws should be abolished, he is wrong. Laws are the expression of the social consciousness and will, and proper laws are the discovery of the method of social growth. They are not, when fit and proper, limitations of freedom, but a broadening of the capabilities of free action. They do not so much limit as enlarge our freedom. We should aim to get above the law and not do without it, save as we do not need it. As we do that we will find it a potent condition by which newer and finer and larger freedoms are opened to us.

Fit laws are the voicing of the everlasting method of social growth by the awakening social consciousness and will. The framing and enactment of them demands the greatest care, judgment and insight as one of the highest, if not the highest of social functions. When enacted, they should be revered and obeyed till changed in the same careful manner. Direct legislation provides this deliberation, care, and insight better than does any other system and it declares that the laws shall really voice the will of the people.

ELTWEED POMEROY.

Newark, N.J.

UNION REFORM LEAGUE ACTIVITIES.

CONTRIBUTED BY REV. W. D. P. BLISS, PRESIDENT OF THE LEAGUE.

THE platform of the League for this year is as follows:

1. Direct legislation, including the initiative and referendum, to be applied to important measures.
2. Civil service reform in all departments of public service.
3. Reform in the system of political nominations, to give the people an opportunity to nominate directly.
4. Exemption from taxation of personal property and improvements on real estate up to a valuation of $1,000, and provisions for a progressive inheritance tax.
5. The issue of money to be a sovereign act of government only.
6. Extension of the postal system so as to include postal savings banks, postal package express, and postal telegraph.
7. Public ownership and operation of natural monopolies, and the abolition of the contract system on all public works.
8. Employment on needed public works of those actually unable to secure work elsewhere.
9. The gradual reduction, by legal enactment, of the hours of labor, and limiting the age at which children may be employed.

Besides the annual referendum to choose the national officers and platform for the year, the League holds such occasional referendums as developments may require. At present the League is holding a referendum as to what should be the political policy decided upon at the Buffalo conference. A sixteen-page pamphlet has been printed, outlining a proposed policy, and has been sent out to the members for a yea or nay vote. Its contents form the basis of an article in this number of The Arena, by the president of the League.

The officers of the League for this year are as follows:

PRESIDENT.

Rev. W. D. P. Bliss, Alhambra, Cal.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

The Rt. Rev. F. D. Huntington, Syracuse, N. Y.

Gov. H. S. Pingree, of Michigan.

Prof. George D. Herron, Grinnell, Iowa.

William Dean Howells, New York City.

Prof. Frank Parsons, Boston, Mass.
Senator R. F. Pettigrew, S. Dakota.
Gov. Chas. S. Thomas, Denver, Col.
Dr. C. F. Taylor, Philadelphia, Pa.
Mayor S. M. Jones, Toledo, Ohio.
Prest. T. E. Will, Manhattan, Kan.
Prest. Geo. A. Gates, Grinnell, Ia.
Eltweed Pomeroy, Newark, N. J.
Frederick U. Adams, N. Y. City.
Mrs. N. T. Maynard, Salt Lake City, Utah.
Herbert N. Casson, N. Y. City.
Dr. J. R. Haynes, Los Angeles, Cal.
G. H. Gibson, Commonwealth, Ga.
Rev. F. N. Sprague, Tampa, Fla.
Griffith Davis, Seattle, Washington.
Paul Tyner, Boston, Mass.

SECRETARY.

Wm. H. Knight, 27 Bryson Block, Los Angeles, Cal.

TREASURER.

Frederick D. Jones, 226 W. First St., Los Angeles, Cal.

The Union Reform League was organized in San Francisco in September, 1898. Mr. Paul Tyner was its first president. It is now spreading over the United States. Its objects are twofold:

(A) To unite the reform forces of the United States in a strong league for those measures on which they agree, while yet preserving the separate freedom and distinctive work of the various organizations and movements, in their different fields.

(B) To develop a wide-spread movement through the press and in other ways, to educate the public upon the measures the reform forces agree upon.

Its methods of uniting the reform forces are enrolling a membership over the whole country, and obtaining a consensus of the opinion of its members upon the important questions of the day through referendum votes. Once each year it conducts a referendum to elect its national officers and determine upon its platform for the year, the platform consisting of those measures which its members believe the reform forces should unite upon. Each year, therefore, the platform represents what the majority believe to be for that year the dominant issues. The educational work of the League is conducted in two departments. The work of these departments is described by its secretary as follows:

DEPARTMENT B — TRACTS.

OPEN TO ALL MEMBERS PAYING 50 CENTS PER YEAR.

There is need in this country of good cheap tracts, like the Fabian tracts of England. A series has been arranged for, one on each plank of

the above platform and one or more general ones, to appear in The Arena (8 pages), and then to be sent out as tracts. They are being prepared by Prof. Commons, of Syracuse University; Prof. Frank Parsons, of Boston University; President Will, of Kansas State Agricultural College; Prof. E. W. Bemis, of the same college, formerly of Chicago University; Dr. Charles B. Spahr, of The Outlook, and lecturer at Columbia University; Paul Tyner of The Arena; Rev. W. D. P. Bliss, President of the League; Eltweed Pomeroy, President of the Direct Legislation League; the Hon. R. A. Dague, of California; James L. Cowles, of the American Postal League. Ten of these to any address for 50 cents.

Department C—Education.

IN CHARGE OF THE ABOVE-NAMED PROFESSORS AND WRITERS.

To all sending $1.00, will be sent *besides* the above ten tracts a set of larger studies on subjects connected with the League, to form a basis of study.

With each tract will be offered references for further reading and questions to be looked up. All who desire, are invited to prepare papers on the questions or points involved, to be sent to the Secretary of the League, who will refer it to the proper members of the Educational Committee to be reviewed, corrected, and returned to the student. Any questions also will be answered. The best papers, if brief, will be published in some journal or magazine. This department thus presents opportunity under competent guidance for study of the living questions of the day. It is recommended that home circles be formed for such study. To each person obtaining 12 members at $1.00 each, will be sent a copy of *Bliss' Encyclopedia of Social Reform*, 1437 pp. two columns ($7.50 cloth) affording matter for reading and study equal to a library of 15 books of 150 pages each, covering the whole ground of social reform and with the articles prepared by the best writers. It is in use in all libraries and colleges.

Membership is open to any who accept its precepts; and in the educational department (without a vote) to those who desire simply to follow its studies. The cost of membership is, in Department A, entitling simply to vote in its referendum, twenty-five cents the year. In Department B, entitling to the foregoing and twelve pamphlets, fifty cents the year. In Department C, entitling to the foregoing and also larger studies, one dollar the year. Those who prefer can join the League (in Department D) by subscribing, *through the League*, for some reform journal.

All interested in social reform are invited to join the League

in some department and so develop a wide, strong, national educational and reform movement. Address all letters and remittances to the secretary, W. H. Knight, 27 Bryson Block, Los Angeles, California.

W. D. P. Bliss.

Alhambra, Cal.

UNDER THE MINARET.

THE Padishah* knows best.

To know the real Turk, one must penetrate into the interior of Asia Minor, where he will see the genuine Mussulman, with his white or green turban, as the case may be; with his yataghan and a pair of antiquated pistols of enormous size in his belt, carrying a long chibouk instead of a cane; serious, silent, and dignified, walking leisurely towards his favorite coffee house, to chat with his friends and to say his prayers.

When the Muezzin cries, if it be summer, he will go to the fountain of the garden, bare his head, arms, and feet, and make his ablutions, perfectly indifferent to the fact that the garden is crowded with customers. Then he will spread his jacket on the ground instead of a prayer rug, and will prostrate himself toward Mecca. This duty done, you will see him resume his chibouk, or narghilé, with the greatest possible dignity and unconcern.

It was winter time in Broussa—the winter time of 183–. Men had not yet ceased to talk of the finding of the Goddess in Melos a few years gone. How long she had lain entombed in the ruins of her temple! And she had been brought to life only to be ravished by the *giaours*—carried away to a city of the unbelieving Occident to become the adored one of the world of true hearts, and the despair of all who would

*Sultan, king, emperor, ruler.

fashion from her another goddess—a goddess for a groveling today as she had been the goddess of a glorious yesterday! Ah, those desecrating hands that, while they were thrust forward to implore the care of her tender, immortalized flesh, yet dared to make of her a contention; nay, more, had sought her with a violence that tore her limb from limb and had borne her forth into an unbeautiful world to be a lamentation to the devotee and a Sphinx to the curious. Her arms bore no gifts, and her lips were too proud to tell her mission to those who had violated her; but the Faithful were still faithful: and surely, some day, Allah would take vengeance! And the Golden Glory that her hand had held forth to all the world of the fathers; that had shone upon the foundation walls of Melos even when they sank beneath the azure Ægean; that had risen again to be a sign to all the earth of Life and Love; that had felt the contentious force of heathen hands that vaunted cherishment while they lusted for possession; the Golden Glory of *her* dear hand—where was IT?

In the coffee house of Broussa the evening customers were sitting around the room, knees-a-kimbo, on low-cushioned divans, their shoes on the floor. The costumes of the men were as varied as their features. Here were Persians with their tall caftans and long beards; fierce-looking Kurds, dark and uncouth, carrying a whole arsenal in their leathern belts; Circassians with their picturesque costumes and the indispensable rows of cartridges fastened on the fronts of their coats; merchants from Sampsoun and Sinope, peaceful looking fellows carrying strings of amber beads, which they transferred from one hand to the other by way of pastime; the Turkish Spahi, his cavalry outfit of musket, scimeter and dagger gleaming dangerously against the gaudy, speckled coat of the water carrier with his bronzed face, his thick legs laced with strong leathern straps; and the Persian singer whose eyes are upon the far-off that only his own soul can utter. Through the glass window a minaret with a single balcony could be seen in the moonlit distance, giving a dreamy look to the sur-

rounding scenery, typically Oriental from the fact that a Turkish cemetery was close by, with its tall cypress trees rising like shadows from the ground, their graceful, pointed tops waving gently in the night breeze.

Profound silence reigned now in the café as the faces of its customers turned towards a man who entered the coffee house ; a tall man, whose gait as he entered focused all eyes upon him. As he came in, the stranger glanced, with piercing eye, through the café's small window, at its pictured view of the wondrous shaft of light that arose upon the night heavens —the minaret seen against the great moon-marbled cover of the world. Then he withdrew a little from the ring of clamor.

His green tunic, his long blue mantle and scarlet trousers proclaimed him a Bosniac. But why this sash of yellow silk? Why these boots of golden leather? The sash and slippers of the loyal Bosniac, who knows that "The Padishah knows best" are invariably scarlet. Through the stranger's yellow girdle was stuck the Bosnian sword; but the coffee house saw the handle of a dagger as the stranger stretched out his right arm for his sixth cup of the dark liquid—the genius of dreams and of theological disputes, the joy alike, through the centuries, of the Greek Christian father, and the Grand Vizier at the bath.

"He hasn't unclinched that left hand of his once since he entered the place," whispered the Persian singer, turning to an old Jew-faced man seated next him, who was steadily eying the stranger from under his bushy gray eyebrows. "And his right hand is as shapely as a Sultana's. I swear by the eyelash of Mahomet that in that left hand of his he holds either one of the fire-seeds of Creation with which Allah sowed the stars, or —"

"Or the heart of his sweetest foe," said the Turkish Spahi, anointing with restless tongue his thin streak of blood-red lips.

"Or the key to the springs of the Sweet Waters of Asia," laughed the water carrier.

The hubbub of whisper grew into open comment around the whole circle.

"Stranger," called out the Spahi, running his finger leisurely up and down the long glitter of his sword, "Stranger! Tell us a story." Then, turning to his companion, "As he gesticulates, he'll open that left hand of his quite naturally." The old Jew's gaze had never left the stranger's burning eyes that rested now upon his left hand, and now upon the minaret, seen through the window of the café.

"A story, stranger," echoed the whole circle.

Stretching out his right hand for the chibouk that rested against the divan, and blowing three or four rings of smoke into the air, the stranger bowed his head, and smiled curiously. He began slowly:

"A Turkish dignitary went to visit a town for the purpose of collecting the taxes. The inhabitants of the neighboring village, fearing a similar visit, decided to send him a present, and after much discussion they came to the conclusion that a roast goose would be just the thing. One of their number was to carry it to the Aga.*

"The peasant messenger started with the fowl, the delicious odor of which, as it diffused in the open air, excited his appetite. Unable to resist the temptation, he stopped in the middle of the road, carved one of the legs from the goose, ate it with much relish, and turning it over in the dish he took it to the Aga.

"'What have you there?' that dignitary asked.

"'A fine roast goose, Aga, with the compliments of our villagers.'

"'Thanks,' said the Aga. 'You shall stay and dine with me.' He placed the goose in front of him and started to carve it. Then he noticed that one of the legs was missing.

"'How is this?' said the Aga. 'What has become of the other leg?'

"'The geese of our village, Aga, have but one leg.'

"'You must prove that to me,' said the Aga.

*A chief dignitary.

"'Certainly,' answered the peasant. 'If you please, sir, we will go down to the village after dinner, and Your Highness will see with your own eyes that I tell the truth.'

"They went; and sure enough a lot of geese were sunning themselves on the brink of the water in their favorite posture, having one of their legs under the wing.

"'There!' said the peasant triumphantly. 'You can see now that they have but one leg.'

"The Aga drew his pistol and fired at the geese, who immediately started to fly, both of their legs hanging.

"'Now, you liar,' said the Aga. 'Don't you see that they have two legs?'

"'Aga,' answered the peasant, 'if that pistol were fired at you from such close quarters, you would run not merely with two, but with four legs.'"

A storm of hand-clappings greeted the humor of the reciter. The titter grew from a chuckle into guffaws of laughter, as the men slapped their own legs with a wink at one another and a nudge. The coffee house was in an uproar. Alone the face of the Spahi never relaxed into a smile. His chin sank lower into his embroidered collar as he watched the stranger.

"Give us another joke, stranger,—come to us by the mercy of Allah," shouted one of the noisy crowd in the coffee house. "You have another hidden in the folds of that forehead. I swear by the beard of the Prophet."

The tall stranger passed his hand across his brow — a brow strangely wrinkled for such young and burning eyes. He resumed slowly:

"A peasant went to a neighbor to borrow his donkey. The man answered that he was sorry, but the donkey was out.

"At that moment the donkey, perhaps to give the lie to his master for overworking him, brayed from the stable.

"'Oh, you liar,' said the peasant. 'Don't you hear? The donkey is down there.'

"'Look here, friend,' said the other. 'Do you mean to say that you would rather believe the donkey than me?'"

"We believe in you, donkey or no donkey," was the shout with which the last words were greeted. The Spahi's set jaw relaxed into a smile. "The Padishah's jester himself could not have done better," he said muttering to himself.

"You are all aware, are you not," answered the stranger, now stepping out more confidently nearer to the circle, his left fingers again tightening upon his large rounded left palm, "that the Padishah goes often incognito among the lower classes of his subjects to hear and see what they are doing? The Padishah knows best. There is a story that a Sultan went to the suburbs of Constantinople, dressed like an ordinary person, and after wandering for some time, he finally knocked at the door of a peasant's hut. The peasant appeared.

"'What do you want, friend?' said he.

"'I am a stranger here,' said the Sultan, 'and want something to eat.'

"'Come in,' said the peasant pleasantly. 'You are welcome to share our meal.' And they all sat down round a low table. The family was quite numerous. The peasant placed the Sultan on his left, and taking an immense loaf of bread he began to cut it in enormous slices.

"'Why do you cut so much bread?' asked the Sultan. The peasant turned around, and facing the Sultan, administered to him a sound slap in the face. 'You came here to eat,' said he, 'and not to make remarks. Don't you see how many mouths are to be fed from this loaf?' The Sultan said nothing, and proceeded quietly with his meal. The peasant was very attentive to his guest, who seemed to have forgotten all about the slap. When he rose to go he offered to pay for the meal, but the peasant flatly refused.

"'It was Allah, who sent you to us,' said he, 'Allah be praised.'

"'I live in Stamboul,' said the Sultan. 'If you ever come there, you must come and see me.'

"'What is your name?' asked the peasant.

"'I will write it on this piece of paper,' said the Sultan. 'Come and see me,' handing him the paper. Then he left.

"Some time after, the peasant one morning told his wife he would go to Stamboul to see his friend. So he went. He had the Sultan's card in his pocket. When he reached the gates of the city, he showed it to the first person he met, as he could not read.

"'Why, you fool,' said the man, 'this is the name of the Sultan.'

"'I don't care whose name it is,' answered the peasant. 'My friend told me to come and see him if I came to Stamboul, and here I am. Where is his house?'

"'There, that big house yonder,' said the man pointing to the Sultan's palace.

"Thither the peasant went; but when he attempted to pass the gate, he was stopped by a sentry, who asked him his business.

"'I have come to see my friend, who lives in this house,' he answered. 'Here is his name,' and he showed the Sultan's card. 'Now let me pass.'

"'Not much,' said the sentinel. 'Go about your business.'

"But the peasant was stubborn. He would not go, and seemed likely to create a disturbance by his vociferous protestations.

"The clamor reached the Sultan's ears, and he sent to know what the trouble was.

"'There is a peasant at the door, who insists upon seeing Your Majesty, and claims to be your friend.'

"'Show him up,' said the Sultan.

"His Majesty recognized immediately the peasant who had offered to him hospitality, and the slap in the face. 'Glad to see you,' he said pleasantly. 'You shall stay and dine with me today.'

"He placed his guest on his left. Next to the peasant sat the Grand Vizier; then the dignitaries of the empire. The peasant had a ravenous appetite, but he went on eating without uttering a single word. The Sultan watched him

closely. He was evidently waiting for some remark from the peasant, so that he might return the slap. But the peasant gave him no such opportunity, continuing to eat in silence. The meal was drawing to a close.

"The Sultan finally grew impatient, and seeing that his guest would give him no chance to repay the compliment, he turned around suddenly, and gave the fellow a good slap in the face. The latter did not show the least surprise. He simply turned towards his neighbor, who, as I have said, was the Grand Vizier, and administered to that dignitary a sound slap in the face, adding with a wave of the hand '*Sur-git-sin*' —Let it go 'round.

"The peasant left the palace loaded with presents, and I tell you the Sultan enjoyed the joke immensely."

A silence like the silence of death fell upon the coffee house. No ripple of laughter shook the sudden pause. The men held their chibouks untasted in their right hands, while their left hands closed in curiously unconscious imitations of the figure before them. With lips apart, they stared at the stranger, who had withdrawn again into the shadowed corner, and whose gaze rested again upon the minaret, seen through the moonlit window.

"Can it be the Padishah himself comes among us," cried one of the circle in a hoarse whisper, half rising and stretching out his right hand.

"Hush — sh!" murmured the circle. "If it be, thou art a fool. If it be not, thou art likewise a fool. Perhaps it is the peasant fellow who has the very ear of the Sultan. Hush — sh! let's give him a chance to open that left hand."

"Stranger, how dost thou know about the inner lining of the Sultan's life?" cried the Spahi, starting to his feet.

The stranger came forward with the great stride, and holding the glances of the entire circle, said in a melodious but penetrating voice:

"Listen:

"Three liars had just finished supper in the house of one of them. But a pie was left over, and they decided that it

should be eaten next morning by the man who would have had the most startling dream that night.

"They met next morning.

"'I dreamed,' said the first, 'that I went up to the seventh heaven.' 'That is nothing,' answered the second. 'I dreamed that I went down to the very center of the earth.'

"'Both of you tell the truth,' exclaimed the third. 'I saw you, Mustapha, going up to the seventh heaven, and you, Ali, going down to the center of the earth, and so I said to myself, Heaven knows when these fellows will come back. The pie will be spoiled by that time. So I ate it myself. See!' and he produced the empty plate."

But as the stranger stood immovable in the center of the room, it was not upon those two steady eagle eyes of his that the eyes of the coffee house circle were now focused, but upon the water carrier, who had come forward and had thrown himself at the stranger's feet.

In his hand was the plate the stranger talked of!

The stranger's left hand tightened quickly. Amid the hoarse shouts from all parts of the coffee house, you could not hear his voice. The men started to their feet. But the right hand of the stranger motioned them back. The water carrier had left the room, and now, amidst the painful silence as the eyes of the café followed him, the voice of the owner of the Bosnian dagger began:

"Listen—"

"You shall open that left hand of yours, or ——" thundered the coffee house with an oath. Alone, the Persian singer did not join in the uproar. He slowly began to finger his lute, his eyes riveted upon the face of the stranger. "You shall open that left hand of yours," again yelled the Spahi.

For answer, the stranger turned to the Persian poet. "Sing to me," he said with a curious smile, his burning eyes ranging from the unopened left hand, to the moonlit minaret off there through the window, and back again to the Persian's face. The young man's impassioned gaze devoured the stranger's changing eyes. "Sing to me. I would listen to

one of thy songs, fair youth; — to a song inspired by a night when the soul of the rose and the golden sigh of the moon are mated, while the bulbul chants the hour."

But the Persian poet did not seem to hear the words. He threw back his enveloping cloak. His paling face was wonderful to look upon. Of heroic mould it was, yet beautiful — beautiful as the countenance that has looked upon Zeus. In slow and solemn thrillings, his voice rose upon the music that his hand brushed like fire-sparks from his lute:

"I string the pearls of poetry
Upon the moon's white breast—
I sing the heav'nly Vision
Mine eyes have seen unroll,
When Aphrodite from the tides
Rose to my soul opprest,
And chanted to the Universe
The Sea Song of the Soul.

"I sing of——"

"Enough," interrupted the melodious but penetrating voice of the stranger. His eyes were marvelous to look upon now, as his left hand tightened like the grasp of a lover upon something hidden. "Enough."

"No, it's not enough," yelled the Spahi leading the shouts of the café. "Let him go on. He shall finish that line."

"I will finish it," answered the stranger with a curious smile. The eyes of the Persian poet were as if frozen upon the face of the Bosniac, who, glancing again at the white wonder of the moonlit shaft of the minaret beyond the casement, began slowly:

"In the dim bazaar of the Rue Babazoum he told me: '*Thou shalt find it Under the Minaret where a world worships at the Gate of Felicity, In the Thousand and Second Night*——'"

The very roof of the coffee house shook with the tumult: "Can'st thou give IT, the untold Loveliness?" were the words that interrupted the stranger. The Spahi's eyes glittered. The fierce Kurd faces smiled; the Circassians ceased

stroking the long rows of cartridges upon their breasts ; the Persian singer's face glowed again. The stranger went on in his melodious voice :

"In the dim bazaar of the Rue Babazoum, the Greek merchant told me. The room was dim with intoxicating perfume ; the haze spread dreams, exaltation, and forgetfulness over the tangled mesh of life. The Greek merchant's eye swept past the bundles of chibouks with their sticks of cherry and jasmine ; past the narghilés, damascened and encrusted with golden rings. The Greek merchant had just sold a tobacco pouch from the Lebanon, lozenged in many colors, to a messenger from the Sultana who desired to make a graceful present to the docile Grand Vizier. But the foot of the messenger had now withdrawn and in the dim silence of the bazaar, as the Greek merchant's eye ranged along the caftan of crimson velvet bordered with ermine, and the bridal veil sparkling with silver spangles——he told me :

'*Thou shalt find IT Under a Minaret at the Gate of Felicity, where a world worships. Go toward——*'

"And the man fell forward on his hands and face, and was dead, Mashallah ! before I could question him further. And I fled from the Rue Babazoum, lest the populace should say *I did it.* But I consecrated my life to his mandate : '*Under a Minaret thou shalt find IT, in the Thousand and Second unwritten Night, at the Gate of Felicity.*'

"What ?

"The question walked with me by day and waked with me by night. Winged with desire, but shadowed by fear as those dying eyeballs of the Greek merchant unclosed upon my sleeping hours and threaded through my days, I roamed from city to city—my only clew '*Under the Minaret at the Gate of Felicity.*' I roamed through narrow, crooked, tumbling streets, the intensity of Africa's blue sky glowing above white, sun-smitten walls. I sat at the feet of embroiderers and barbers, of saints and sinners, watching their lips that might, haply, let fall some unconscious clew to the *Gate of Felicity.* I dared not speak the word spoken to me in the ba-

zaar of the Rue Babazoum, lest another should follow on my track and obtain what the merchant's dying lips struggled to tell me.

"Under what minaret?

"As I sat amidst the gardens of Cairo, it came to me one evening with a sickening start — after all, what was 'under the mînaret'? Dared I risk my life for it? Would it be weal or woe? Yet those fire-words kept repeating themselves on my weary brain: '*At the Gate of Felicity.*'

"What?

"I roamed from country to country, I dug in the earth under the minarets of Islam — by night, always. In vain. I spent days under the tall crimson-striped tents of the Bedouin Arabs, and with them went to war in reckless delight, drunk with the strong wine of battle. They might, haply, tell me of a minaret beyond the mirage."

The stranger's left hand tightened still closer upon his clenched left palm, while his right hand left the great gesture he was writing on the silent air, and caressed his Bosnian sword. It then ran quickly along the handle of his dagger.

"Still I wandered.

"Through the beating music of the *Nobut-khanah* * of Teheran, I seemed to hear the words, unheard by others: '*Under the Minaret at the Gate of Felicity.*' Across the undulant blue shadows of the Gardens of Damascus that swim against the silver ether of the blinding desert light, I felt the words move in the sway of branch and blossom. Along the melodious singing of the fountains of the City of the Silver Streams, my eye followed their thousand crystalline changes high in the air, and I seemed to detect the murmuring: '*Under the Minaret, At the Gate of Felicity, In the Thousand and Second Night.*'

"Still I wandered.

"It was night on the island of Melos, in the year 1820. The little town had been in festival all day. Wearied with watching the holiday makers, in whose sports I had no heart

* Music room.

to join, I wandered out of the little village of Kastron, and along its western wall. Afar, the Ægean trembled under a brightening moon. I wandered on with aimless feet to the ledge of the hill which is crowned with fragments of ancient buildings, and with a ruined temple of Parian marble. Oppressed with the day's heat, and the loneliness in the midst of brotherhood, I seated myself on a broken fragment of pillar and surrendered myself to the calm of the night. The breeze was awakening the soul of the orange groves below, and bearing up the hill the sweetness of their perfumed little leave lips, like frankincense to the feet of the white minaret that rose beyond the broken temple wall. The balm of the night hour, the odors of vine, and flower, and blossom, did their work upon my weary senses — and I fell asleep.

"I dreamed again of my world-wanderings. And, always, whether under the skies of Africa or of Albania, of Morocco, or of Shiraz, a white and wonderful shaft of minaret arose on the enchanted night. Across its one girdling balcony, I saw the lettered words stand forth in fire: '*At the Gate of Felicity. Thou shalt find IT under the Minaret.*'

"I awoke. Where was I? It was the very heart of night. The moon had set. There was no sound save the lyric voice of the Ægean.

"I started to my feet. Where was I? The place was bathed in a voluptuous darkness save for a white flame that rose against the velvet orient night, down the perspective of the dark colonnades. It led on my glance to its gleaming.

"A marble of which all the world can produce no likeness, — loving and wounding with her glance, majestic, though heroic, enchantingly nude, and yet so nobly veiled, THE WOMAN that baffles and beckons the world. I was alone in the burning presence of the Goddess of Love. I cannot tell you, — we cannot explain these things, — but I found myself on my knees before the Divinity, the cameo on the dark hidden grotto of the great world heart. I gazed up and up to her. I saw the silent movement in those lines of pearled moonlight. Every curve had floated to its place in a deathless song of Hellas. How do I know it?

"Listen," cried the stranger through the terrible silence now upon the room. "I bowed myself before the divine woman. I hold the world secret in this palm. At her feet I found IT. Her arms — "

The stranger stopped. His hand clutched convulsively now upon that left palm. The room had stormed upon its feet, for the stranger's voice rolled out, while his burning eyes sought again the white minaret shaft beyond. "At her feet I found IT. And the master soul who created the deathless Marble where the world worships is re-incarnate in this Persian Poet — "

The Persian singer leaped forward. His face was the face of a god. But the wild stammering cry in the coffee house drowned his voice as the guests fled from the hand that was slowly unclosing upon Something; and from the face of the youth that had looked upon the Goddess whom all the world worships.

LUCY CLEVELAND.
DEMETRIUS N. BOTASSI.

New York.

RAMESES THE GREAT.

Moment supreme! when progress radiant brings
From out the grave of centuries its prize,
And he, the Pharaoh of the ages, lies
To man revealed. Time stands with folded wings,
And silent points to days whose memory clings
Through all the stricken land in plaintive sighs;
Those splendid days, whose sun no more shall rise,
Whose glory set with Egypt's mighty kings;
Great sons of Ra, of Amen well-beloved;
Lords of the South and North, whose double crown,
Uræus guarded, did their power portray
O'er Kamit fair, where all things lived and moved
To do their will, and in whose smile or frown
The joys and ills of countless thousands lay.

Greatest, save one, of Egypt's royal dead,
The glorious hero of Kadesh appears
So strangely calm—a majesty that fears
Nor death, nor time, 'round whose unconscious head
Both bard and sculptor have a halo shed;
Though 'round him throng the ages nought he hears,
Back from a past of thrice a thousand years
He lies—the echo of a time that's fled.
Though his the deeds which formed the glowing theme
Of Egypt's Iliad, ere proud Troy was known,
Yet greater still in living stone we trace
The higher thoughts that in her temples gleam;
Those mighty wonders which all time will own
The grandest archives of his throne and race.

BEATRICE HARLOWE.

Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

UNDER THE ROSE.

REFORMERS IN COUNCIL

As this number of The Arena goes to press, the eyes of reformers are turned expectantly towards Buffalo. Not only those who are openly classed with the reform forces, but all thinking men and women who look for better things, feel that the discussions at the coming conference cannot fail to be of the utmost importance to the future of our country. Unity is the watchword. Whatever minor differences at other times separate socialists and single taxers, populists and trades-unionists, monometalists and bimetalists, all are agreed on the necessity for emphasizing the forward movement at this time by deliberately considering the first step to be taken and taking it after an agreement to be reached by reasoning together in the spirit of amity. It is obvious that if practical results are to be obtained, there must be mutual concessions. It is obvious also that only one demand can be given the leading place. This, however, does not mean that other demands are to be ignored or slighted. Reforms that are naturally allied, will naturally advance together. The question as to which will lead, of two demands, such as that for direct legislation and that for government ownership of natural monopolies, must resolve itself wholly into a question of expediency. In going before the people, the temper of the time must be taken into account. The logic of events must have its way. However strongly the demand for direct legislation may appeal to those who have given the question careful attention, it as yet occupies only a secondary place in the minds of the masses of the voters. On the other hand, the evils of corporate domination are widely and deeply felt among all classes of our citizens. It is understood by the dullest that a continuation of the recent monstrous growth of corporation power menaces the liberties of the republic, and the erection upon its ruins of a

veritable plutocracy. The people have felt the pressure and are ready to act. In all our history, no issue has been more definitely and distinctly drawn than that which now faces us. The issue is distinctly a national one. There is no possibility of forcing sectionalism or class feeling into its decision. It is emphatically a contest between the people on the one side and the trusts on the other. The crushing power of these vast aggregations of capital is felt no less by the merchant and the manufacturer than by the farmer and the mechanic. No thinking man can doubt for an instant that this is the issue that stands out with a startling distinctness which throws all other issues into the shade. The very life of the republic is at stake. Whether the growing power of corporations is to be opposed by the simple negations of restrictive or repressive legislation, or whether the issue will be met fairly and squarely by a call for the logical and positive remedy of government ownership of natural monopolies, the near future must decide. Yet hand in hand with the demand for government ownership, if the popular opposition to corporate monopoly should take that shape, must inevitably go a demand for direct legislation. Americans are proverbially patient and long suffering under political abuses. One reason for this easy indifference has been a vague sense that busy people might well leave politics to the politicians and attend to their own affairs. Once the average citizen feels that "his business" is directly affected by legislation, he will realize the importance of holding legislators responsible and of freeing legislation from the control of corrupting influences. In many quarters it is deemed probable that one outcome of the conference will be the formation of a new party. So long as party organization is an inevitable feature of our political system, the organization of a new party, while not to be avoided when necessary, should, as a matter of mere economy, be considered only as a last resort. When one or the other of the great historical parties calls for government ownership of all natural monopolies, or even government ownership of railroads, telegraphs, and telephones, to begin with, it would

be folly to organize a new party to embody that demand. If a new party is formed at the Buffalo conference, it should be tentative; that is, there should be a distinct understanding that the new party will put a ticket in the field only in the event that it should be denied an opportunity to ratify the platform and candidates of one or the other of the old parties. I say one or the other, but it is well understood that the realignment within party lines which began with the silverite bolt at St. Louis, and the goldite bolt at Chicago in 1896, has been steadily proceeding ever since, so that the conventions of 1900 will reveal the virtual development of a new party combining in large degree the best and most progressive elements of both the old parties in a New Democracy, and leaving the discredited adherents of the trusts to flock together under Mark Hanna's banner.

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THE NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION

This number of The Arena will be found to be largely an educational number, in the sense that it gives more space than usual to articles dealing with educational problems. This is done with direct reference to the convention of the National Educational Association, which is to meet at Los Angeles, July 11. I deem the opportunity a favorable one to call the attention of readers generally to the benefits flowing from these annual gatherings of men and women engaged in teaching. The discussions at these conventions are of interest not merely to teachers professionally, but to the whole body of citizens. In a large sense, we are all either teachers or students, and sometimes both. As parents, we are interested in the development of the modern training of children and youth; as citizens we cannot be blind to the close connection between education and good government. Mr. J. M. Rice of The Forum in a recent article makes an earnest plea for the adoption of methods of observation and study, which will give pedagogy fuller claim to consideration as an exact science and place the teaching profession on a

level with the other learned professions. So eminent and successful a teacher as Mr. C. Hanaford Henderson, on the contrary, boldly avows the belief that in a normal state of society, teaching will have no place as a distinct profession. Of course, the same might be said for the medical profession. Both deal, to a great extent, with abnormal conditions. The various problems of education and the subject generally, have unfortunately been relegated almost exclusively to those engaged in teaching. Its development, consequently, has been one-sided. What is needed more and more is intelligent coöperation between those specifically charged with the duties of the teacher, and those outside of the profession. Such crying evils as the utter sacrifice of individual development involved in the attempt of a single teacher to care for a class of from eighty to ninety pupils, as is the case in even the best regulated of our public schools, would soon be remedied if the public at large were made to realize all that it means to both teacher and pupils. It is this important end of promoting broader understanding and fuller coöperation, which The Arena hopes to serve by presenting from time to time such discussions of educational questions as must open up the whole matter luminously, and bring to bear upon it the results of wide study and experience from various standpoints.

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JEFFERSON'S DEMOCRACY

A valued reader and correspondent at Paisley, Ill., takes exceptions to the partisanship displayed by Mr. Blair in an article in the May Arena questioning the right of the Democratic party to claim Jefferson as its founder. While these exceptions to the spirit and tone of Mr. Blair's article are certainly very well taken, the very partisanship exhibited by Mr. Blair serves to bring out in striking relief the littleness and narrowness of partisan politics. My correspondent well says:

"Outside of the politicians, most fairly well informed people regard the tariff question as a question wholly of

expediency and not of principle. How puerile, therefore, to balance Jefferson upon the question of a tariff with Jefferson the author of the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions! Advocacy of a tariff for protection during one period of our history and of a tariff for revenue during another, is no evidence of inconsistency either of conduct or of principle, but is merely a question of internal and external conditions of trade, which are liable to fluctuate with every decade. Nearly all of our early statesmen were on different sides of that question at different periods in their careers. Again, if one will read the discussions, documents, and legislative enactments which preceded the promotion and adoption of the present constitution, he will find that if the views afterwards embodied in the resolutions of '98 had not been acquiesced in by most of the advocates and supporters of the constitution, it never would have been accepted and ratified by a sufficient number of states to make a compact federal nation. One cannot read Jefferson's papers, letters, and sayings, without wonder at the remarkable range of his knowledge, his breadth of mind, and many-sidedness. If not a prophet, he was nearer to being one than any man in our history. The average politician of the present day cannot comprehend Jefferson, and perhaps this is the reason why one writing from so partisan a standpoint as Mr. Blair, cannot comprehend him."

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THE "CURATIVE INFLUENCE"

In a recent issue of "The Medical World" Dr. Fordyce H. Benedict frees his mind concerning the alleged evil of patent medicine vending, which he believes, "threatens not only the dignity of our beloved profession, but also its permanency. . . . undermining the very foundations of our stability as a profession." Frankly recognizing the difficulties in the way of securing prohibitory legislation, he urges that newspapers should be bought up by the profession in order that, side by side with the advertisement of a patent medicine, its formula should be printed. He ingenuously assumes that patent medicine vendors would continue advertising in mediums where their announcements should be neutralized in this manner. "Is the human system a mechanism which can endure the indiscriminate

administration of drugs with impunity?" he asks with fine irony, and he follows up the question with the pathetic confession, "We who have made the subject of the delicate machinery of life an intense study for years, feel how inadequate is all our knowledge to meet the different indications as presented in disease." Some sense of the enormity of the evil he complains of is shown by the assertion that "fully one half of all the chronic ailments that afflict our communities, is the result of the indiscriminate use of these same drugs. . . . Most chronic diseases are now treated by the druggists dispensing the so-called specifics." Still more significant, however, especially to those who have followed the development of mental therapeutics as a practical system, is Dr. Benedict's avowal that "nearly all of the patent medicines sold are utterly valueless medicinally, and the only thing that causes them to be at all curative is *the influence they have on the mind of the individual* — suggestive expectation." I wonder how much value he would claim for his own prescriptions were this influence eliminated. He analyzes several popular patent remedies, to bear out his statement, emphasizing his admission by declaring, "If we, as physicians, should prescribe these same remedies to our patients, would they accomplish in our hands such wonderful results as are claimed by patent medicine vendors? No. It needs the green panel-bottle with its pink label and alluring suggestions to effect a cure so startling and universal." If the writer of this article, and the readers of the "Medical World," which is a monthly, published in the interests of the medical profession, have really reached a place where they can recognize that people are cured by the thousand every day by mental suggestion, even when hampered by conveyance in the shape of patent medicines concocted of ingredients that are "utterly valueless medicinally," the doctors are far on the way to the recognition of the worse than uselessness of drugs generally, and of the logical efficiency of mental suggestion as a natural means of healing, The editor of the "Medical World" suggests as one way of overcoming the

encroachments of the patent medicine vendors on "the rights of the profession," a law compelling manufacturers of nostrums of this sort, to print the formula on every bottle or package. It is alleged that if people knew the actual composition of these alleged remedies, they would be unwilling to swallow them; that is, their faith in the healing efficacy of the remedy, or rather in the suggestion accompanying it, would be destroyed. In one breath the patent medicines are denounced as being responsible for most of the chronic ailments of the community, and in the next, the suggestion always accompanying their sale is credited with miraculous curative power. The real animus of this attack on patent medicines seems to be simply a desire to intrench the medical monopoly, not in the interests of the public, but in the interests of the monopolists. If the enormous sale of patent medicines is really furnishing demonstration on an enormous scale of the power of mental suggestion in the cause and cure of disease, and if their increased use is tending to break down the medical monopoly of a privileged class, these things are certainly not unalloyed evils. Still the suggestion that the formulas for these preparations be printed on every package is a good one. The more reputable compounders of proprietary medicines already follow this rule as a matter of commercial enterprise. The same rule, however, should be carried out in putting up physicians' prescriptions.

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THE UNORGANIZED ELEMENT

E. A. Hoisington of St. Johns, Mich., writes me that he believes Governor Pingree was elected by the great unorganized element in the various political parties of Michigan, as he understands it; "and this unorganized element believes in the ideas of which The Arena is the logical exponent." This may be so, but if they will read The Arena they will discover that it calls for organization. "B. Fay Mills in his January article," continues my correspondent, "touched the keynote of the situation. Nine out of ten whom

I meet, without regard to party, are in favor of coöperation. The government, organized on the basis of coöperative protection and distribution, is the only power strong enough to compete with the present great aggregations of capital." Mr. Mills, however, is far from ignoring the importance of utilizing party organizations already formed, and would develop them by bringing their platforms and purposes up to date.

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PATRIOTISM AND DIVIDENDS

The publication of Mr. Strong's article on "Blacklisting," in the March Arena, has called out information in regard to the prevalence of this practice, from various industries all over the country. Even in so new a country as Arizona, this blight has shown itself, following closely upon the corporate grasp of the natural mineral resources of that territory, which has been called "The New Eldorado." Not only are striking miners blacklisted, as I am informed, but the law regarding the importation of contract labor has been violated in law and in spirit, especially in the mines at Clifton and Morenci. Of course, this violation of law is not open. The superintendents resort to the thin device of securing laborers from Old Mexico and from Italy, through the relatives of such laborers already employed in the mines. There are also agents operating at El Paso, known to be engaged in the work of furnishing such contract labor to Arizona corporations. The labor of Mexican peones is awarded preference to that of native-born Americans, who are discriminated against to such an extent that the displaced American laborers have already in large numbers been compelled to "tramp it." The disintegration of American character, so my correspondent informs me, has gone so far that, during the recent war, an American flag was torn down from its place over the engine-house of the mine at Morenci, although it was quickly replaced by an outraged American worker. Not unnaturally, American miners who believe in an American standard of living and of manhood, criticise the

alleged patriotism which impelled a mining superintendent in this section to fight for the flag with Roosevelt in Cuba, only to return and continue the practice of employing cheap Chinese, Italian, and Mexican labor in preference to industrious, intelligent, and patriotic Americans. Not only the lack of patriotism, but the lack of justice in this course, is felt all the more severely in view of the present high price of copper, and the immense fortunes earned in consequence by the mine owners.

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A FORETASTE OF MILITARISM

The action of General Merriam during the recent strike of miners in Idaho, confirms with startling promptness the forebodings of those who see in the policy of militarism inaugurated by the present administration, a menace to the liberties, not merely of the Filipinos, but also of American citizens at home. According to the Spokane Freeman's Journal, martial law was proclaimed in the county of Shoshone without a semblance of justification, and in furtherance of a deep-laid plan on the part of the mine owners to break up the Western Labor Union. In the endeavor to procure evidence to effect this end, witnesses were threatened, under examination in General Merriam's presence ; one was told that if he did not tell whom he saw at Wardner, he would go back to the pen and stay there until he was gray headed. To a second, it was intimated that he would get only one meal a day until he recovered his memory. In a third instance, the witness was told, "twenty years imprisonment stares you in the face unless you tell us the secrets of the Western Labor Union." A Wardner correspondent of the Journal reports that Dr. France, an employee of Rockefeller's Bunker Hill and Sullivan mine, has usurped the functions of the sheriff, who is in the bull pen, and that this representative of the pious philanthropist employs for deputies, the lowest type of criminals, who attempt to terrorize the prisoners and their wives in the endeavor to compel them to confess, or betray their comrades. So far, none of the men have confessed, all reports to the

contrary notwithstanding. The celerity with which the federal forces are employed in the interests of these mining corporations in Idaho, notwithstanding the fact that the civil courts were in unobstructed operation, indicates clearly that the evil prophesied in regard to the un-American, and un-democratic exaltation of the military power is already upon us. What has happened in Idaho may happen at any time in New York, Boston, Chicago, or San Francisco. In the words of Ex-President Harrison, "It is a condition, and not a theory that confronts us."

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NOT ALL ROSES

By way of encouragement to others, I have taken pardonable pleasure from time to time in printing the cordial words of appreciation with which The Arena has been received in various quarters. It must not be supposed, however, that the comment and criticism bestowed on my humble efforts are all of this complimentary nature. Life is not all beer and skittles. Criticism, when honest and fair-minded, is always welcome and always helpful. Much professed criticism, however, reveals, not so much concern for the maintenance of elevated standards in thought and conduct, as anxiety to proclaim the bias of the critic. Such criticism thus serves a more or less useful purpose, and is often unintentionally amusing for its naiveté. It is not at all singular, for instance, to find that the Minneapolis Journal sees in Mr. George Fred Williams's plea for the people's power to control their own currency, a plea for a "debased, rotten, and depreciated currency," and in Mr. Anderson's article on "The Janizaries of Plutocracy" "a mass of stupor," to say nothing of the reference to Mr. Benjamin Fay Mills as one who has "declared himself a descendant of a remote baboon, and lectures to Boston audiences upon the glittering generalities of evolution, setting forth theories of human brotherhood from which he eliminates the objective God." The sting of this alleged critique is found in its tail. Under cover of the stereotyped epithets which reveal the plutogogue's poverty of mental re-

source, the writer manages to sneak past the editorial blue pencil a fossilized theological fling at the science of our century — at Darwin, and Huxley, and Spencer, and all the great minds in and out of the church, who regard the theory of evolution as worth considering. Plainly, this would-be critic writes himself down an—ancient and superannuated pulpiteer, behind the times and out of a job. It is the careless habit of some of our esteemed back-country contemporaries to allow one of these rusty individuals, with more time on his hands than he knows what to do with, to pay for his paper by writing "literary criticisms." That the *odium theologicum* is the bitterest of all hates is proverbial. To minds of this sort, a difference in theological conceptions, fills the whole horizon. They nose through literature, seeking for heresy as a hound scents a hare, and see nothing else. Would it not be well to confine this sort of narrowness and bigotry to the distinctively "religious" publications, where it seems to be at home? Miss Morrell's appreciative sketch of Benjamin Fay Mills and his work in the February Arena seems to have acted on the editorial mind of the "Cumberland Presbyterian" of Nashville like a red rag on a bull. The result is a dozen lines of frothy, inane, meandering inuendo and misrepresentation, imputing to The Arena "a strange mingling of the cracked voices of disappointed adventurers." Utterances of this sort, palpably dishonest, malicious, and intended to deceive the public in regard to every sweet and true and beautiful thing dreamed or done by the world's real men and women, bring dishonor on the name of religion. While seeking only to promote peace and good will among men, I must be pardoned some degree of pride in the abuse as well as in the praise which my editorial course evokes. And this I say, not in resentment, but in the desire to make my sincere acknowledgments to our friend the enemy.

BEHIND THE BARS YET FREE

It is not often that the reading of a single magazine article produces such immediate betterment of mind and body as is related in a letter to The Arena by a young man at the time confined in a county jail as witness in a murder case. The writer describes himself as successively boy cornetist, tramp, general utility man, drummer for a liquor firm, clerk, actor, theatrical manager, farmer, and lastly, cornetist at the theater where the murder occurred. His education was obtained through "self, grammar school, phrenology, physiognomy and metaphysics — all superficial." Jail life made him a pessimist. The Arena changed his pessimism to optimism. "I read the article on Universal Freedom many times through," he writes further. "Especially the passage which refers to being enslaved or free according to the spirit within; that no prison bars can hold an enlightened soul. From a bitter and morose man, almost a nervous wreck, my condition at the time I received The Arena, I have been changed to a calm, contented man. Although still under lock and key, I am no longer confined." Then follows a brief record of thoughts written a day or two before full enlightenment came, when he had become thoroughly disgusted with his old life, which he describes as a "rapid succession of high spirituality and abject depravity."

"On this twentieth day of January, 1899, I do hereby resolve that I will no longer use tobacco in any form, as it is injurious to an alarming extent, and as I am naturally of a nervous temperament. As soon as the nicotine is out of my system, any craving that I now have will be gone, and by avoiding it at all times I shall gain steadily in strength of will-power and self-control. Concentration is the essence of greatness; toward it I shall ever strive, by continuously writing my thoughts upon all subjects, no matter how crude they may seem at first. I can do much if I try, and do not give up my struggle for what is right. Any man who sincerely tries to do right, can be a powerful influence for good in the world. And every day I abstain from tobacco and other vices will give me more strength of purpose. Each

day brings with it the serious need of a social revolution, not a bloody one, as that kind seldom makes any great advance, and usually leads to degeneration. The peaceful revolution brought about by serious thought and knowledge, is a steady advance toward better conditions and universal brotherhood."

* * * *

STARVATION IN ITALY

As one result of the wide publicity given to the actual state of affairs in Italy, through Mrs. Dario Papa's article, "The Italian Revolt," in the May Arena, the Italians in this country are likely to be aroused to proper action. Mrs. Papa tells me in a recent letter that she has received many letters in consequence of the article. Any one who desires to verify Mrs. Papa's statements in regard to the *pellagra*, or hunger sickness, can do so by examining the reports as to cases of insanity and death, during the last two years, on file at the Bureau of Statistics in Rome. These facts show, beyond the possibility of denial, that there are today not less than one hundred thousand *pellagrosi* in Italy. In fact this is a conservative estimate, as only new cases are reported under the head of *pellagra*. "Hunger cases," Mrs. Papa says, "are not even received at the hospitals. After the patient has come for treatment a certain number of times, he is simply told to go home and eat, for the hospitals cannot possibly take care of all the *pellagrosi*. As one in that condition is seldom able to work, he cannot earn bread to eat; so the *pellagra* is increasing." It will be remembered that in her article Mrs. Papa described this sickness, which has given the Italian name "*pellagra*" a ghastly significance, as "hunger sickness," and, in plain English, slow starvation. Furthermore, this condition among the masses of the people is shown to be the direct result of maladministration on the part of the Italian government. The condition of the reconcentrados in Cuba, before the war is, in fact, paralleled in sunny Italy; and if the wholesale and systematic starvation of hundreds of thousands of people, and the continuance of the system responsible for that starvation, was justification for our inter-

ference in Cuba, surely the condition of the people of Italy today justifies like interference in the name of common humanity. It is somewhat significant, also, that, until Mrs. Papa's revelation of the actual condition of affairs, made through her lectures and The Arena article, the conspiracy of silence on the part of the press, on both sides of the Atlantic, seems to have succeeded in blinding the outside world. It has been felt, perhaps, that the results of militarism in Italy differ in degree, and not in kind, from the results of this system in other countries of Europe, especially in Germany and France. The intimate connection between taxes and human life are not always apparent to the ordinary citizen called upon to express his judgment at the polls. Mrs. Papa shows very clearly that the burden of Italy's present armament has crushed the working masses of the population, not merely to the starvation point, but to actual starvation on an awful scale. What has followed militarism in Italy will follow that policy wherever pursued. If argument were needed in favor of the Czar's peace proposals, the condition of the Italian people today certainly furnishes that argument — argument that is as unanswerable as it is appalling. Those who are talking glibly of increasing the American army to one hundred thousand men, and of putting the sea arm of the United States "on a par with that of the great powers of Europe," should take into account the *pellagra* and its lessons.

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MR. CARNEGIE'S "PHILANTHROPY"

Mr. Andrew Carnegie has sold his interest in the Carnegie Steel and Iron Works for one hundred million dollars in five per cent. bonds, and retired from business. He announces his intention to devote this enormous fortune to charity; to dispensing it in public benefactions during his lifetime, rather than arranging for its post-mortem distribution. It does not seem to occur to Mr. Carnegie that the most obvious distribution of so enormous a surplus, accumulated however legally from the exertions of thousands of

workmen, through a long period of years, would be its return to those who earned it. By what process of reasoning does Mr. Carnegie ethically justify a primary distribution of the product of his mines and mills, which gives to the individual capitalist a hundred million dollars, and to thousands of workmen a bare subsistence? To believe that Mr. Carnegie really believes such a system of distribution to be just, would be to impugn his intelligence, to say nothing of his conscience. Knowing it to be unjust, what better use of these millions can he make than to devote them to changing the system? Of course, he might bring up the threadbare story of the late Baron Rothschild's offer to give to a committee of communists their pro rata share of his wealth. Simply to make restitution by dividing $100,000,000 among the 80,000,000 of our American population, or even among the 10,000 employees of the Carnegie works, would effect little. It is not that sort of "dividing up" that sensible socialists advocate. If such a distribution were made, in fact, without any change in the system by which the wrongful distribution came about, nothing would be gained. What is needed is a change in the system. There are several important movements, all of which aim at securing a more equitable distribution of the wealth produced by the world's workers. The progress of any or all of these movements is largely dependent upon financial support. Indeed, lack of the sinews of war is about the only thing that makes the effort to secure public ownership of public monopolies, an eight-hour day, or a minimum wage scale — to mention a few practical demands — so slow and so difficult. One hundred million dollars would certainly go a long way towards securing one, if not all, of these primary reforms; all of which every genuine philanthropist must ardently desire. The Chicago Chronicle, in a recent editorial on this subject, very well says that "had Mr. Carnegie paid to his men a tithe of the millions he now proposes to spend for self-glorification, there would have been no Homestead strike, no Pinkerton guards, no state militia, no graves on the hillside overlooking the Monongahela River.

Every stone in the buildings he is going to erect will be cemented with blood. New-born philanthropy, even though it be genuine, will not serve as a mantle for a quarter of a century's industrial cannibalism." It is well, however, if Mr. Carnegie's conscience is beginning to stir even at this late day. Let us hope that he will not stop half-way in his plans for restitution. — P. T.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH.

THE SOCIAL IDEAL

Students of social reform and those who are earnestly laboring for the betterment of conditions, will be greatly encouraged and benefited by Vida Scudder's new book. ("Social Ideals In English Letters"; 8vo, cloth, 329 pp.; $1.75; Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.) The author traces the gathering forces which, centralized after long ages of evolution, point to social regeneration with such emphasis, that the reader feels an inspiration and a conviction which history alone can give. The author begins with the dawn of the class struggles in England, points out the first intimations of brotherhood, and the early evidences of a democratic ideal slowly taking shape in the pioneer literature of socialism, until in the Victorian age, poets, novelists, essayists, a steadily increasing host — unite in voicing the spirit which began to inspire men so long ago. Particular attention is called to Langland, who, in "Piers Plowman," was the first to speak for the people, and to dignify the laborer with the name of hero. Langland was essentially the comrade of the poor, and to him the workingman was the best embodiment of the Christ; whereas Sir Thomas Moore, to whose "Utopia" Miss Scudder devotes many instructive pages, wrote from the point of view of the statesman, observing, rather than mingling with the poor. Utopia was the outcome of the new

individualism, and a general indictment of the social conditions of the age. Uniformity in the distribution of labor and its products is its basis : it pictures mankind living under the conditions of wholesome freedom, and is so modern, so prophetic, that one would have expected its prophecies to have reached an earlier realization. But no, political and religious liberty had first to be won in England. The social ideal falls for a time into the background. It is impossible to exaggerate the aristocratic tendencies of Elizabethan literature. The contribution of Puritanism to social literature is also notably slight. The works of Jonathan Swift are a vigorous, almost pessimistic revolt against these anti-social tendencies. Swift saw in society an utter absence of all ideal aims ; in politics a scramble of personal ambition and intrigue ; in the life of the poor, an inevitable, irremediable tragedy. The church becomes allied with the conservative forces of polite respectability, and it is not until the days of "Sartor Resartus" that literature once more assumes a social attitude. The first half of our century is the period of discovery of social issues : to face those issues has been the work of our own time. The literature of the people begins with Dickens and Thackeray ; the social conscience is immensely stimulated by the work of George Eliot, until in these later days the social ideal has found inspired expression in the literature of culture, in the essays of Arnold and Ruskin, in the fiction of Howells, in the Fabian Essays, the genius of William Morris, and the host of minor authors whose messages consciously or unconsciously voice the aspirations and principles of evolutionary socialism. The author gives due place to literature of the type of Blatchford's "Merrie England," but is chiefly concerned with the finer spirit of recent socialist authors. The point of view is never that of the ardent advocate of any particular social ideal, but ever the sympathetic attitude of the true scholar, of one who has produced a book on the social ideal, not because she wished to prove its power in English literature, but who chronicles the ideal because its evolution is a fact. The book will therefore appeal to and influence those who would be repelled

by literature of a distinctively socialistic type. Its style is throughout so graceful, its tone so elevating, its spirit so sympathetic that one would gladly have read it simply for this. H. W. D.

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LILIAN WHITING'S VERSE

The lovers of Lilian Whiting's work, and they number thousands, will welcome this beautiful edition of her poems. ("From Dreamland Sent," by Lilian Whiting. New Edition with additional poems. White and gold, 16mo, 163 pp. $1.50; Little, Brown & Co., Boston.) It includes much tender and graceful verse full of that absolute faith in the Divine and in divine care and love that mark at every point the work of this most spiritual of writers. There is no other name in American literature of today, that carries with it the same sense of keen intelligence and trained critical ability, united to insight that never fails—of full knowledge of the world, of playful humor, and full power of analysis as of satirical quality, yet who gives us, running through the whole like a golden thread, this steady insistence on the place of the higher life, and the nearness of what we have called the "Unknowable." Love and sorrow, the loss of the friend whose place in her life meant a large portion of its best things, have given an insight into human pain and the meaning it bears, so clear, so delicate, that the saddest soul must be cheered at the thought she has made her own. It is an absolutely radiant faith that glorifies the lines as in her "Easter Lilies."

Again, O Love, the Easter lilies bloom!
Music and fragrance are upon the air;
And thou, Beloved, in the realms more fair,
Hast thou found nobler faith and larger room
And purer purpose in that new life where
My love attends thee? Still I seem to know
Thy radiant presence with me, as I go
Thus sweet-companioned through the crowded ways,
Lifting to thrill of joy, my works and days.

New meanings come; I learn through clearer thought
How fair the work that by thy life is wrought;
The world is better that thy truth was taught;
And so with deeper trust, and joy complete,
I bring my Easter greeting to thee, Sweet.

Miss Whiting herself, the least pretentious of writers, counts her poetry simply "verses," but they linger with one, carrying a haunting quality far beyond the written word. This is true no less of her prose, the little volumes of the "World Beautiful" holding thoughts that mean not only high spiritual quality, but also that rare common sense, that is itself next to genius, and without which genius often fails of its mission. There is noble work before this writer, whose mission it may be to make clearer than have all the psychical societies, some facts long looked on as fictions, and whose own faith has proved itself a working one, carrying with it steadily increasing power and happiness. And what more could one ask of any faith? — HELEN CAMPBELL.

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THE MORALITY OF FLESH-EATING

Few readers of Sydney Beard's stirring pamphlet, "Is Flesh-Eating Morally Defensible?" (29 pp., 2 cents, Order of the Golden Age, Ilfracombe, England) can resist the force of this powerful argument for vegetarianism. The argument is briefly as follows:

(1) As man is a fruit-eating animal, not possessing either teeth suitable for tearing flesh, or digestive organs by nature adapted to its assimilation, the consumption of dead bodies is a violation of our nature. (2) The custom of eating flesh involves an incalculable amount of suffering, unjustifiable except in cases of absolute necessity. (3) The consumption of flesh is the direct cause of a great amount of human suffering and disease. A leading medical authority states that "a fifth of the total amount of meat consumed is from animals killed in a state of disease, malignant or chronic." An English meat inspector asserted upon oath that he believed eighty per cent. of the meat was tuberculous, and the use of such meat is doubtless the chief cause of consumption,

a disease which is now unanimously pronounced infectious. Flesh-eating is also deemed a chief cause of cancer, rheumatic gout, liver complaints, and dyspepsia. (4) The practice of flesh-eating is detrimental to man's physical, moral, and spiritual welfare, since it is, to a large extent, the cause of drunkenness, poverty, crime, vice; and abstinence from it is far more important than abstinence from strong drink. Christian missionary work has been greatly hampered because the flesh-eating missionary is instinctively regarded as on a lower plane by the Buddhist or Brahmin, who believes it utterly wrong to kill and to eat animals. But worse than all are the horrors of the cattle ship. In one year, fourteen thousand animals, in course of transit to England, were thrown into the sea, one thousand two hundred and forty were landed dead, and four hundred and fifty-five were slaughtered on the quays to save them from dying of their wounds. During every year three millions of cattle are exposed to these sufferings, for nearly ten thousand a day "arrive upon our shores, to minister to the supposed needs of Christian England."

—H. W. D.

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NEW THOUGHT ESSAYS

The articles by Charles Brodie Patterson that have been published in "Mind" during the past year, are now issued in book form under the title of "New Thought Essays" (Alliance Publishing Company, New York, 103 pp., price, $1.00.) In the preface the author announces that his intention is "to present a study of life in its various phases from a spiritual basis." He holds that the ideal man existed before the external expression, and that life's great object is the unfolding of the perfect ideal. "It must be admitted by all," he says, "that if man is a spiritual being, an immortal soul, knowledge of things that pertain to soul-growth—to the unfolding of powers latent within the soul—must be of greater importance than anything or everything in the outer world." The first four papers deal with the power of mind over matter, and show how inharmonious thought changes into discord the healthful vibrations of the body, producing disease and affecting for ill those about us, while harmonious

thought has the opposite effect. Man unites within himself two worlds, we are told: the outer world and the inner, which is the vital spark, the enduring nature of man. The outer is of itself nothing, i. e., it is entirely dependent on the inner being. Every change that affects it is the result of growth or the lack of growth in the inner.

From this the author goes on to show how, through the power of thought, we may control our mental and physical life, including environment. "Mind is an outgrowth of the soul, as the body is the outgrowth of mind. Mind is that aspect of being that relates man to the world of form; so that every thought conceived by man images itself in his mind." This "imaging faculty" enables us to make our environment what we choose, for the "heaven within shapes the heaven without." If we maintain harmony in our inmost center, we relate ourselves to the harmony without, for like attracts like. Thus, we attract to ourselves conditions and people that we invite. This inner man—this inner power—we may bring out in greater degrees by right cultivation, which consists of meditation, concentration, and contemplation; all of which is explained at length.

Probably the essay on "Breath Vibration" is the most important of this helpful series. The writer emphasizes the fact that breath does not penetrate the lungs alone, but also circulates between every molecule of the body when one breathes properly. Controlled and directed breath-action is of the utmost importance. This the people of the East fully realize, and much that they do which seems mysterious to us is accomplished simply by breath-action. On the whole, it will be found that the teachings of these "New Thought Essays" are as practicable in applicationto the needs of everyday life, as they are exalted and inspiring in sentiment.

—F. P. P.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Prompt mention will be made in this list of all books received. The selection of volumes for further notice will be determined by editorial judgment of their importance.

"The Lesson of Popular Government," by Gamaliel Bradford; 2 vols., cloth, $4.00; The Macmillan Co., New York.

"Modern Political Institutions," by Simeon E. Baldwin; cloth, 387 pp.; Little, Brown & Co., Boston.

"The Growth of Democracy in the United States," by Frederick A. Cleveland; cloth, 532 pp., $1.50; The Quadrangle Press, Chicago.

"Democracy: A Study of Government," by James H. Hyslop, Ph. D.; cloth, 296 pp., $1.50; Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

"Social Elements, Institutions, Character, Progress," by C. R. Henderson; cloth, 405 pp.; Scribner's Sons.

"Harmonics of Evolution," by Florence Huntley; cloth, 463 pp.; published by the author, Chicago.

"The Golden Age Cook Book," by Henrietta L. Dwight; cloth, 178 pp., $1.00; The Alliance Publishing Co., New York.

"Christ in the Industries," by W. R. Halstead; cloth, 170 pp.; Curts & Jennings, Cincinnati.

"Unforeseen Tendencies of Democracy," by E. L. Godkin; cloth, 265 pp.; Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.

"That Duel at the Chateau Marsanac," by Walter Pulitzer; cloth, 12mo, 120 pp., 75 cents; Funk & Wagnalls Co., New York.

"The Science of Health, Holiness and Happiness," paper, 205 pp., 25 cents; and "Miscellaneous Thoughts on Divine Science," paper, 16 pp., 10 cents; published by the author, S. G. Shroyer, Oklahoma City, Okla.

"American Monodies, dedicated to the poor, the weak, the unfortunate, and the outcast," by Lydia Platt Richards; cloth, 126 pp; Editor Publishing Co., Franklin, Ohio.

"American Art Annual," 1898, edited by Florence N. Levy; cloth, 538 pp., $3.00; The Macmillan Co., New York.

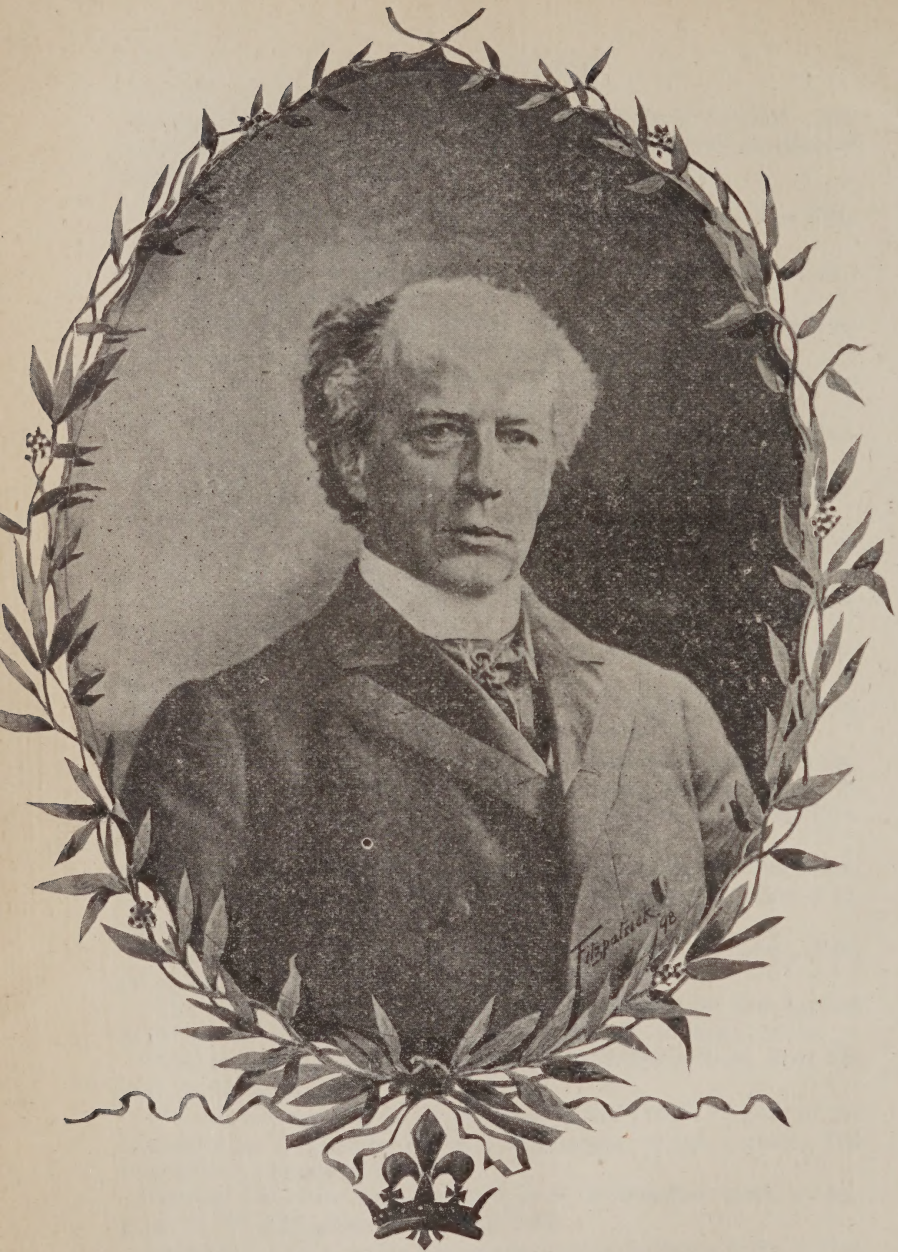
"The Negro: His Rights and Wrongs, the Forces for and Against Him," by Rev. F. J. Grimke, D.D., Washington, D. C.; paper, 100 pp.

"Sun, Planet and Moon Development," by William Nims, Fort Edward, N. Y.; paper, 20 pp.

"The New Movement for Government by the People," report of the conference at Cincinnati, March 1, 1899; paper, 16 pp., 5 cents; The New Era Co., Springfield, Ohio.

"Waters That Pass Away," a novel, by N. B. Winston; cloth, 322 pp., $1.25; G. W. Dillingham & Co., New York.

Preliminary Report of the Income Account of Railways in the United States for the year ending June 30, 1898; paper, 70 pp.; Interstate Commerce Commission, Washington, D. C.



SIR WILFRID LAURIER.

(See article " French Canadian Liberalism," pp. 151-165.)

THE ARENA

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FRENCH CANADIAN LIBERALISM.

DURING the past year, and since the English and Canadian members of the International Commission have been much in Washington, a great deal has been written in the daily press about the most prominent member of that commission, Sir Wilfrid Laurier. He has become comparatively well known to us, we admire him personally, and know pretty well what, through that commission, he is seeking to accomplish for his country. But few of us know anything of the political party to which he has always belonged, its birth, its aims, and its accomplishments; nor of the men who by their struggles in years gone by, made it possible that he, their worthy successor, should be Canada's virtual ruler today.

For half a century prior to that memorable year in Canada's history—1837—the French Canadians had been vainly struggling for the recognition of the national, political, and religious rights that were guaranteed to them when they had been ceded to England by France. From the very consummation of the conquest had that struggle begun, and it was waged against terrible odds. Legislation was enacted such as the "navigation acts," the "stamp act," and the "tea tax," under which our own American fathers writhed. Governors, royal satellites, and arrogant functionaries had undertaken to Anglicize the Canadians, and make of their beloved country, *leur beau pays*, another oppressed, browbeaten, and broken-spirited Ireland!

Justice had been defiled by every species of infamy; malversation was protected by the representatives of the crown. The lower house (the "assembly") was dominated by a legislative council composed of men named by the crown, and absolutely irresponsible to the people, and antipathetic to everything that was French and Catholic. Fat offices and high honors were showered upon a miserable little faction, to the detriment of the rights of the majority. Audacious projects of denationalization had become principles. Constitutional and parliamentary laws were constantly violated, and the control of public expenditures was denied to the real représentatives of the people, the assembly.

These were a few of the stings that had goaded such men as Washington, Henry, Franklin, and Adams into wresting a portion of her American colonies from England, who, in spite of that lesson, still continued those tactics in the government of what was left her. This is but one little corner of the picture that history uncurtains to our gaze. The French Canadians were insulted, scorned, humiliated, and robbed by a pack of "carpetbaggers," who scoffed at all laws, divine or human.

There was in the ranks of the oppressed, however, the stuff with which leaders and great statesmen are made. Some there had been who had already proved to their oppressors that it was as difficult to conquer them in the parliamentary arena as it had been to conquer their fathers at Louisburg and at Quebec. After Bédard and the elder Papineau there rose up another Papineau, "the younger," the stalwart tribune who, for thirty years, was the glory and the bulwark of the infant party, the liberals.

A day came when England, dismayed at the attitude of the assembly that so aggressively voiced the sentiments of the people, made overtures to it, tried to cajole it into believing its demands would be acceded to; but too late! Mere shreds of concessions were no longer the proper bait. Nothing would do but the famous "ninety-two propositions," inspired by Papineau and worded by Morin.

The Assembly, in spite of three dissolutions within a year, persisted in refusing to vote the necessary funds for the maintenance of the government until it received the redress of the wrongs recited in those "ninety-two propositions." Lord John Russell thought to take the bull by the horns in having the British parliament authorize Lord Gosford to seize what funds there were in the national exchequer for the necessities of the service. This most arbitrary proceeding was too much for even Canadian patience. Everywhere the people arose and loudly protested.

There is no doubt that such a proceeding was illegal and unconstitutional. But it was a fitting climax to the tyrannical politics to which the Canadians had so long submitted. That it was unconstitutional was claimed, at the time, in parliament, by such men as Hume, Stanley, Warburton, and Lord Brougham, — men who openly called it a "ministerial inciting to revolt." Lord Brougham's speech, in which he defended the Canadian uprising, was one of the most impassioned and artistic tongue-lashings the party in power received during those stirring times when oratory was not almost a lost art in Westminster. "You say," cried he, "that all the trouble arose about our taking a miserable twenty thousand pounds from them (the Canadians) without their consent! Only twenty thousand pounds without consulting their representatives! Well! was it not for only twenty shillings that Hampden resisted usurped authority, and by that resistance acquired the immortal fame that all the Plantagenets and the Guelphs would have given every drop of blood in their veins for? . . . If it is a crime to resist oppression and to defend one's rights, when assailed, who are the greatest criminals? Are we not ourselves? Did we not set the example first to our American brothers? . . . "

Lord Durham, who was sent to Canada purposely to enquire into the causes of the insurrection, admitted the legitimacy of the Canadians' complaints and the necessity of remedying the abuses, to which those in power had subjected the country. He further reported that what the

assembly had done was the only alternative left it to secure the recognition of its rights. Lord Dufferin, only a few years ago, in writing about the events of '37, said: ". . . under as corrupt a government as Canada had then, it is only surprising that matters (meaning the revolution) went no further . . . "

From protests it was but a step to open revolt.

The insurrection of '37–'38 was short-lived however. England had learned one lesson in America. Her garrisons were well scattered. Concentrations of large forces were easily headed off. "Patriotism and pikes" were of small account against British cannon and thousands. Such men as Morin, Girouard, Lafontaine, Fabre, Duvernay, Lanctot, Perrault, Rodier, Berthelot, O'Callaghan, Cherrier, Viger, Roy, Meillend, Leslie, De Witt, Scott, Robert and Wolfred Nelson were among the leaders. Leniency was shown to those who were taken after the first outbreak, but when the second "offence" was committed short shrift was meted out to the leaders. Ninety-eight were condemned to death by court-martial. Of these, twelve were hanged, twenty-eight released under bond, and fifty-eight exiled. That the movement was not more successful is attributable, in no small degree, to the Catholic clergy. At first these gentlemen wavered 'twixt their natural (French) hatred of the English, and their selfish interests. The *latter* won the day! People had not yet learned to think for themselves; what the *curé* said was at that time law to most men in Canada. The clergy had been pampered by the authorities. Their grants of vast domains and other advantages were recognized. They feared a new order of things, and suspected — not without reason — that the liberals would not be so liberal with them. They deserted their own kin and threw their influence with the powers that were, and ever since the clergy have been almost solidly conservative, and have attempted by every means in their power — and that is great — to stem the tide towards liberalism. Today the French Canadian liberals are, to a man almost, catholics, but not "petted sons of the church" by any means.

Although the open revolt of '57 had been crushed, not so the spirit of opposition. During the ensuing years the party had gathered strength under the brilliant leadership of Cauchon, Viger, Louis Joseph Papineau, and Drummond. In vain had Metcalf and Cathcart laid deep pit-falls for them, aided by McNab, John A. McDonald, Sherwood, Daly, and Cameron. The party had remained united in the face of despotism, fanaticism, bribery, and — the clergy! It was only in 1848 that the first symptoms of party division were noticed in lower Canada. Lafontaine headed the faction that had accepted the new *régime*, a constitution, good enough in itself, but maladministered by the Colonial Bureau. Papineau — upon his return from exile — undertook to undo all that had been done, and headed the faction of the younger, more zealous and ardent spirits, whose only regret was that they had not been old enough to take up arms in '37. This faction found vent for their enthusiasm in a little paper, *l'Avenir*—"The Future"— in which they posed as reformers and regenerators in all matters political, social, or otherwise, that affected the country. They clamored for the now historical "twenty-one articles," beginning with a demand for the "election of justices of the peace, instead of appointments," and winding up with a plea for "annexation to the United States!" The only excuse for these ultra-liberals was their youth — the oldest was but twenty-two. The spirit of revolt was in the air, things were unsettled, deep rumblings were heard. Ah! those were awful years, just preceding '48! With what horror do we now glance over the records of that period, when the "evil spirit of revolt went stalking o'er the earth," and by some electric power, at a given moment almost, and in a score of countries scattered far and wide, drove eighty millions of men into bloody revolutions!

Every fresh revolt, heralded from Europe, added fuel to the fire that was consuming these headstrong youngsters. In 1852, however, they began to see the error of their ways. They abandoned the old paper and established *Le Pays*

"The Country," and sought,—without always finding it, 'tis true—the road for the real friends of liberty to follow, under the constitution. Great harm had been done however. The clergy, realizing what their brethren of the cloth had suffered in every revolution that had shaken old Europe, began to wage a pitiless warfare—anathemas, brimstone, and sulphur were some of the weapons—against the new party. The English population, friends of liberty always, but also in favor of law and order, as vigorously condemned the party that for the twenty-five years following, constituted, without a break, the "opposition" in parliament,—a party that took the lead, the initiative, in all the reforms that were accomplished during that period, but that carried off none of the glory therefor. The generation of '48 had almost entirely disappeared from the political world when the first faint rays of the liberal sun were seen in the eastern horizon. Since then great accessions have been made; new blood, new ideas, experience, and a ripened judgment are at the tiller. The old socialistic notions have vanished, and today the liberal principles in Canada are identical with those of the party in England. It is no longer "Liberty!" "Deliverance from oppression!" and their other old battle-cries—but then, England has changed too.

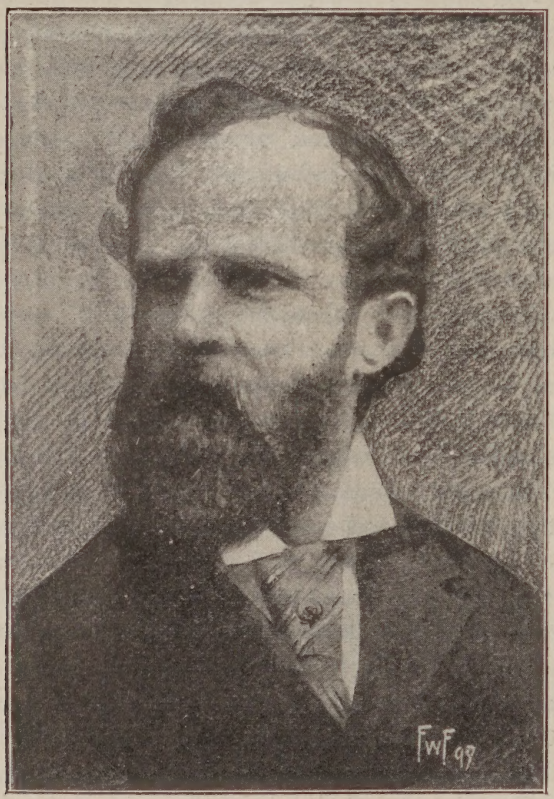
The other faction, under Lafontaine, soon allied themselves to the tories of upper Canada, under the title of "liberal-conservatives,"—we in the United States would call them plain "mugwumps." A few years later they abandoned even the prefix and became simply "conservatives." Then, later modifications took place, and today they are called "ultra-montanes." They are "more catholic than the Pope," as a Frenchman would say! As their name has changed so have their principles. If Sir George Cartier (their greatest leader) could come back to life, he would not know them for his party. Their ideas are patterned after the *réactionnaires* of France. The question of religion is the great point of difference; and not so much religion, either, as its political status. The liberals, as stated, are nearly all Catholics, but

their objects are the same politically as are those of the liberal Presbyterians of Ontario. Their affiliation with protestants is looked upon with disfavor by the *ultramontanes*, as tending to the destruction of the true faith! The liberals believe in the clergy's rights, their opinions and legitimate work in politics, but deprecate undue influence and pulpit politics — threatening hell and refusing the sacraments to a poor wretch who thinks he ought to vote contrary to their instructions. I have heard such sermons myself, and not so many years ago either. If Canada has been bothered beyond patience with contested and invalid elections, the cause is almost invariably undue influence. The home government has jealously watched developments, and the tendency, even among the English conservatives, has been to abolish this fruitful source of trouble. If the voting is not free, the constitution is violated, "responsible government" would be a hollow title, and, sooner or later, as is invariably the case elsewhere, suppression and compression would lead to explosion, violence, ruin! Those in high places in the Catholic hierarchy have been brought to understand this, and such men as the recent ablegates from Rome, Monsignor Conroy and Monsignor Mery del Val have done much to bring about a little of that "peace and good-will" in religio-political matters that is so seldom found in such mixed communities.

The true principles of liberalism were well defined by Sir Wilfrid Laurier in 1877, and we can well pause here to glance at them. "We are a happy people," said he, "and free, and we are happy and free, thanks to the liberal institutions that guide us, institutions that we owe to the efforts of our fathers and to the wisdom of the mother country. The politics of the liberal party are to protect those institutions, to defend them, and to propagate them, and, under the dominion of those institutions, to develop the latent resources of our country. Such are our principles, our politics."

It was these principles that carried the day in the elections of 1854, when, by an enactment of 1853, one hundred and thirty deputies were returned, instead of the customary

eighty-four; the first great liberal triumph under the leadership of Sir A. A. Dorion. That election was the political burial of Morin, who, like the other offshoot, Lafontaine, had failed to loyally carry out the reforms he had promised when entering into the Hincks-Morin ministry.



MEDERIC LANCTOT.

No events of great political importance occurred in Canada until confederation became a law, March 28, 1867. There had been varying sympathies with the contesting north and south of the United States. Some Fenian raids upon the border had been blamed upon the liberals, and also

some internal dissensions and some great fires, that, no doubt, were unjustly blamed upon them. Then there was a brush or two with the United States upon questions of treaty rights, harboring of hostile bands, and the like. But we are more interested just now with men than with events.

One of the greatest liberals of his day, one of the fiercest opponents of confederation, a man who made history for his country, and who was destined to occupy the highest places in that country had not grim death so prematurely closed his brilliant career, was Mederic Lanctot. Born in prison, December 8, 1838, where his mother was permitted to visit his father just prior to the latter's deportation to Australia for his participation in the revolt of 1837, and educated at the college of St. Hyacinthe, he early gave signs of wonderful precocity. The romantic circumstances of his birth and his talents awakened the enthusiastic recognition of the people. At an early age he edited the *Courrier de St. Hyacinthe;* and the vigor and trenchant style of these early editorials would have gladdened the heart of the *gloveless* Charles A. Dana. In 1858 he began the study of law under Messrs. Dontre and Daorest, both of whom, no doubt, added to his liberal as well as to his legal education. Mr. Dontre will be remembered as the brilliant queen's counsel who carried the celebrated Guibord burial case even to the privy council of England, where he was victorious. It was a liberal victory, one of the achievements of the *Institut Canadien* (that union that so long battled for the cause against such terrible odds) and his client *was* buried in the catholic cemetery (although a freemason), where he owned a lot, in spite of the clergy, canonical maledictions, excommunications, and an armed mob. In 1860 Lanctot was received at the bar, visited Europe, on his return founded the liberal sheet, *La Presse*, in Montreal, and formed a co-partnership with Wilfrid Laurier.

In 1864 Sir John A. McDonald and Sir George Cartier, unable to longer retain their power by ordinary means, planned the confederation act. It was a masterly *coup d'état.* The liberals fought it tooth and nail, denounced the proposi-

tion of the government as illegal, particularly that part of it which suggested the change in the constitution without allowing a popular vote upon the question; protested against the veto and the power given to the English provinces to augment the number of their representatives proportionately to their population, while lower Canada would be condemned to a *fixed* number of deputies always — thus placing the French Canadians under the power of an ever-increasing majority that some time would completely crush them and their aspirations.

Future events must prove the falsity or correctness of their fears! In spite of all efforts to the contrary, confederation became a fact, and, from that time on, Lanctot's one object in life was to beat Cartier at the polls in '67. He was elected to the city council of Montreal, and early in the winter of '67 began a most gigantic work, that of organizing all the workmen of the country into unions. Then labor unions were comparatively unknown, in fact a great many of ours are today planned upon Lanctot's original scheme. Cooperative stores were established, libraries were founded, the education of the masses was undertaken, night after night meetings were held, brilliant discourses made, and, one night in June, the enthusiasm of the people culminated in almost the apotheosizing of their hero. A great torchlight procession took place, thousands of men were in line, each trade by itself and bearing transparencies with all sorts of mottoes: "Vive Lanctot!" "He is our Saviour!" etc., etc. It was a spontaneous outburst, such as only men with French blood coursing through their veins are capable of. There was no preparation nor inciting of the people, and never before nor since has there been such an ovation given to any man in Canada. Lanctot was carried around — involuntarily — in a carriage alternately drawn by four horses, then by many willing hands. Windows were ablaze, bells were ringing, and bands playing. As the procession passed his home a brother, Phileas, carried out a little tot of a girl to kiss her "conquering" father, as he was hailed; that act greatly stirred the

people. "A grandchild of '37, but *not* born in prison!" they shouted, and threw flowers, hats, and handkerchiefs at the daughter of their leader. If the election had taken place the next day Lanctot's majority would easily have been a thousand or fifteen hundred, but Cartier, shrewd and seasoned politician that he was, knowing well how time subdued such enthusiasm, kept postponing the day; and even with his recognized ability, with fifty thousand dollars spent upon the election, with his leadership and control of the political machinery, he only carried his division by a two hundred and thirty votes majority over his penniless and youthful adversary. Lanctot's career was a checkered one from that time. He held some office at Ottawa for a while, plunged into some speculation scheme in New York, and finally bought a paper at Hull, near Ottawa, in which he valiantly battled for the old principles. Sickness and reverses overcame him, and one night, after a thirty-mile drive that day in the mountains to reach his family's summer home, he breathed his last at the same moment that a cowardly mob was looting and burning his office in the city. He died at the age of thirty-nine, but had lived at least sixty years, and, as an admiring Canadian historian puts it, "he had displayed more talent and greater activity than have many great men who had founded empires!" He certainly was a brilliant lawyer, a remarkable journalist, and an orator of the highest order. If he had lived in 1793 he would have rivalled Camille Desmoulins; if in '37, why, he would either have won the day,— for he *was* an organizer such as the Canadians did not have at that time,— or he would have terminated his career upon a British gallows-tree.

Lanctot's young partner, Wilfrid Laurier, a tall, pale, sickly youth, took but small part in those early struggles, apart from his writings; yet, Lanctot often declared that his sick friend would *not* die that year nor the next, but was of the timber with which liberal prime-ministers were made, a prediction that was verified June 23, 1896.

Wilfrid Laurier was born Nov. 20, 1841, at St. Lin, a modest parish of lower Canada, the son of a land surveyor.

He entered the Assumption college in '54, and gave early evidence of his ability. He was admitted to the bar in '64, and after practising a while with Lanctot in Montreal, he removed, on account of his health, to Athabaska and took charge of the paper, *Le Défricheur*, in the place of Eric Dorion, "*L'Enfant Terrible*," who had just died. Some months afterward the paper also ceased to exist; and Mr. Laurier devoted himself exclusively to his profession, and with such good results that he soon acquired considerable wealth and popularity. He was elected to the local legislature in 1871, then to the Federal chamber in 1873, when he was called upon to reply to the "speech from the throne."

The liberal party had just come into power with a majority of eighty in two hundred and six deputies. The conservatives, who had held the reins for eighteen years with hardly an interruption, were obliged to resign as a sequel to the disgraceful Canadian Pacific scandal that had been brought home to them by Mr. Huntingdon of Shefford. Alexander McKenzie was called upon by Lord Dufferin to form a new ministry. It was a great day for the liberals. Twice they almost had the destinies of the province in their grasp and twice had they been wrecked — once in 1858, under the Brown-Dorion ministry, and again in 1862–64 under the McDonald-Sicotte and the McDonald-Dorion ministries.

This first important speech of Laurier's placed him at once in the front rank of Canadian orators. The surprise of the English members can be imagined when they heard this "young Frenchman" addressing them in the most polished, correct, yes, classical English many of them had ever heard. Later, in 1874, he again charmed them with his marvelous flow of beautiful language in his speech against the expulsion of Riel from the chamber, and later still did he bring his oratorical batteries to bear upon the enemy in the cause of that same poor zealot.

It was after the second revolt in the northwest. The "half-breeds" had been crushed, and Riel, their leader, executed, and his cruel death, or, rather, sacrifice, had pro-

foundly agitated the people. Mr. Blake, then the leader of the opposition, moved a vote of censure against the government, holding it responsible for the troubles that led up to that tragedy; but it was Laurier, Mr. Blake's lieutenant, who carried the honors in that fiery debate. His was a most pathetic appeal to the national conscience, and it was a subject that gave him full play for all his powers of oratory, diction, and sincere eloquence. It was long remembered as the finest effort that had for long been made at Ottawa. He was called the "silver tongued Laurier."

His presence is inspiring, his oratory most brilliant, his word-painting beautiful, his choice of language, both in French and English, superb. He holds his audiences for hours; truly an orator as well as a patriot. Such as he was thirty years ago so is he today. His whole life is a logical, systematic, continued series of chapters without the usual jarring breaks found in most political lives. His politics are of the English liberal school, the school that gave to politics Gladstone and Fox.

When the English leader, Mr. Blake, retired, the mantle of the liberal leadership naturally fell upon the shoulders of his French Canadian lieutenant, Mr. Laurier. Those were trying times, a succession of discouraging defeats. Yet with an energy that won the admiration of even his opponents, he set about elevating the *morale* of his partisans, inspiring hope in them and leading them over all obstacles to a victory in 1896 that, in spite of all, he had ever felt sure of reaching.

His handling of those delicate matters, the "Jesuits' rights," the school troubles in Manitoba and in New Brunswick, and the uprising in the northwest show him to be an intrepid man, a diplomat, and a just and good man.

It was this man who led the party, whose history we have but glanced at, to its notable success in 1896, when for the first time in its history it obtained absolute and complete control of a united Canada. As its leader, he became the prime minister and formed his cabinet; and, next to the queen and

her representative, the governor-general, the nominal ruler of Canada, it is he in whose hands lies the destiny of our northern neighbors. He believes that while languages may separate his people, they should not divide them; that church and state must be separate; that the British constitution is a perfect guide, and that the American arrangement of federal and state rights is a model by which to pattern. Think of the possibilities!

His management of affairs since that election, his policy in dealing with the United States, his action as to the treaties with Belgium and with Germany, his prominence in England during the queen's jubilee,— all these are matters of too recent history to need recapitulation here. Suffice it to add that in England he is looked upon as the peer of any of her statesmen. In France he is compared to Jules Faure; and here in Washington he is known as the Lincoln of Canada, for he, too, was a poor boy who, by his unaided efforts, has risen to the highest place his country can bestow, has united the widely different peoples of that country and brought order out of chaos.

Whatever may have been the virtues of his opposing party, the conservatives, in earlier times, these certainly had become microscopic just prior to its downfall. Scandal followed fast upon scandal, the Langevin, the McGreevy, the Connolly, the Curran Bridge matters were enough to damn a stronger organization. Public works were openly voted upon merely to enrich pet contractors, protection was the instrument with which political subscriptions were extorted from manufacturers, and taxation was heavy upon the land. The party had lost its best men; at least its strongest, Sir John A. McDonald, Sir John Thompson, and Sir John Abbott had died within four years. Sir McKenzie Bowell was a most ordinary man, possessing neither strength of character, statesmanship, nor any of the qualities of a leader. The conservative bark was rudderless, its sails in shreds, its anchor lost, and, with no one left to rig even a jury-sail, it was wrecked upon the rock of public opinion; and, as an enthusiastic liberal has said, "it

remains not even a dangerous derelict in the lane of navigation through which the liberals are steaming under a full head of steam, and with a tried and true pilot at the wheel!"

F. W. FITZPATRICK.

Washington, D. C.

THE DEPARTMENT STORE IN THE EAST.

I. CONFUSION FROM CHEAPNESS IN BOSTON.

CONFUSION from surrounding cheapness — this is the axis upon which revolves that mammoth institution known as the department store.

With the establishment in Paris, some thirty years ago, of the Bon Marché, practically began this novel and tremendously consequential mercantile system. The promoters, in the face of what was considered axiomatic commercial usage, decided that if great quantities of goods, embracing many classes of commodities, could be gathered under one roof and offered for sale at low prices, the bewilderment to the visitors could result profitably. People entering such a store would be attracted, first, by the overwhelming display; and next, by the prices — possible mainly because procured in enormous wholesale consignments — and would be bound to become purchasers. The woman who had bought the few yards of calico wished, perhaps, to buy some groceries; but instead of having to consume time in trudging several squares to the grocery store, she had only to enter the firm's grocery "department," a few steps away, and food material unlimited was to be found. From silks to molasses and from nails to saddlery, the gamut of purchasing could swiftly be run. Convenience and cheapness were likely to keep her ordering until her purse was emptied. The Bon Marché soon proved it had come to stay, and shrewd merchants were not dilatory

in realizing the significance of the fact. In Boston the houses of Jordan, Marsh & Company and R. H. White & Company have become monuments to this discovery.

The objections to the department stores are summed up in the complaints that they are headquarters for sweat-shop goods, pay starvation wages, and effect the demoralization of girls.

The houses of Jordan, Marsh & Company and the R. H. White company constitute the two leading department stores of Boston. The Marsh concern is one of the largest of its class in the world, and the firm is the largest employer of labor in New England. The daily requirements of its business are: 25 tons of coal to warm the store and furnish power, 24 elevators, 1 electric plant, 334 arc lights, 4,612 incandescent lights, 75 departments containing as many classes of merchandise, and 20 foreign buyers to keep them supplied. The chief building of the R. H. White company is near the Marsh store; and as the White company is about to erect a large addition, the space supremacy of the Marsh company over its greatest rival will be of short duration. In fact, these two firms have kept pace with one another in general development.

Close at the heels of these establishments is that of Houghton & Dutton. This firm handles a cheaper class of goods, and caters to a larger class of customers than either Marsh or White, so that its business is enormous. Its growth has recently necessitated a new eight-story addition. The Pitts, Kimball & Lewis company is a fourth large department store, which has made extensive new building additions. Of lesser importance is the B. F. Larrabee Company.

The Jordan-Marsh company and the R. H. White company practically dictate the department store policy in New England, and it will hence be readily understood why their names will occur frequently in this paper.

It is often supposed that the marvelously low prices at which garments and fabrics are sold by the department stores are possible only because the articles are of sweat-shop

production. When one begins to probe this allegation, it is found that it does not rest upon a very certain basis. The fact is, that the great department houses of the city aim largely to possess their own factories and their own supply shops. Capital has enabled them to secure control of grounds and buildings, and shrewdness has declared it was cheaper, in the end, to make their own goods in quantities desired than to purchase generally from sweat-shops, which latter practice was bound to be exposed. The Massachusetts district police, consisting of forty-nine officers, is the body whose duty it is to see that the laws relating to sweat-shops and the ventilation and sanitation of factories and work-rooms are enforced, and that violations of the same are punished. No state in the country has laws of such strictness in regard to the sweating system as has Massachusetts, and the best evidence of the rigor of their enforcement is revealed in the fact that Boston and New England are rapidly falling off in amount of clothing manufactured. To quote from the recent annual report of the district police: —

"Of boys' and children's clothing, 75 per cent. is made in New York, and the other 25 per cent. about equally divided between Boston and the country. This shows an increase in the amount of New York work, and, also, where formerly only the cheapest grade of goods was sent there, now much of the finer grades are being sent. The only fair reason to be deduced is that the work is sent there simply because it is made cheaper. That a city like Boston, protected by a sweating law that guarantees very nearly perfect safety from contagious disease, should gradually lose its trade in favor of less protected cities is a result that can only be remedied by either national or state laws that shall drive out the sweating system."

If one will examine this report, he will discover that, as a rule, little or almost no fault has been found with the condition of the factories, work-rooms, or business buildings used by the great department stores of Boston.

Factory Inspector John T. Griffin declares that sweat-shop

goods are not sold to any great extent over the counters of the large stores in Boston. "Practically no sweat-shops are to be found in Boston," he says. "There is, however, some manipulation of the middleman scheme for getting goods here from New York and elsewhere, goods that are really of sweat-shop make. There are contractors who engage exclusively in this business, but the inspectors are on the alert to catch and convict them. With regard to department stores controlling factories or supply depots, I imagine that many an institution, operating under another name, is really the property of some purely department house. A point that should be remembered, also, is that if there were no labor to be done by women and girls in the hemming and trimming of garments, supposing a machine sewed every button upon every garment, it would be hard for many of these persons to get other employment. Many of them are too ignorant, or are not strong enough, to do other kinds of work." As an illustration of some of the prices paid for this trimming work, there may be mentioned the case of a young woman who operates a sewing machine for the hemming of aprons. She receives eleven cents per dozen. She manages to make about a dollar a day.

There is a Massachusetts branch of the Consumers' League, numbering many thousands. This League has its headquarters in New York, and is conducted by women of means and public spirit, who wish to discourage the sweating system, and secure for those who are employed in the supply or main stores of department firms at least living wages and ordinarily comfortable surroundings while at work. Members of the league visit the department stores and their shops or factories; talk with workers, with foremen, and with heads of firms. In short, they endeavor by all possible means to ascertain the facts. They testify that sweat-shop goods are not now sold to any great extent in these stores.

In a talk with Superintendent Barry of the Jordan-Marsh company, he told me that the average number of employees is 3,000 to 3,500, this force being increased in the holiday

or "rush" season to 4,500 or 5,000. Fully four-fifths of the regular force are women and girls. Their weekly wages average, according to the superintendent, between six and seven dollars, though some are paid as high as fifteen dollars, and a few, heads of departments, twenty dollars. The lowest wages paid to a girl or boy, when beginning in the firm's employ at doing up bundles, is three dollars per week; and Mr. Barry insists that the three-dollar help must live at home. The average wage for boys and men is about eight dollars. The R. H. White company does not employ as large a force as does the Marsh company, but essentially the same scale of wages and requirements are in vogue. Wages at Houghton & Dutton's were lower after the three dollar and six to seven dollar grades are passed. Pitts, Kimball & Lewis employ about 400 people, mostly girls. The average wage is six dollars and a half. They do not pay less than five dollars to a girl who does not live at home.

I presented the information I had obtained at the stores to Mrs. Fannie B. Ames, who is widely known in the movement for the betterment of the condition of working women. Mrs. Ames was for five years a factory inspector, and enjoyed unusual advantages for studying the facts. Here is what she told me concerning an important feature of the store system: —

"The story has been told about many a department store, — that pathetically romantic narrative of the beautiful, innocent, and homeless girl applying at the department store for employment, and being met with the offer of two dollars and a half or three dollars a week, a suggestive shrug, concluding with, 'You have a gentleman friend, of course?' I heard it, first about Wanamaker's; I've heard it about Marsh's and White's. In my opinion, it is a libel. I certainly do believe — and I think I have had something of an opportunity to study the inner workings of the department stores of Boston, — that, considering the large number of girls employed, an excellent grade of morality is maintained. As a factory inspector, I will say that I believe that only an exceedingly small proportion of sweat-shop goods are sold in these estab-

lishments. In the larger stores practically none are sold. The sanitary and ventilating condition of Boston's department stores is excellent. As to wages, I should judge the figures you quote to be representative and accurate.

"I will cite an incident or two from my personal experience: —

"A young woman at Marsh's got into trouble. In time, several of us tried to secure her a place once more in the establishment. I talked with Mr. Barry and he said: 'Mrs. Ames, I should like to give her a position again, for I've no doubt, as you say, she means to keep straight in the future; but you know that there are scores of blameless girls here. This girl's misfortune is known to a few here. The story would eventually get noised about the store and — would it be best to set the example? I will help you to get her a position in another place where her story is not known, and where she will have as good a chance as she ever had with us.' I thought a moment, and I could not say that the man was wrong in his judgment. We found the girl a place in another store.

"I came into Marsh's one evening, and noticed a young woman behind the lace counter. She was engaged in the feat of waiting upon four customers at once. I watched her, being attracted by her deftness and ingenuity. I saw that her face was flushed, that she was evidently very tired, and was not a strong girl anyway. There was no seat behind the counter. I asked her about it, and she said they had been making some repairs the past few days, and had to take the seat out. I went up to Mr. Barry and spoke of this girl, told him of how gracefully she was managing the customers, and how I had been interested in her, 'Yet,' I said, 'Mr. Barry, you haven't the grace to give her a seat!'

"'Mrs. Ames,' said he, 'the seat shall be there within fifteen minutes.' And it was. As inspector, I had vastly more trouble with the small dealers than with the large department houses."

The citation of a few specific instances is not sufficient to prove that the department stores are "hot-beds of immorality," or anything of the sort. It is my opinion, after careful investigation, that the moral status of the workers in Boston's department houses will bear favorable comparison with that

of the mill workers in New Bedford or Fall River. Not long ago a new figure in the firm management, with all that spasmodic zeal which characterizes the new managing editor or the new counting-room despot when a change is made, was "going to improve conditions" at Marsh's. He caused the head of the millinery department to be notified that she "could have all the detectives she wished" in efforts to maintain an awesomely high standard of conduct among her underlings. "All the help you want" ran the ukase. The woman knew it would be policy to "do something." So, out of a hundred and fifty girls, with all the tracking of human hounds, the chasing and dogging of every rumor that could be discovered, the grim eying of the feminine mien in store and out, the mighty minions did actually show that three girls deserved discharge for imprudent or improper social conduct! Would a random one hundred and fifty girls or young men in an assembly of even ethical pretensions show a much more creditable moral standard?

At Jordan-Marsh's, employees are due at 8.30 o'clock in the morning, and leave at 5.30 in the afternoon. During the summer, after June 17, the store closes at one o'clock every Saturday. Many conveniences and aids are offered the clerks. The firm has constructed a gymnasium for the young women, and arrangements have been made to give dancing lessons to those desiring them. We were recently asked to applaud the spectacle of Mr. White, of the R. H. White company, chartering a Boston theater, and going with his hundreds of clerks to witness a meritorious play. There are also the mutual benefit associations, made up of employees of the several department establishments of the city. The members of firms and the heads of departments are honorary members of these associations, and contribute to the sick funds and the means for the annual balls.

The advantages of employment in a big store from the standpoint of the young women were well stated by one girl whom I interviewed:

"It is all very well to talk about prejudice against domestic service," she said, "but the whole thing is just this: working in a store is business, in a kitchen it is drudgery. In a store the girl has some chance to do something for herself. She is put behind a counter and told to sell goods; and she knows if she does it well or better than the others about her she is likely to have her salary raised, or to get a better position in the store. If a girl has plenty of ambition and is really a good saleswoman, after a time she may become a buyer for the house, or a traveler. What has a girl in a kitchen to look for? If she is a fine cook she will stay cook as long as she stays with the family; and when she gets out and wants another job, she has to start as cook again. Another thing is that the girl in a store is responsible for her work to the manager of the department and to nobody else. The girl in a kitchen has to please the wife, husband, children, aunt, and any number of visitors who come around; and to please half a dozen people of different tastes is not an easy thing. Besides, I want my evenings to myself, instead of being stuck in a kitchen six nights out of seven. Why, girls in this store belong to musical clubs and socials by the dozen, and there is not one who would change to go into anybody's home as a servant. Besides that, all girls like company, I guess; and if there is any prejudice about the matter, it is with the young men who come to see the girls. You won't find many men who would go to see a girl who was a 'kitchen mechanic;' for that is what they call them. There is no reason why a girl in a store cannot have as much company as she pleases, as her work does not unfit her for it; but if she starts to cook or take any other situation in a house, she will very soon find that there are reasons enough why no young men will come to see her. I suppose every girl looks forward to the time when she will be married, and her chances of securing a good husband are certainly much better if she is working in a store than if she is a domestic servant. No, there is no feature of domestic service that commends it to girls of ambition."

That the department stores have driven out a large proportion of the retailers cannot be denied, and to dilate upon this fact would be like setting out to prove an axiom. What would exist in case the department houses were abolished?

Merely a lot of small houses, each conducted by two or three men. The army of women workers would be dispensed with. Would not higher prices prevail? Take, for example, a small city or town where there are no department stores. An understanding, more or less, prevails among the several shopkeepers, and a code of prices, constituting a tacit trust, is maintained. Possibly a few stores are hiring women bookkeepers, but that is about as far as the employment of women goes. A pretended cutting of prices may occur once in a year. This state of affairs was practically the case in Boston before the advent of the department system. Would a return to this condition benefit the public? If purchasing at low prices, and saving of time while purchasing, be of consequence to the poor, the department store surely offers a vital assistance. Why can these great firms sell so cheap? Because, fundamentally, they can buy in large quantities — by the train load if desired.

A Maine farmer tells me that he can buy beef from Texas, shipped to New England *via* Kansas City, cheaper than he could get it by going twenty miles away and driving home a steer from a neighboring farm. Why? Mammoth wholesaling and highly organized refrigerator car service. Storm as we will over the "Beef Combine" and the "Standard Oil Octopus," beefsteak and coal oil are cheaper than ever before. So it is in relation to the supremacy of the department store.

There is room for improvement, of course; yet my impression is that the department stores of Boston are conducted with fairness, and prove a boon to the working masses — to those employed in the distributive industry they have concentrated and monopolized, no less than to the great army of consumers.

JOHN LIVINGSTON WRIGHT.

Boston.

II. GENERAL STOREKEEPING IN NEW YORK.

In no city in the world, probably, has the general store attained as complete a development, and entrenched itself so strongly against all possible assaults, trade or otherwise, as in New York. The term "department store," as applied to the great retail mart of today, is, it is maintained by men who have studied this trade development, a misnomer. The term had its origin in the early '70s, when, to economize on rents and to better attract customers, several independent merchants in different lines of trade established themselves under one roof. This, however, was the extent of their connection. Each department or group of departments was a separate business conducted for the individual profit of its owner; and while to the buying public a firm name was sometimes used for the sake of convenience, to the trade world it was perfectly well understood that the department store was not a single business with a homogeneous policy, but an aggregation of widely varying units, under one roof. To a certain very limited extent this is true of the institution known as the department store today, but this feature is so insignificant that it may be disregarded. In one or two of the great stores there are departments which are managed by others than the individuals or corporations under whose name the business is conducted, but in all there are not more than half a dozen such department stores in the two great boroughs of greater New York, where the shopping districts are situated. The great store today is a homogeneous business. Each department is actuated by a common policy, and the profits of the entire aggregation of shops under one roof goes to the enrichment of the firm or corporation conducting the whole. With these facts in mind the great merchants insist that their business is more correctly described as "general storekeeping," than as "department storekeeping."

The question as to the amount of capital employed in the management of department stores in New York seems to be

impossible to answer. I have been unable to find any merchant who would venture even the roughest estimate. Each is unwilling to tell the amount invested in his own business, and all declare that they are unable to form any opinion of the capital possessed by their neighbors. It is certain, however, that the capital, as compared to the volume of business done, is small. Money is turned over frequently in the course of a year, and a dollar that invested in another business might earn three or four per cent. in a year, will earn many times that amount when used in the purchase and sale of goods in the department store. There are, however, about twenty-five large stores in the greater New York, and the capital invested in them has been quoted to me all the way from $15,000,000 to $30,000,000.

In these twenty-five stores there are, it is estimated, about 30,000 employees. Some of the largest employ as many as 3,500 persons, and some of the smallest only two or three hundred. Of this great army nearly three-fourths are women, who are chiefly employed in selling, and there is still a large number of children. It is a gratifying fact, though, that the employment of children is constantly on the decrease, and will probably, in a few years, have practically disappeared. Employed chiefly as messengers, "cash" boys and girls, and in similar capacities, their place is being rapidly taken by mechanical devices, which, it is asserted, perform the work required much more rapidly and accurately, while relieving the merchants from the odium so frequently cast upon them by zealous philanthropists and reformers that they are growing rich on the life blood of children.

In this connection a consideration of the treatment of employees of the great New York stores may be interesting. There can be no doubt that the employee of the general store is much to be envied by the employee of the little shopkeeper, and in many instances by the shopkeeper himself. To begin with, the employee of the general store is better paid. Wages of salespersons and clerks in the great stores range from $6 or $7 to $25 a week; and buyers and heads of departments

receive salaries greater in many instances than cabinet ministers, and much greater than the profits of any but the most successful exclusive shopkeepers. In the general store, such work as cleaning out the store, caring for stoves, etc., is done by specially detailed forces of porters. The employee of the general store works in well lighted, well ventilated quarters, with all the most improved toilet and sanitary appliances. In most of the stores there is a retiring room, with a physician in attendance for the employee who may be suddenly stricken with sickness or exhaustion. There is not the same opportunity for tyranny by employers in the great as in the little store. The general store is run by rule, and the personal element is rarely felt. If it should be to any glaring extent the pressure of public opinion would soon correct it.

Much has been done toward ameliorating the condition of those employed in the great stores by the Consumers' League, a national organization with branches in the principal cities of the United States. The Consumers' League is composed of public spirited and philanthropic women, who, noticing the abuses in the great stores, particularly in the field of labor in which women and children are employed, and observing the futility of legislation to check these abuses, cast about for an effectual means of influencing the proprietors. They found this means in an intelligent use of their patronage, and have in effect applied the much despised "boycott" in regulating the conditions under which such labor is employed.

The feature of the work of the Consumers' League is its "white list," a list of stores, the conditions in which conform to a standard adopted by the league after exhaustive investigation and consultation with both employers and employees.

The standard is:

STANDARD OF A FAIR HOUSE.

Wages.

A Fair House is one in which equal pay is given for work of equal value, irrespective of sex. In the departments where women only are employed, in which the minimum wages are

six dollars per week for experienced adult workers, and fall in few instances below eight dollars.

In which wages are paid by the week.

In which fines, if imposed, are paid into a fund for the benefit of the employees.

In which the minimum wages of cash girls are two dollars per week, with the same conditions regarding weekly payments and fines.

Hours.

A Fair House is one in which the hours from 8 A.M. to 6 P.M. (with three-quarters of an hour for lunch) constitute the working day, and a general half-holiday is given on one day of each week during at least two summer months.

In which a vacation of not less than one week is given with pay during the summer season.

In which all overtime is compensated for.

Physical Conditions.

A Fair House is one in which work, lunch, and retiring rooms are apart from each other, and conform in all respects to the present sanitary laws.

In which the present law regarding the providing of seats for saleswomen is observed, and the use of seats permitted.

Other Conditions.

A Fair House is one in which humane and considerate behavior toward employees is the rule.

In which fidelity and length of service meet with the consideration which is their due.

In which no children under fourteen years of age are employed.

Of course the objects of the organization were at first misunderstood, and it met with some opposition from the general store managers, who feared that their business methods would be upset if they yielded to supervision by outsiders. In a short time, however, they came to realize that the work of the league was beneficial to their interests rather than hurtful, and now, with one or two exceptions, every general store in the country of any importance, is included in the "white list" published by the league.

It is interesting to note here that the only violators of the mercantile employment law, which was passed in 1896 as the result of agitation by societies of women and philanthropists to correct alleged abuses in the department stores, are the small shopkeepers; and, although it applies to them equally with the large stores, it is violated almost without exception by them, and that, too, every day in the week.

The growth of the general store has been little affected by legislation. Various attempts have been made by legislators and societies to secure the passage of laws restricting the scope of its activities, but none have been successful in New York. A few laws similar to the factory regulations were passed from time to time, and these were codified in the mercantile employment law of 1896. The chief feature of this law is that it regulates the hours of labor which may be exacted from women and minors, fixing the maximum at sixty hours a week, except for two weeks during the holiday season, when a little latitude is allowed; and prescribes the provision of seats for saleswomen, lunch-rooms, and proper sanitary facilities. This law was passed as the result of an agitation by certain societies interested in the work of women and children, and was approved by the merchants in the form in which it was passed, which entrusts the enforcement of the law to the local boards of health throughout the state. As originally presented, the enforcement of the law was given to the factory inspectors, but this evoked so much opposition that it was amended.

All of these regulations the merchants maintained, at the time of the passage of the law, were already in force in their stores; and the truth of this contention was shown by a report of a committee of the Central Labor Union, which investigated the conditions in the department stores during the agitation for the passage of the law. From the origin of this committee, it cannot be accused of being inclined to unduly favor great aggregations of capital such as are presented by the department stores. The investigation was undertaken at the request of a woman's society which described in ap-

palling terms the heartrending condition of the women and children in the stores. The committee visited all the large stores in Manhattan, and reported that the agitation was wholly unwarranted. The children, it reported, were fairly paid, and better cared for than many of them would have been in their homes. In many stores it found schools which the boys and girls attended for an hour or two each day. The work, the committee found, was light, and one committeeman declared that the sanitary appliances were far superior to those in any workingman's tenement.

On the whole, there seems to be little doubt that the community of the greater New York at large is benefited by the change from many small dealers to a few great ones. There is no doubt that the low prices at which goods are offered has stimulated buying, and thus benefited manufacturing. The manufacturer has to be contented with a smaller percentage of profit than formerly, but his increased output more than compensates him, and he provides employment for a greater number of men at better wages than ever before. An investigation in 1893 by the senate committee on finance, in connection with labor organization, and committees of merchants and chambers of commerce all over the country, showed that, while the cost of manufactured products had been steadily falling since 1865, the wages of labor had been as steadily increasing.

Complaint is made by many that the general store has stifled the art of selling. This is admitted by the New York general store manager. His salespersons do not urge the customer to buy, and dilate upon the beauties of his wares. They simply hand the customer what he or she wants, and make a record of the sale. It is not his desire, the merchant says, to sell the customer what he does not want, and, as proof of his good faith in this respect, he is always ready to accept the return of any article purchased within a reasonable time, and return the money paid for it, notwithstanding the fact that, in delivering the article, he may have incurred an expense greater than its value.

The one objection which I have not heard satisfactorily answered is, that in certain lines requiring expert knowledge in the salesperson the department store in New York has failed to give adequate service. Books, for instance, are a case in point. Almost every general store has added a book department within the last few years, and one of them has probably the largest and most complete bookstore in the country. Indeed the failure of one of the best-known booksellers in America, a short time ago, was attributed largely to the competition of this general store; but even in this store, the ignorance of their wares displayed by the salespersons is lamentable. The general store man answers that in these days of universal education the public knows what it wants, and a knowledge of the contents of books is not necessary to sell them by title. In spite of this, however, and in spite of the fact that the general store sells books for a third less than the bookseller did, the reading public will, I think, deplore the disappearance of the bookseller who knew and loved his wares.

Another line of goods requiring a special knowledge, where the general store in New York has signally failed, is bicycles. It is true that most of the New York stores today sell the cheaper grades of bicycles, but two of them which attempted the sale of high-grade machines last year made a complete failure of it. One admitted frankly that the general store could not sell high-grade bicycles in competition with the exclusive dealer, except at ruinously reduced prices; and the other, while still continuing the attempt, has lost thousands of dollars in one year's experiment. It is the opinion, however, of the department store men that even this drawback will be overcome before long. One of the best-informed men on retail selling in New York declares that he foresees the time when every department of retail trade would be concentrated under the roof of the general store.

"Manufacturing will not be affected," he says. "It will proceed on a comparatively small scale. From its nature, it requires the entire attention of the directing mind to conduct

it at a profit; but I foresee between the manufacturer, even of the most artistic classes of goods, and the general store a union for the economical marketing of his products. The manufacturer will not lose his individuality, but where his name is a valuable trade-mark it will be retained, and the public will get the benefit of artistic production and expert distribution."

JOHN S. STEELE.

New York City.

III. LARGE STORES IN PHILADELPHIA.

PHILADELPHIA was really the first American city to have a department store. It is asserted that New York had one some time before, but that store was not strictly a department one. The owners of the large Philadelphia general stores are averse to the term "department," as their definition of that word is a store in which the various departments are leased to men who have had a business of their own. Here all the departments are under one management, although there is a head for each, who in turn is responsible to the owners of the establishment.

The amount of money invested in six of the leading stores in this city can be stated only in the millions, and one house alone did a business last year of $17,000,000, and always had from $4,000,000 to $5,000,000 worth of stock on hand. The business done by the other stores amounted to about $19,000,000. So the six leading stores handled in 1898 over $36,000,000. To do this large business required a large army of employees. In dull seasons the number is less, and the figures given out by the various heads of departments foot up to about 10,800 employees, while in the fall and during the holidays the number is swelled to about 16,000. All these are not strictly confined to the business section of

the store, as many are employed on the books, the delivery wagons, and in keeping the stores in order.

John Wanamaker was the founder of the general store in Philadelphia, and from a small beginning he now has here the greatest general store in the United States. He has another in New York, which, contrary to expectation, has been a success from the beginning. It is stated he will also soon have one of the largest stores in Boston. When he concentrated a number of departments under one roof there was raised a cry of monopoly, which extended throughout the city ; and it was loudest in the sections which for years before controlled such lines of business as he took under his roof. Prior to this innovation it was almost impossible to secure more than one class of goods in one store, as each dealer kept only a certain line. Since the institution of the general store by Mr. Wanamaker, more have sprung up, and today the business section of the city has all that seems to be needed. They all seem prosperous, for each year additions are made, plants extended, and the business in every way increased.

One of the good results attained by the general stores is a distinct improvement in business methods. All goods are plainly marked with the price, and there is no deviation from it. Besides this, the owners of these stores cater to the people and facilitate matters for the buyer in every way. The system of exchange touches a weak spot in a woman; if a purchaser should determine to return the goods, or if they are not satisfactory, the money is readily returned. This system has done more to make the general stores a success than almost anything else. The idea was distinctly a Philadelphia one, although there is hardly a store in a city of prominence in the United States that does not now conduct its business on the same plan.

The department or general stores in Pennsylvania have thus far been free from legislative attention, but of late there has been considerable agitation in relation to them. At this writing there is a bill before the legislature, which, if passed,

will make the lot of an owner of a general store anything but enviable. It provides for a tax to be graded on the amount of business done, and when the gross amount rises above $100,000, the tax rate increases. This bill has created considerable uneasiness as it affects all kinds of business, and a big fight is to be made against it by the leading merchants of the state. The general stores have here, as elsewhere, crushed out the small dealers. Prior to the advent of the general stores, certain sections of the city were known as shopping centers, and in each the class of goods sold was distinctive from all others. What was once known as a prosperous district has become almost a thing of the past, and a number of old-time merchants have retired, gone into liquidation, or been compelled to close their stores on account of the falling off in business and their inability to meet their obligations. These are the views taken by the small dealers. On the other hand, the managers of the general stores do not admit that they have had much effect on the small dealers, and they assert that there are more small stores on such streets as Second, South, Lancaster avenue, Columbia avenue, and in Germantown and Frankford than formerly, and declare that these seem to be about as prosperous as ever. But in regard to the classified stores in the heart of the city they do not show the increase they should, although to all outward appearances they do not show any sign of deterioration. The general opinion, however, is that the small stores feel the effect of the concentration of business. As before stated, the department stores are in the center of the city and it is easy for the shopper to go clean from one to the other. The public is benefited also in having larger stocks from which to select and in the lower prices made possible by this concentration.

While the vast army of employees are kept busy, their comfort is not lost sight of. During their luncheon they have a room set aside for their use, and some of the stores dispense hot coffee and tea free of charge to those in their employ. For them reading-rooms are maintained and benefit societies and savings funds. One of the large stores gives an annual

entertainment to its employees at the Academy of Music, and for it only the best talent is engaged. Salaries, as a rule, are small, but their average is as large as is paid in almost any other line. The errand and cash boys get from $2.50 to $4 a week, the latter sum being the maximum. The salespeople are divided into so many classes that it is almost impossible to estimate what they receive. A beginner starts in at from $3 to $6 a week, and as he becomes more experienced he is advanced. The average salesperson does not generally receive over $10 a week, although some get as high as $50. To secure $25 a week the salesman or saleswoman must be of unusual ability in his or her line, and when such are found they are well taken care of. The buyers, or heads of departments, command good salaries, these ranging from $2,000 to $10,000 the year. In almost all cases these department heads are persons who at one time conducted businesses of their own, and were selected for their fitness in the department of which they have charge. All the stores are divided into departments, Wanamaker's having upwards of seventy, Gimbel's fifty-three, and the other stores in proportion.

Another feature of the Philadelphia general stores is the free delivery service. This is also something which the small stores did not provide to any great extent, but now the large stores deliver goods anywhere in the city, as well as to suburban points. Some of them deliver goods free within a radius of sixty miles. To do this they have a system of delivery wagons stationed at certain points, so as to keep the expense down as low as possible. It is estimated that it requires fully five hundred wagons to do this business, and it is safe to say that the department stores here have at least one thousand horses which they use in the transaction of their business.

Considerable business is done in Philadelphia through purchasing agents. These people have no direct connection with any house, and they are generally those who have friends in the country, for whom they do shopping. They do not confine their purchases to any one store, but patronize the ones

that are best suited to the wants of their customers. All the stores are anxious to secure the business of these agents, and on nearly all kinds of goods they allow them a discount of ten per cent. These agents collectively do a large business. Another feature for which the general stores of Philadelphia are noted, is the amount of advertising done by them. They are all believers in the use of printers' ink and use it generously and judiciously. Most have departments that attend to this work alone, and one of the Philadelphia stores pays its advertising manager a sum far in excess of that secured by many leading editors of this country. The latest development in this line is the purchase, by John Wanamaker, of The North American, said to be the oldest daily newspaper in the United States, to be distributed free of charge to "subscribers" and to be used as the advertising medium of his Philadelphia enterprise.

One advantage the department stores have in Philadelphia is their close proximity to the Pennsylvania railroad and Philadelphia and Reading railway companies' passenger stations. Both these railroads deposit their passengers within a few minutes' walk of the leading stores, and as these stores are greater than any country fair, they are generally the first place visited by strangers. Each of the six stores in Philadelphia pursues a distinct policy in the manner of conducting the business, but the result is an effort to get as nearly as possible to the country merchant's plan, except that instead of barter, cash is required. The stores have almost the same number of working hours for their employees, and they have what is known as an early and late week. Those that report one week at 8 in the morning go home at 5.30 in the evening, and those that come at 8.30 remain till 6. Each week there is a change made, so that no one has to remain until the store closes two weeks in succession. The department stores have done away with night work, and it is seldom that a salesperson has to remain after 6 o'clock in the evening. A few of the stores keep open until 10 o'clock for about two weeks before Christmas.

Holidays in the department stores are, as a rule, few and far between. The Fourth of July, Decoration day, and Christmas are the only days that are fully observed. During the summer months most of them close on Saturday at one o'clock, and each employee gets from one to two weeks' vacation, according to length of service.

SAMUEL R. KIRKPATRICK.

Philadelphia.

ONE VIEW OF NATIONAL UNITY.

WHATEVER may be the outcome of current contentions, it seems clear that from now on we must rub against the other peoples of the earth. The nations are getting big and the world is getting small. The inevitable result is crowding and elbowing. What are the characteristics which best fit a nation to hold its own in such a case? The question must be considered anew from many sides. Only one of these sides will be noted here.

It would seem that in modern states a certain fluidity within is the best assurance of solidity in the outward aspect. The nation which presents an unbroken front to the rest of the world, from one century to another, is the one which best holds its several parts together; and it is not the strong hand and fixed decrees which will accomplish this end. The strong hand may be indispensable as a temporary resource. Established metes and bounds have their use. But these things are preparatory and provisional. The peoples are growing up, and cannot be controlled by the prescription and discipline which served for their childhood. A nation is no longer strong in its ability to preserve unchanged the relations of its various members one to another. It is strong in its capacity for unlimited internal readjustment of relations. Its ultimate interest does not lie in keeping apart the things that are separate. Classes, functions, forces in society: these

are not to be held each in its separate sphere. The more they collide and mingle and put themselves into new relations, and then change those for still other relations, the better it will be for the public health. The more unchangeable we are, the more we have to fear from revolution. The more freely we welcome changes, the more truly united we become. It was not simply good marksmanship, good seamanship, and good fighting which won in last year's war. It was quite as much the united people who were back of our soldiers and sailors. There are harder and longer conflicts ahead of us; and the things which make way for change and which therefore make for union among us are the things that will make for success when the pinch comes.

To be strong industrially, a people must continue to be industrially mobile and adaptable. Whatever tends to make permanent industrial classes among us is so far harmful. Capitalists who are forever and only capitalists, and employees who are forever and only employees, are a menace to our national well-being. An hereditary order of coal miners may threaten our peace and safety as much as an hereditary order of nobility.

To be strong politically, a nation must have a governmental system which makes adequate provision for its own reform and re-reform. Every secret discontent must find opportunity for utterance; and every voice that is raised must have a chance to be heard. Governmental machinery which hinders change till there is time for second thought is good; for the second thought is generally an improvement on the first. But machinery which hinders beyond that is bad; for the after-thought of those who are balked in an attempt to set abuses right, does not look to social unity. We have confidence that a federal system will, among an intelligent and widely scattered people, best accomplish these ends; for in such a system, the purpose which finds expression in the government of each part is incorporate in the larger purpose which finds expression in the government of the whole. But any system, regarded simply as fixed and final, is a dangerous thing.

These propositions have many corollaries, one of which has to do with public education. The forces which make for unity or for disunion are, at the heart of them, spiritual forces. Public education looks not only to the enrichment, but to the unification of the spiritual life of the people. Or let us say that the literature and the schools of a people work together to that end. How, then, is public education — the education of the schools and education by the printing-press — to do its best service in the making of a permanently united people?

The question suggests some interesting passages in the history of modern education. The nations of Europe through many centuries were dependent upon the church for the maintenance of anything that could be called, in the deeper sense, national unity. Divided as they were by distinctions of rank; isolated by natural barriers which modern means of communication had not yet overcome; they nevertheless met on common ground in the ministrations of religion. When national churches came into existence, after the Reformation, this consciousness of unity in religion was intensified; for the religion of one state was a denial of the religion of its neighbor, and served as a most inspiring battle cry in the event of war between the two. But when the spirit of protest went still further and introduced division between members of the same political body, the result was bewildering.

It was at this point and partly in consequence of this state of things, as it would seem, that modern school systems came into being. Uncertainly and only half-consciously, the nations of central Europe sought a new ground of spiritual unity in public education.

This is not the place to prophesy as to the outlook for a new religious unity. The churches are well aware of the task which is set for them to work out. But for generations yet, the maintenance of real spiritual unity in a great people such as ours, must be the combined work of the schools and the public press.

This agency of unification is suited to the spirit of the time. For free schools and a free press do not work toward

a fixed external order of things. They have no skill to impose metes and bounds upon society. Whether they will it or not, they foster the nobler sort of discontent. They arouse ambition. They increase the demand for continued readjustment of social relations and increase also the ability to make such readjustment.

Our American systems of public instruction, after all the adverse criticism which may be passed upon them, are fairly well fitted for their part in such a work. They are freely open to all; and each grade of school points up to higher grades, and so on to the highest. The child who enters a primary school in any part of this land, sees there the beckoning hand of the university. At the same time our periodical literature is scattered broadcast, carrying a knowledge of the ideas and the ideals of our great civilization-centers into the remotest corners of the land. There is every incitement here to think away from the partial views of one's immediate circle and to think toward the thoughts that the rest of the people are thinking.

It would seem impossible under our system that any exclusive intellectual aristocracy should grow up, set off from their fellows by formal barriers, and feeling only contempt for the common sense of the people. Yet that danger will undoubtedly appear. Nor is it to be avoided by compromising the interests of higher scholarship; for to do so would involve a loss which no modern nation can afford to risk. University scholarship must go higher, and at the same time the intellectual sympathy of university men must go lower. Univerversity settlements and university extension are important; but they will not accomplish their full work unless they be the expression of a deeply grounded university sentiment, which will find and make many other channels for its expression. Our noblest literature, too, will not in the long run be that which grows up in any sort of artificial isolation — the literature of the literati — but rather that which comes into vital contact with the life of the people.

But conflict, change, endless reform are not for themselves.

We may pronounce the praise of our turbulent life, in a land of free and rapid readjustments, only because we look beyond the turbulence to that which it signifies. It is well that old forms should be broken and cast aside, in order that we may get at the reality which lies back of these coverings; in order that the spiritual forces of our modern world may gain the mastery, and make and re-make with larger freedom the forms which they require.

So the more fluid condition of the foremost modern societies is simply our way of getting more nearly at the essence of things. And the nearer we get to essential realities, the more do we find that is to the interest, not of one nation only, but of all nations — the common interests of humanity. The unit of political science, and of political art as well, the sovereign state, has, after all, a little the appearance of a provisional arrangement marked off by provisional, not to say artificial, boundaries — a necessary conception in the science, which would melt into vague sentiment without it: and in practice a thing worth living and dying for — a fit object for all the devotion which patriotism can lavish upon it. Yet the definition of sovereignty is hard to frame, and absolute sovereignty is hard to maintain.

We may not be sanguine as to the immediate outcome of peace congresses, and may entertain doubts as to whether international law is really law at all. But we like to indulge now and then in the far-off look. At such a time it seems as if peace congresses and international law, and the daily intercourse of nations more than all, were pointing toward some sort of larger state, in which all peoples on the earth will be participants.

Can we not take both the far view and the near view? Conflict between the great nations will doubtless come. Each nation must have its share, too, of disturbance and conflict within. With anything like equality of resources, that nation may hope to fare best in the outward struggle which is most easily and most frequently reformed and reconstructed in consequence of internal disturbance. The nation which

most readily yields to the transforming process from within, is the nation which will approximate most rapidly to those ideas and sentiments which are not private or provincial or narrowly national in their character, but are of worth to all peoples and nations.

So it seems to come to this, that that nation will be strongest which has most of the federal spirit; and the same nation will in time make the greatest progress in the peaceful conquest of its neighbors, through the inherent force of its moral ideas. The furthering of some such process as this seems to be the high calling of public education in America.

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STATE CONTROL OF TRUSTS.

AMONG the great questions of the future, that involving the industrial trusts is possibly of first importance. It affects in a large degree the future industrial life, not only of this country, but of the human race, forming, as it were, the leading symptom of the great malady of the present commercial age, and presaging the powerful influence it will exert upon the political, social, and religious development of mankind in the near future. Looking at this modern industrial leviathan from this standpoint, it is surprising how little is generally known of the real causes of the trusts and their far-reaching tendencies upon modern civilization. Not until there exists a deeper public insight into the true causes of the trusts and the cosmic forces which create and maintain them, can we hope to have a correct understanding concerning them; nor will it until then be possible to legislate intelligently with reference to their effect upon the body politic.

The trusts are the natural outgrowth of economic condi-

tions, and can no more be suppressed by penal enactment than can the tides of the sea. The evolutionary principles — the struggle for existence and that of coöperation or association — are the cosmic germs from which springs the industrial trust of today. The closing century has been one in which individualism based upon the principle of the struggle for existence has found its widest scope. The doctrine of free contract and the right to sell for the highest price and to buy for the cheapest, while it has been a powerful incentive to individual development and general progress, has pushed the principle of competition to the farthest limit in industrial enterprise and has forced the second cosmic force, that of association and coöperation under the concrete form of collectivism, into sharp and active antagonism with the first, and is about to throw these otherwise correlative natural forces out of poise.

Scientists inform us that among animals and primitive man, whenever there exists among the herd or tribe a member which, by reason of its physical strength and prowess, acquired chiefly in conflicts with other herds and tribes, has grown so strong and powerful as to threaten the welfare, or possibly the existence of the aggregate herd or tribe, the instinct of association among these herds or tribes, will turn on the dangerous individual member and either expel or destroy him. This cosmic principle asserts itself with similar force in modern industrial life. Individual effort of the great "captains of industry" is about to threaten society, by forcing it to submit to the control of the industrial trust, and society is about to rise in its might to destroy the trust. But when the question arises of how it will destroy it, then the comparison or parallel of the natural phenomenon with the industrial one disappears. This is only apparently so, however, and differs only in the means to be employed. The animal herd or the primitive human tribe resorts to physical force, to destroy or expel the recalcitrant member. Society, however, would resort to peaceful means and set about removing the causes which create and further the growth of trusts, under the en-

lightened methods of science and the principles of justice. Nor should society make the mistake of going to the other extreme and step to the full length of the cosmic principle of association or coöperation, popularly known as collectivism or socialism in their radical forms, as this means retrogression, if not destruction. The sooner the public mind learns that individualism and collectivism are correlative forces based respectively upon the natural laws of the struggle for existence and that of coöperation, and must, as nearly as possible, remain in equipoise, in order to produce normal evolution or progress, the sooner will a correct solution of the trust question be found. This great lesson needs to be fully learned before mankind can hope to escape the mistake of the past in the solution of this problem. The trouble with past ages has been that society has drifted too far in one direction — either entirely to individualism or entirely to socialism. At one period there was a strong pressure for communism and at another a loud cry for the greatest personal freedom, and so the industrial world has toiled on from century to century flying from one extreme to the other, as a steel film between two magnetic poles.

Now let us see how these two great cosmic forces have contrived to bring about present industrial conditions. In the first place the financial schemes of the past have been chiefly in the interest of the individual who controlled money and could thereby affect the price of commodities by controlling the volume of money. Money was for ages coined on private account, and when the government made it a public concern and coined it by public mint, it finally again drifted back into the power of individuals to control its coinage and then its volume, by abolishing the bimetallic standard and resorting to the single gold standard. This in turn produced a contraction of the volume of money and a general and continuous fall of prices of all commodities, and forced individual enterprise out of the hands of the many into the hands of the few. In the meantime, invention under the stimulus of individual prestige grew apace, and labor-saving machinery, while

it took the drudgery from the laborer, yet forced him to abandon his private shop and place himself under cover of the "captains of industry" in the factory. Thus the coöperation which grew up among the thousands and hundreds of thousands of different craftsmen the world over was gradually compressed under the head of the various great factories, and is now concentrating in fewer and still fewer managements — commonly called trusts. Thus the competitive principle based on the cosmic force of the struggle for existence, has financially made competition impossible, and collectivism is challenged to attack this industrial enigma and to again restore competition. Thus are we brought face to face with the anomaly of the present industrial situation. In this wise the principle of individualism has had its effect in producing the trust. How has association — or coöperation, or collectivism, all used here as similar terms and based upon the cosmic force of coöperation — had its effect in creating the trust? To find its social beginning we must go back to the statute of mortmain, since developed into the modern industrial corporation. It was found in the rapid growth of industrial enterprises that the individual could not so readily accomplish alone what an aggregate company of individuals could perform collectively by their joint means and skill, and so we soon see the old business partnership and voluntary business association, drifting under cover of the written business charter direct from the government. Not only is individual means and skill augmented by association, but individual risk is diminished, and the business enterprise practically perpetuated and monopolized. Under the charter of a private corporation are conducted not only nearly all the great factories of the present day, but also the great transportation systems on land and sea. These found their beginnings in the private caravan and the single sailboat, but have grown into great trans-continental railways and the fleets of international steamship lines, and are fast being brought under the control of a few great systems, which may pool their rates at pleasure, and which usually place them as high as the busi-

ness will permit and yet not operate prohibitively.* The original corporation existed in the number of individuals who composed it. The latest type of the corporation is an aggregate of many smaller corporations, and stands for all in trust; so that today the monopoly of the business in each certain line, whether it be railroads, telegraphs, telephones, oil wells, coal fields, tanneries, cotton and woollen mills, shoe factories, department stores, or peanut stands, is complete and undisputed.

Having thus acquainted ourselves with the causes which create and maintain trusts, let us now consider their effect upon civilization. First of all we have the effects of the money trust, with its growing tendency to contract the volume of primary money, and the consequent fall of prices of all commodities; the burden of public and private debt increasing as products fall in price; the growing difficulty of the producer to either sell at remunerative prices, or to earn money to pay interest and taxes and buy necessaries, let alone paying past indebtedness; a constantly rising monetary standard on the one side and a constantly falling market on the other; the enrichment of the money-holding class and the impoverishment of the producing class, and likewise the enrichment of the creditor class and the impoverishment of the debtor class; the paralysis of enterprise and labor; the pauperization and industrial enslavement of the masses, and the undue enrichment of the classes; in a word, industrial stagnation. Second, we encounter the effects of the transportation trusts, which are chiefly of the nature of discrimination — building up certain enterprises, municipalities, communities, states, and entire sections, at the expense of others; the bane of the long and short haul, which builds up enterprise at the beginning and end of the long haul, and destroys it at all intermediate points, and makes the transportation business profitable, only by placing the high rates on the short haul

* The truth of this statement is not materialy affected by the decision of the Supreme Court against pooling since the article was written. Outwardly the law is obeyed and the Joint Traffic Association dissolved, but the law in this, as in other instances of attempted restriction of railroad combinations and other trusts, is notoriously evaded by private agreement. — Editor, The Arena.

and so-called local traffic. This accounts for the success of the great oil, coal, and iron trusts and smaller trusts of manufacturing and commercial enterprises. Then comes the secret of pooling of rates among a few great trunk lines to the detriment of weaker lines. Last, but not least, we find absolute dependence of the producer upon the railways to haul his freight at any price, no matter whether reasonable or unreasonable.

Now we come to the manufacturing trusts, which, on account of low prices, press constantly upon the wages of the laborer, make him more and more dependent upon his employer, force him to cut the wages of his fellow laborer in spite of trades unions and labor federations, and which constantly adds to the army of the unemployed. Then there are the telegraph and telephone trusts, which control the transmission of all intelligence, charge high rates, and inveigh against improved and cheaper inventions and methods in the service. There is no lack of commercial trusts of all descriptions, from that which builds an armed steel cruiser down to a match box combine; trusts which monopolize the whole field of industrial enterprise and which produce and sell everything we use, eat, drink, and wear, at such prices as the particular enterprise will bear. It is contended by certain people that trusts have a tendency to cheapen and improve commodities. This is an egregious mistake. The tendency of monopoly was never to act upon motives of charity or benevolence, but wholly on selfish principle, and if some things are cheaper now than formerly, it is because they cannot be sold for more. Neither is it true that the cost of production has been materially diminished. It is true that some waste is prevented in large establishments which necessarily takes place in smaller ones, yet the risks of capital have increased and much waste occurs in the process of concentration, in the way of buying up old and dilapidated plants and preventing the establishment of new ones. The depressing effect upon all agricultural products is especially noticeable, and must continue as labor is deprived of steady employment and liberal

wages, and as the smaller capitalist is crowded to the wall by the larger one — the trust. Not only are the effects of the trusts felt industrially, but politically as well. It can no longer be denied that they exert a powerful influence upon all municipal, state, and national legislation, as well as upon the machinery and administration of the laws in the courts of the country. The popular charges that these great aggregations of capital sometimes warp the proceedings of legislative assemblies and the decisions of courts — and even popular elections — have ceased to be the baseless vaporings of demagogues. It is but too true that often they must be justified. They have risen to the dignity of public danger signals, which every sincere reformer will do well to heed in time.

It is perfectly evident that the present process of concentration, if permitted to continue, must eventuate in either private or state socialism, either of which would lead to disaster. Private socialism would so restrict production, as to compel the consumer to pay the highest price for commodities, with a constantly diminishing stock of means on his part, and make him absolutely dependent on the whims and caprices of the monopolist, whose industrial slave he would thus become in the full sense of the word. State socialism, in its radical sense, would possess itself of all means of production and distribution, and thus destroy all private property and the incentive to individual exertion. It would tend to degrade the worker to the same level with the drone. Its attempt at equality would extinguish all higher endeavor, and, after a few generations of failure, place society at the foot of the ladder of progress, to again begin its toilsome ascent by the way of the immutable laws of evolution. Thus we have a silent but certain, if not speedy, transformation of the entire industrial system going on, which, while perfectly quiet in its operation, is nevertheless revolutionizing our industrial life, as well as our civic institutions.

What is the remedy?

Penal repression? No! This must fail in the future as it has in the past. Not only have many states a penal statute

against trusts, but there is a federal law as well, and yet the trusts increase rapidly every year. Free trade? Trusts thrive in free-trade England as well as they do in America. The true reformer must resort to means of relief which go to the very core of the evil and which are remedial rather than penal or drastic in their nature. That government is forced to extend its activities in many directions, which, under the doctrine of *laissez-faire*, were believed to be entirely within the province of private effort, can no longer be denied by all who place the welfare of the masses above the enrichment of the classes, and who would prevent the growth of the cormorant on the one hand, and the proletariat on the other. It must also be borne in mind that the trusts are not the only product of the great social evolution that has been progressing since the abolition of feudalism. The social mind and the social conscience are the two powerful factors that the modern age of industrialism has evolved, and placed in opposition to commercialism. They are forces that must now be reckoned with in a proper solution of the great industrial problem.

Man has come to know society as a great living organism, conscious to think and act through the social mind and conscience, for the protection and welfare of its individual members, with the interests of the individual and society reciprocal and identical and harmonious. He has come to know that the struggle for existence has thus reached its secondary stage and, shorn of its former brutal character, has assumed the more human and softening aspect of the conflict of mind over matter, of justice over brute force. But the question at last becomes a practical one, and resolves itself into an inquiry of fact rather than of doctrine. The two great cosmic forces which we placed at the foundation of the manifestations of present industrial conditions will continue to alternate in application as they are set free to do so by economic forces, and there is no danger that their equilibrium will be destroyed as long as they are thus liberated.

If, under normal economic conditions, government should

either by control or ownership, do that which it can perform better and cheaper for society, than can the individual, then there is no reason why it should not do so. But government should never interfere where public enterprise is not a public necessity, and does not concern the general welfare. Here the old rule of "so use thine own as not to injure thy neighbor" will always remain the correct doctrine, and the one best calculated to develop the individual as well as society. But the fact is that government has gone too far in its restraint of the masses and its undue favoritism of the classes, instead of standing for the protection of the masses against the onslaught of the classes under legal enactments and private franchises and privileges. This is not only so in the case of unequal tariffs and taxes, but is especially so in that legislation of this country and Europe, within the past twenty-five years, which affects the monetary system of this country as well as that of Europe. What is wanted above everything else, is that government should so legislate as to offer an equal opportunity to every individual to earn according to his capacity. This the trust will not permit him to do under present conditions. If, however, the economic forces were set free which produce and maintain bimetalism, the money trust would cease to exist, inasmuch as the standard of value would cease enhancing in value as commodities fall in value, but would attain an approximately stable value, and therefore insure a rising market and, finally, stability of prices — both conditions fatal to the existence of the trust. The industrial trust can only thrive on a falling market, and falls to pieces by the sharp attack of competition which a rising market inevitably superinduces. This again would force money into legitimate enterprise and also furnish employment to labor, and break up the present commercial congestion. Of course, the good effects of the institution of bimetalism should be at once reinforced by the thorough regulation of all transportation,— state and interstate, by rail or water, — and should be brought under immediate and active public control. As long as the federal government cannot fix freight and passenger rates,

classify freights, compel interstate connections and public accounting of the transportation lines, it were idle to talk about equal business opportunities or prosperity for our producing masses. Add to this municipal control, or ownership where expedient, of water-works, lighting plants, street railways, etc.; and let the general and the state governments fix the rates also of telegraph and telephone companies, as well as curb and restrict the power and the operation of all corporations, and encourage individual enterprise; and, last but not least, impose an effective income tax, and you would have set to work agencies which would not only remove the causes of the trusts, but the trusts themselves, and restore prosperity by restoring the equilibrium of the two great cosmic forces, by the derangement of which trusts are created and maintained.

Such remedies might not prove entirely adequate to establish industrial freedom, but they would at least prove a long step in the right direction, and would naturally tend to a correct solution of the great industrial problem which, with the false idea of imperialism, threatens to engulf this nation in endless confusion, if not permanent disaster. The idea of imperialism is inspired principally by the great trusts whose interest would prompt them to divert public attention from their rapid growth and power and direct it to international policies which carry in their schemes large armies and navies and the exploitation of tropical islands under the tempting shibboleths of "who-will-haul-down-the-flag," commercial expansion, patriotism, and humanity. Let us beware of "the Greeks bearing gifts." Imperialism is but the cry of the trust for more worlds to conquer. My outline of remedial agencies is a far cry in "practical politics," not an excursion in social theorizing.

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AN UNDERTONE.

WHEN echoes of the toil of day
In midnight hours affrighten sleep,
Uprises tensive in my soul
An undertone of sadness deep.

Its mystic sob and moan are like
Some far, unresting midnight sea;
It bears to me the old, sad notes
Of human life and destiny.

It gathers volume with the hours
And swallows selfish thoughts and cares —
Within me surge a race's woes,
A race through me breathes forth its prayers.

No power have I for prayers like these,
Nor healing for the plaints upborne,
While through the halting hours I wait
The dawn of hope and gleam of morn.

But with the wake of day soft speak
Melodic voices from the skies,
Assuring me that in God's heart
There waits some infinite surprise

To light the common life with truth,
From which, in panic hosts, shall flee
The tyrant fears and evil faiths
That keep the world from liberty.

The solvent of our problems old
The heavens shall not fore'er conceal;
The ancient mystery of man
Will God's unfolding thought reveal.

From travail in the soul of God
Was man to faith and struggle born;
From travail in the soul of man
Love goes to greet the strifeless morn.

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DELENDA EST CARTHAGO.*

I CANNOT dissimulate the feelings of disgust, of indignation, even of despair, which that letter (the Czar's peace proposal) has wrought in me. Those Christians, good, sensible, and enlightened, who consider murder a frightful crime, none of whom, with rare exceptions, would harm an animal, are, however, the same men who, when murder and crime are called war, not only recognize destruction, pillage, and assassination as just and lawful, but contribute to those thefts and massacres, prepare themselves for it, participate and glory in it. However, always and everywhere, it is undeniable that the immense mass of those who practice this pillage and murder, and undergo all the consequences of it, does not ask for war, does not seek nor desire it, that it takes part in it only against its will, because some man has placed it in such a position that it seems to it that its sufferings would be greater if it refused to participate in it. Thus it is that those who excite to pillage, who prepare massacre, and oblige the working people to give themselves to it, are but a notorious minority, who live in pleasure, luxury, and idleness on the labor of working men.

This vast deception, which prolongs and accentuates itself from century to century, has in our day reached its extreme development. The most important part of the products of the working man's labor is taken away from him, goes to naught in the incessant and always increasing preparations for pillage and slaughter. And not only is the workman frustrated in his work, but he himself, in all European countries, must go in person and take part in the butcheries. Incidentally international relations are more and more complicated. Incessantly peaceful country places and cities are ravaged and ransacked without reason. Every year

* Translated for The Arena from "L'Humanité Nouvelle."

in one corner or another of the world, massacre and pillage install themselves as masters. We live in perpetual fear of brigandage and murder. The existence of this sad state of things is due to the fact that the great mass is deceived by a minority to which this duplicity and deception offers immense advantages. It would seem the first task to be discharged by those who would like to rid the people of these mutual assassinations and thefts, would be to reveal to the masses the trickery which holds them in subjection, to show to them how it is perpetrated, by what means it is maintained, and how we shall succeed in abolishing it. The enlightened men of Europe, however, have done nothing of the kind; but under the pretext of pursuing the coming of peace, they assemble sometimes in one, sometimes in another city of Europe, and sitting around a table with as grave an air as possible, they deliberate upon the question as to what will be the best way of persuading the brigands who live from pillage to abandon theft and become peaceful citizens. Then they lay deep questions before one another. In the first place, they ask one another if war is not justified, in law, history, and progress, as if any fictions established by them could require of us that we deviate from the fundamental law of life. In the second place, they ask again what are the consequences of war, as if it were not indisputable and uncontested that they are misery and corruption. Finally, they apply themselves to resolving the problem of war, as if there were a problem in liberating a deceived people from the fraud which they see clearly!

Really, it is monstrous! We see how sane, peaceful, and often happy people go every year to some such gambling hell as Monte Carlo, leaving to the profit of the owners of these places their health, their tranquillity, their honor, and often their lives. We pity them; we know that the illusion which impels them consists in the inequality of chances and in the augmentation of the number of players, who, although certain of losing in the end, hope nevertheless, once at least, to see fortune smile. All that is evident. And then, with

the aim of delivering humanity from that vice, instead of revealing to the players the temptations by which they let themselves be enticed, the undeniable fact that they are sure of losing, and the immorality of games based upon the expectancy of the ill-luck of others, we assemble gravely in congress and deliberate, and inquire how the holders of the gambling-houses may be led with one accord to close their establishments. We write books on the subject, and we ask ourselves if history, law, and progress do not verily demand the existence of gambling-houses, and what are the consequences economical, intellectual, and moral, with other questions of the same sort.

If a man is addicted to liquor, and I tell him that he can rid himself of his intemperance through his own efforts, if I indicate to him how he must act in order to succeed, there is hope that he may listen to me; but if I tell him that his intemperance is a complicated and difficult problem that we men of science are trying to resolve in our conferences, well, very likely he will continue to drink while waiting for the solution of the problem to be discovered. Thus it is by false, "civilized," and scientific ways we seek to abolish war through arbitration, international tribunals, and other absurdities, and neglect the most evident and the most simple method. Granting that the people who do not wish for war ought not to fight, to abolish warfare it is not necessary to establish either international understanding, or arbitration, or international tribunals, but simply to emancipate the people from the trickery and deceit which enslaves them. The only way to end war is for those who do not wish it and who consider it a sin to participate in it, *to lay down their arms and refuse to fight.* This course was indicated in the first centuries of our era by several christian writers, such as Tertullian and Origen, as well as by the disciples of St. Paul and their successors, and by the Mennonites and the Quakers. The sin, the untoward consequences, and the absurdity of the military service were depicted and established in all their phases by Dymond and by Harrison, and twenty years ago

by Ballou, as well as by myself. The course of which I speak has been adopted recently by isolated individuals in Austria, in Prussia, in Holland, in Switzerland, and in Russia, as well as by some entire groups, such as the Quakers, the Mennonites, and the Nazarenes; and but yesterday by the Doukhobortsi who, to the number of 15,000, have been resisting for three years the Russian governmental power, and, in spite of the sufferings and vexations to which they are exposed, refuse to submit themselves to the obligation which we wish to compel them in taking part in the crimes of the military service.

But the enlightened friends of peace not only refuse to recommend this method, but do not even mention it, and when we submit it to them, they pretend not to care anything about it, or, if they consider it, they gravely shrug their shoulders and express all their sympathy for these uneducated and unreasonable men, who adopt a method so ineffective, so foolish, when there exists one excellent method, one alone among all methods: to put salt on a bird's tail when one wishes to capture it; that is to say, to persuade governments which exist only by violence and lies to abandon both.

They tell us that the misunderstandings which may arise between governments will be settled by certain tribunals or by arbitration. But the governments do not in the least wish the solution of their misunderstandings. On the contrary, if none produce themselves, they invent them; for it is only through these misunderstandings with each other that they find pretext to maintain those armies upon which depend their power.

It is thus that these pretended friends of peace strive to divert the attention of the oppressed and working masses from the only method which can deliver them from the slavery to which they are subjected from infancy by patriotism, by the obligation of the oath, — with the aid of mercenary priests from our perverted Christianity, — and finally by the fear of punishment.

In our day, when intimate and pacific relations have been

established between the people of different nationalities and different governments, the fraud called patriotism — which always proclaims the preëminence of one state or nationality over all others, and which always invites men to unnecessary and pernicious wars — the fraud called patriotism appears already too truly under its veritable aspect to reasonable men of our time to have further enslaved them; and the faith in the religious deception of the obligation of the oath — which is formally forbidden by this bible which the governments invoke — is, God be praised, less and less profound. So that the real and unique obstacle to the refusal of military service consists only, for the greatest majority of men, in the fear of punishments which are inflicted by the governments when such refusals are made. This fear, however, is once more the result of the governmental duplicity, and has no other basis than actual hypnotism.

The governments fear, and ought to fear, those who refuse to serve. They are afraid of them, because each refusal diminishes the prestige of the deception through which they hold the people under their domination. But those who refuse have no reason to fear a government which asks of them crimes. In refusing military service, a man faces fewer risks than if he submit to it. The refusal to do military service, and the punishment, imprisonment in exile, which is the consequence, often constitute advantageous assurance against the dangers of the service. In accepting it, he may have to participate in a war for which he has been long prepared, and during the war, like a man condemned to death, he is in the situation of one who, unless a concurrence of improbable beneficent circumstances occurs, will certainly be killed or lamed. I have seen at Sebastopol a regiment which came to occupy a fort where two regiments had already been destroyed, and which remained there until, in its turn, it had also been entirely exterminated. Another danger profitably escaped is that of the deadly diseases developed by the anti-hygienic conditions which military service involves. Still another thing, is to escape the consequences of an impatient move, of too

quick a reply to which one might let himself be urged by the brutality of superiors, and which would bring forth chastisements more severe than those which would be inflicted in case of refusal to perform military service. But the greatest advantage of this refusal is that, whereas the military service compels a man to pass three or four years of his life in a vicious society, practising the art of killing, being in the same captivity as if in prison, but having, in addition, to dance attendance in a humiliating and depraved submission, the refusal entails only imprisonment or exile. This is true in nearly every case.

In the second place in refusing military service, one, strange as it may seem, may frequently rely on escaping chastisement, his refusal operating to bring about the revelation of the governmental trickery; revelation which, in a short time, would make impossible any and all punishment for such an act. The repetition of similar acts cannot leave men stupid enough to contribute to the punishment of those who refuse to participate in their oppression. The submission to the military conscription is evidently but a cowardly submission of the masses; the slightest act of independence in that herd of Panurge will bring the destruction of military domination.

Outside these considerations, all of personal advantage, there is another reason which ought to encourage, in refusing military service, every man of independent character who is conscious of the importance of his acts. Every man must hope his life will not be without an aim, but will be useful to God and to man; and often a man passes through life without meeting his opportunity. It is precisely that looked for opportunity which offers itself to us. In not accepting military service and in refusing the payment of taxes to a government which makes use of them for military purposes, each by this refusal can render a very great service to God and to man. For he makes use of the most efficacious means to direct the progress of human kind towards that better social order for which it is struggling, and which it must some day

reach. It is not only right to refuse to bend the knee to military duty; we ought to refuse. Were we freed from the hypnotism which subjugates us, it were impossible not to refuse!

Certain actions are morally impossible to some men, as are certain physical acts to other men. The vow of passive obedience to some immoral beings who have averred and admitted murder as an aim, is precisely one of those actions morally impossible to most men were they freed from hypnotism. Consequently, it is not only right and obligatory for all men to refuse themselves to military service, but it is not possible for them rationally to act otherwise.

"But what will happen if everyone refuses himself to military service? We will be without means to repress the wicked, and without protection from the barbarous races — against the yellow race — which will invade our country and conquer us."

I shall say nothing of the fact that the wicked have triumphed for a long time, that they still triumph and that, although striving against one another, they have dominated christianity for a long time; so then, there is nothing to fear about what has always been. Nor shall I say anything about the scarecrow of the yellow race which we constantly invoke. European officers, indeed, educate these people in the profession of arms. It is but a childish excuse for the maintenance of war establishments, for the hundredth part of the armies now actually standing in Europe would suffice to keep China in check. I do not wish to say anything on these points, because the consideration of the general result to the world of this or that one of our actions cannot guide us in our individual consideration of the question as a whole.

To every man is given a superior and infallible guide — his conscience. In following it he appreciates what he himself does, knows what he ought to do. All considerations of the dangers that threaten the man who refuses military service, as well as the fear of the consequences to the world if it likewise refuse — these are but a particle of the immense

and monstrous trickery in which christian people are engaged and which is carefully maintained by their governments. When a man acts according to what his reason prescribes, obeying his conscience and his God, there can be for his actions none but excellent results, for him as for the world.

One groans over the sad conditions of the people's life in the civilized world. But it is possible to modify them. We have only to obey the fundamental law proclaimed thousands of years ago: "Thou shalt not kill." Likewise is it with the laws of love and of human fraternity. And yet, what do we see? Every European denies this divine law, but upon the order of a president, of an emperor, of a minister, of Nicholas or of William, he dresses himself ridiculously, seizes a slaughtering instrument and cries out: "Here I am, ready to outrage, ruin, or kill whomsoever shall be pointed out to me!"

What can a society composed of such men be? Such a society cannot but be frightful; and so it is!

Awaken, brothers! Do not listen either to those scoundrels who from childhood harass you with the devilish spirit of "patriotism," an enemy to truth and uprightness and which serves only to take away your property, your liberty, and your dignity; listen not to those impostors who preach war in the name of a cruel and revengeful God which they have invented out of a perverted and false christianism; and still less listen to those modern Sadducees who, having for their real aim only the maintenance of things in their present state, assemble in the name of science and civilization, and write books and give lectures promising to give the people a happy and peaceful life without any effort! Do not believe them. Believe only in conscience which tells you you are neither beasts of burden nor slaves, but free men responsible for your acts, and consequently incapable of becoming murderers, whether of your own free will, or upon order of those who live only by murder. You must wake, for you yourselves must give an account of all the horrors and insanities of which you have been guilty. That done, you will put an end to this disease which you abhor and which is ruining you.

If you succeed, all these impostors who after having corrupted you oppress you, will vanish like owls before the light of day. Then will be realized this new human and fraternal life towards which christianity aspires, dulled with sufferings, exhausted by lies, and lost in insoluble contradictions. Let each one fulfill, without confused and adulterated argument, that which each day his conscience commands him, and he will recognize the truth of the gospel: "If any one wish to do God's will, he will recognize whether my doctrine comes from God or whether I speak of my own accord." *

LEO TOLSTOY.

LIFE.

WHETHER as bidden guests, or wayfarers
  Who stood some idle morning at the gate
Of life's fair house; and from its corridors
  Heard issue forth the cries of those who sate
Forgathered at its board:— loud love and hate,
The cheers of slaves, and groans of emperors,
  And over all the voice of choristers
In song throes praising their novitiate,

Till loitering in, grown fain to understand,
  We bade pale Fate, the unanointed priest,
Bear us a cup,— and drew the first, deep draught,—
Whether as such,— by choice or by command
  We sit amid the madness of the feast,
Ah! who may say till the full cup is quaffed?

THOMAS D. BOLGER.

Philadelphia.

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*St. John, vii., 17.

THE DYNAMICS OF SILENCE.

TO comprehend the unity of the universe it is but necessary to understand its constituent elements. In our commonplace experience we are so conscious of resistance—of contact—with an exterior world, that it impresses us as a massive conglomeration of solid, impervious substance. We find it difficult to conceive of aught within which is distinguishable, but not separated from it. I think, however, it requires but a casual analysis of the known universe to enable us to realize that what we have been wont to regard as objective, visible, impervious matter is easily resolvable into subjective, invisible, impalpable substance. The poet was not far from the truth when he sang that we are "such stuff as dreams are made on"; nor was his fancy unscientific when he reminded us that "like the baseless fabric of a vision"

> the great globe itself,
> Yea, all which it inherit shall dissolve,
> And like this insubstantial pageant, faded,
> Leave not a rack behind.

For not only we, but all things, are "spirits" and "melt into air, into thin air."

Fully to appreciate this truth one need but stand alone and contemplate the universe—the revolving worlds and constellations on high as well as this swinging globe on which we dwell. What holds them in their places or sustains them in their courses? Can we realize that they are but swaying chandeliers of light, swinging backward and forward in the hollow of immeasurable space? We cannot certainly discern any visible power that guides them in their flights. The sun, pouring out from his molten bosom the quenchless fires of day, has not "where to lay his head." Between those myriad constellations, forever swinging in the

bluey deep, there suspends no visible cable that supports them —no manifest framework on which they rest securely. And yet they never vary the fraction of an inch from their established courses. Some power there must be that holds them, more effective than aught the human senses can discover. What is it?

This force we cannot understand until we reduce nature to its last conceivable analysis. When thus analyzed, the universe becomes but a vast congeries of vibrations. All forms and strata of matter,—every visible or sensible object, —every substance however massive or however impalpable, —all physical manifestations,—are but the expression of rhythmical vibrations, whose movements constitute the basis of phenomenal existence.

This statement, at first apparently unscientific, is incontrovertibly true. So long as we retain the notion of the stability of the visible universe we can never realize the truth just stated. The ancients conceived the skies as solid, in which were fixed the ever shining stars which moved all together as a panorama on a rolling canvas. But what says modern science? "It is a singular fact," says Flammarion, one of the world's greatest astronomers, "unknown to the ancient philosophers, fantastic and hardly conceivable even now to the thoughtful mind which seeks to comprehend it in its importance, that these suns of infinity, far from being fixed as they appear to be on account of their immense distance, are rushing through space with an inconceivable swiftness"; one star alone flies "through the immensity of space at the daily rate of thirty millions of kilometers (nearly nineteen millions of miles). But it is found that these velocities are the very conditions of the stability of the universe; the stars, the earth, planets, worlds, suns, stellar systems, star clusters, milky ways, distant universes, all sustain themselves by the mutual equilibrium of their reciprocal attraction; they are all placed *upon the void*, and maintain themselves in their ideal orbits, as they revolve with sufficient swiftness to create a centrifugal force equal and contrary to the attraction that draws

them, in such wise that they remain in unstable but perpetual equilibrium."

The human eye alone, by the aid of the telescope, can discern fifty millions of these stars. But there are still other incomputable and undiscoverable myriads that forever swing through the nebulous paths of milky ways, whose forms we cannot even outline; nay, whose beams, though traveling one hundred and eighty thousand miles per second for countless ages, have not yet impinged upon the human eye. With this thought in mind the picture of the organic universe is that of innumerable chandeliers of splendor swinging, swinging, like ceaselessly oscillating pendulums, through the vast void of space.

Once a great philosopher sitting beneath the dome of the cathedral at Pisa, saw a miniature semblance of this vast panorama. He saw what thousands of unthinking souls before had beheld without penetrating its suggestive meaning. He beheld the great chandelier, suspended from the lofty ceiling, slowly swaying backward and forward, without cessation, and without any apparent power to impel it. He saw that its oscillations always covered the same path. Galileo, beholding this phenomenon, discerned the secret of the universe. He discovered that the movement of a pendulum is isochronous; that is, that the time in which the to and fro movement is executed is always the same for the same pendulum. This simple law establishes the basis of all natural phenomena. "If we give to a pendulum, at rest, a slight impulse, or a strong impulse, the oscillation will be respectively small or large,—but for the same pendulum the duration of the oscillation will always be the same." *

Thus we see that the entire organic universe consists of correlated parts, alternately oscillating toward and from each other. This even balance and rhythmic vibration is all that sustains the infinite spheres in their march through the fathomless void. But the vibratory phase of nature's phenomena is still more comprehensive. The same law that maintains

* Blaserna, "The Theory of Sound," Humboldt ed., No. 1, p. 670.

the organic unity of the visible and invisible universe (by which I mean the world of astronomic spheres), holds also the minutest atom of matter in its proper place. For every slightest particle in the vast aggregation is an infinitesimal pendulum ceaselessly swaying through its fixed periods of oscillation. Between the infinite particles of all substances there are interstices which are infinitely larger than any of the particles between which they lie. There is, therefore, no such thing as absolute solidity in nature. Substances which are denominated as solid are, in point of fact, only comparatively so. The fact that so-called solids may be compressed and expanded, proves that between the constituent particles there must be room sufficient for the compression, and that when the solid is expanded, while it does not lose its appearance of solidity, nevertheless the spaces between the constituent parts must have been widened. But the further fact that all known substances may be physically and chemically reduced to their atomic bases, through infinite processes of division and subdivision, proves that they are all but apparently, and not substantially, solid. A so-called substance is merely an aggregation of evenly balanced particles, which maintain a mutually rhythmical vibration, and remains a solid only so long as such vibrations can be maintained. So soon as the vibrations vary, that is, as the lengths or breadths of the oscillations are altered, the substance will become more or less solid, that is denser or rarer ; by which we mean that the spaces in which the minute pendulums swing will be narrower or broader.

Nothing in nature is ever in a state of rest—all is motion, activity, flux. Matter, then, as we shall see, is but a phase of motion. The interstices between its constituent particles may be so expanded as to reduce it into impalpability and invisibility. In this last analysis, all that is left of matter is motion, which is transmuted from visible activity into invisible force.

Once more, when we have reduced the appreciable forces in nature to their last analyses we shall arrive at the same

conclusion, namely, that they are all but variable phases of motion. One of these silent and puissant forces is heat. Now, what is heat?

Like all other phenomena of nature, heat is a mode of motion. This may be illustrated by noting what takes place when a piece of iron is heated by fire. A riotous condition is set up among the particles. They rush wildly around like an excited mob, clashing and striking against each other, as if designing mutual annihilation. This insurrectionary condition among the iron particles is really the phenomenon that we call heat; for when the ends of our nerves come in contact with these swiftly moving particles, they themselves vibrate with the communicated excitement, till the blood rushes like a torrent through the veins, its constituent parts wildly insurrectionary as were the originally heated iron particles, and the sensation we experience from this condition is what we call heat. Once, heat was regarded as a substance, imponderable, which was inserted into other substances and caused them to become inflammatory. All the forces—heat, light, electricity, etc.—were believed to be things, and while they could not be appreciably apprehended, their existence was accepted as axiomatic. Modern science discovered that they were not things, but merely variations of the same force, which itself was but a mode of motion. The entire phenomenal universe is then but a varied expression of one persistent force, which in its last analysis is merely motion. Thus apprehended, however, the universe becomes much more than a mere mechanism, a mere assemblage of correlated forces.

It is not a combination of forces. It is the ceaseless expression of Force, which constitutes the substantial basis and quintessence of all things. The term "force" does not adequately indicate the view we seek to elucidate. Force is concentrated or directed motion. Motion is the origination of all form. Matter (objectivized form) is the apparent arrest of motion. But there is no absolute cessation of motion. That forever goes on through and within all forms of matter.

The measurements of motion are always rhythmical—they follow the laws of oscillation—the backward and forward swinging of the pendulum. It is this rhythm of motion—or vibration—that originates formal matter and sustains a cosmos. Thus we see that every particle of matter in the universe is correlated with every other particle. Each swings in its relative period of oscillation, contactual with every other swinging particle, till we may imagine the universe to consist of myriads of infinitesimal ivory balls which constantly bound against each other, and sway backward and forward in their respective spaces.

So true is this, that we daily experience the effects of this law without perhaps realizing it. The movements of innumerable worlds are constantly impinging upon the atmosphere of our planet. From their quivers, myriad shafts of light, heat, and other so-called forces, are continually penetrating the enveloping mantle of the earth.

The sun emits from his bosom that vast quantity of heat which makes possible the life of this planet. The common notion prevails, however, that the heat which descends from the sun's photosphere and quivers through our atmosphere, permeating, at length, the surface of the globe, is an impalpable substance. They confuse the universal medium which occupies all space, commonly called ether, with the activity which permeates that substance and emanates from the sun's palpitating center. This is the erroneous conception of heat which prevails in the cruder understanding of the race. Even among the more cultured there is another false impression concerning this phenomenon, which is equally unscientific.

Some who admit the wave theory of heat and light hold the view that waves penetrate the ether as individual substances, their indentity forever preserved. They suppose that the identical vibration which emanates from the sun's disc, travels on without division or loss of energy till it strikes against our planet or some other intercepting body.

This of course is false. Vibration is an activity; it is not

a substance. The primal substance may be identical; the same everywhere. But the activities which agitate that substance are infinite in form, character, duration, and measurement; they hit one against the other, promoting an infinite succession, without any single vibration ever repeating itself. Heat effects us because of the increased activity set up in the particles of our atmosphere caused by the rapid vibrations set in motion at the sun's center. This is all the analysis we can make of the sun's heat. It is not substance, nor is it, when it impinges against our atmosphere, the same series of vibrations which, a few minutes before, radiated from the sun's surface. This fact will become clear to us if we study the waves of the ocean. We are often deceived, believing that these waves move as a series of individual bodies upon the water's surface. But when we watch a chip tossed backward and forward by their movements, we shall learn that not the same quantity of water that is embosomed in any single wave moves ever forward, but that the same quantity of water remains almost stationary, receiving but the successive impulsion of energy which the preceding wave imparts. Precisely in this manner etheric vibrations sweep the atmosphere from star to sun and from sun to earth.

In the light of this fact how small, indeed, is the universe. It is said to be infinite, immeasurable. Nevertheless, when traversed by the magic forces which have been apprehended by the intelligence of man, how narrow its boundless circumference seems to become!

The sun, some ninety millions of miles removed, thrills us with its radiant or luminous beams that steal from its surface but a few moments before. Only eight minutes for a sun ray to travel through ninety-three millions of miles! We have made the distances between the extremes of our planet very slight indeed, by an intelligent apprehension of those once mysterious forces which we call electricity and magnetism. Think what will come to pass when we can use a sun ray as intelligently as we can electricity!

When we shall be able to utilize that knowledge, then will the Martians indeed become our immediate neighbors, and the extremest portions of the universe become accessible to us.

But while from the contemplation of the fact just reviewed the universe becomes comparatively narrow, conversely, when we realize how long a time the rays from certain astronomical bodies have required to reach us, we cannot but marvel at the stupendous compass of the vast unknown. Flammarion tells us in his interesting way: "Without losing myself in the profundity of infinite perspectives, I attach myself in thought, to that little star of the seventh magnitude in the constellation of the Great Bear, which never descends below the horizon of Paris, and which we can observe every night in the year, and I remember that it shines eighty-five trillions of leagues from here, a distance for which a flash of lightning traveling at the swiftness of a hundred and twenty-five kilometers per hour, would require not less than three hundred and twenty-five millions of years to traverse."

If our sun were transported to that distance the effects of its rays of light and heat upon our atmosphere would be inappreciable. And yet there are myriads of stars which lie far beyond the stars of the seventh magnitude, and which are not only not seen by the naked eye, but which when observed by the telescope, reveal the intimation of still other millions of orbs still further buried in the immeasurable perspective of the infinite. And yet, throughout all, the same impalpable substance pervades the underlying basis of phenomenal manifestations; and this one substance is everywhere pervaded by the one identical force whose activity is motion, whose law is rhythm.

As we have already said, the agitation of the myriad particles of our atmosphere by the ceaseless undulations of the sun's activity, constitutes in certain stages of its progress, the phenomena that we call heat. But the same undulations pushed to higher degrees of activity develops into the phenomenon that we call light. Nevertheless the higher undulations which generate the experience of light within us are

subject to the same law that governs the manifestation of heat ; each undulation sways forward and backward, forever measuring the same distance, forever describing the same period of oscillation. This, as already observed, is the secret of the universal rhythm which establishes the stability of matter — the constancy of form and the permanence of the cosmos. It is motion, oscillation, vibration, rhythm, that maintains what we recognize as the visible world.

The consciousness of this rhythmical activity constitutes our subjective universe. All that we see, all that we realize, is but the ceaseless rhythm of oscillating waves. Therefore, I say, the phenomenal universe is but a congeries of infinite vibrations.

The law of the conservation of energy and the transmutability of forces, demonstrates that we have, in so-called gravitation, cohesion, chemical affinity, heat, light, sound, electricity, but variations of a single force, which is eternally persistent throughout Nature. In its last analysis, that single force seems to be nothing else than the vibratory or rhythmical activity of Being, which constitutes not only the essence and potency of so-called matter, but is even the foundation of life itself, without which conscious existence were an impossibility. I think it is possible to demonstrate that life is the conscious realization of this rhythmical activity, which is manifest in every phenomenon of existence.

A study of the nature and laws of magnetism will, I think, make my idea clear. This is one of the silent forces which some believe to be the original and universal force variously manifested. First, let us examine its grosser phases. We have a piece of polarized iron called a magnet, which held above iron filings will immediately draw them to itself. What causes this? Apparently self-determining locomotion takes place in the particles as they fly upward to the magnet. What causes this ? We cannot answer this question until we answer the other question, What is a magnet ?

A magnet is polarized iron or steel. That is, it is a piece of iron the molecules of whose extremities tend to move in

opposite directions — one to the south, the other to the north. In the horse-shoe magnet the tendency will be downwards at both extremities, but the tendency of either extremity will necessarily be opposite to that of the other.

Any magnet may be broken into an infinite number of parts, and each of these parts will be also polarized; that is, its extremities will pull in opposite directions. Therefore each molecule of a magnet is itself a magnet, as thoroughly polarized as is the original. But if we conceive a molecule whose extremities tend to move in opposite directions, we shall discern the origin of motion, the cause of nature's ceaseless oscillations. When it yields to its tendency in one direction, it sways that way till it begins to feel the pull of the opposite tendency, when it tends to sway backward to the point from which it swung. Hence the molecule is constantly oscillating. Magnetism, then, in its last analysis is but a phase of vibration.

It will be evident that polarity is vibration when we observe the law that like poles repel, and unlike poles attract. This is precisely the law of vibrations. When two vibratory waves come in contact their impulsion is antagonistic, and like two striking ivory balls they will bound apart. But when two oscillations are receding from a given point, each will attract the other by the force of the opposite pull or suction. The attraction which develops between the two oppositely receding oscillations is the polarity which characterizes the magnet.

At this point we may perceive the relation of these oscillatory forces to human life.

It is not commonly known that about an hundred and fifty years ago a scientific theory was advanced, which so far anticipated all modern theories as to make them appear almost antiquated in comparison. I have reference to the investigations and deliverances of Friedrich Anton Mesmer, whom the world for all these years has regarded as nothing but a charlatan of the direst type. Because he was condemned by the Academy as a pretender he has been neglected by the scien-

tific world as a forbidden teacher and his works have been listed in the scientific *codex expurgatorius*. The common impression is that Mesmer taught that he had discovered the primal fluid in nature, and that by manipulating it he could effect numerous cures.

What he really taught about this universal fluid was in anticipation of the modern theory of the luminiferous ether and the wave theory of light, heat, electricity, etc. He says substantially: Some physicists have already recognized the existence of a universal fluid, but they have erred in defining its characteristics, in overloading it with properties and specific powers that we cannot have cognizance of. Neither heat, light, nor electricity is a substance, but they are effects of motion in the different series of the universal fluid. Properly speaking, there is in nature no attraction; it is only a seeming effect of communicated movements, and in general, all properties, all so-called forces, are but a combined result of the organization of bodies, and of the movement of the fluid in which they exist. . . . Consequently, magnetism, whether universal or animal, is not a fluid, *but an action;* motion, not matter; transmission of motion, *not an emanation* of any kind.*

As a scientific curiosity I give here Mesmer's explanation of the workings of somnambulism and telepathy, which not only anticipates the modern wave theory, but I think states it with far greater clearness than any modern author: "This communication can take place between two individuals in the normal state only when the movement resulting from the thought is propagated to the vocal organs; these movements are then transmitted to the air or ether as intermediaries, and are received and sensed by the external sense-organs. These movements thus modified by thought in the brain and nerve-centers, being communicated at the same time to the series of nerve fluid with which that nerve substance is in continuity can independently and without the aid of ether or of the air,

* Ochorowitz, "Mental Suggestion," Humboldt edition, pp. 304–306.

extend to an indefinite distance and report direct to the inner sense of another individual." *

Mesmer seems to have approached the exact truth when he says that life is but the manifestation of a subtle motion of a universal substance whose definition is impossible within our present knowledge. So true does this seem to be, that we can almost reproduce the normal activities of life by artificial means. Mr. S. Laing, a shrewd and discreet modern writer on psychic subjects, while wandering around the entire field of occultism in a hapless and uncertain manner, at last drops upon a suggestion which very much reminds us of Mesmer's conclusion: "What can be said of love and hate, if under given circumstances they can be transformed into one another by the action of a magnet? It is evident that these phenomena all point that all we call soul, spirit, consciousness, and personal identity, are indissolubly connected with mechanical movements of the material elements of nerve-centers, and that if we want any further solution we must go down deeper and ask what this matter, what these movements, or rather the energy which causes them, may really mean. Can the antithesis between soul and body, spirit and matter, be solved by being both resolved into one eternal and universal substratum of existence?" †

The uncertain wanderings of this modern speculator fetch up at the exact monistic conclusion of Mesmer, one hundred and fifty years ago. He said in substance: "Matter presents several degrees of fluidity. Water is more fluid than sand; for it can fill the interstices between the grains of sand; air is more fluid than water, for it can be diffused through it; ether is more fluid than air. It is difficult to tell where this divisibility ends, but we may suppose that there are still many degrees of this kind, and that there exists a universal primitive matter, the graduated concentration of which constitutes the states of matter." ‡

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* Ibid, p. 307.

† "Problems of the Future," p. 106 — Humboldt edition.

‡ Ochorowitz, "Mental Suggestion," p. 304.

The universal law which was suggested by Mesmer, and which is now accepted by modern physicists, seems to be correct. It is a cold scientific fact that the apparent universe is an assemblage of ceaseless and ever-interchanging vibrations; that each sensible object is but a temporary convergence of these vibrations; that every human being exists because of the even balance established between the oscillations of the myriad particles which constitute its organism. We may admit then that physical man is but a phenomenon of correlated oscillations. When he dies all that occurs is that the rhythm and correlation once existing between the vibrations is disarranged.

It does not seem to be an exaggeration to assert that the only difference between chaos and cosmos is that in the latter the infinite motions of the universal substratum are functionally correlated and permanent; whereas in the former they are incidental and transitory.

Why is a stone always a stone, and a tree always a tree? We say it is because they respectively consist of specific chemical substances proportionately related. But this cannot be a last definition, because it is capable of further analysis. The so-called relations of the chemical substances can be shown to be but correlated oscillations. What the final matter or substance is, no one at present can say. But the established oscillatory relations between the infinite particles is an accepted fact in nature. Because of this fact, namely, that between the minutest particles of matter there exist infinite interstices in which these particles swing toward and away from each other — forever describing certain fixed periods of oscillation and maintaining certain permanent polarities — because of this fact we have the distinguishing phases of matter — its different forms, phenomena, and transformations.

When this law is fully realized, how changed is this apparently solid and opaque planet! In the light of this law existence is but motion; life, vibration. I breathe, and the universe trembles. I speak, and the sun's disk pulsates with the

movement of my lips. The wink of my eyelid affects a ring of Saturn — the wave of my hand brushes against the face of the moon. These are scientific, albeit apparently exaggerated facts. The ceaseless waves that ripple on the surface of the invisible substance of the universe we cannot see, but we know their movement must be similar to those of the waters into which heavy objects are thrown, causing infinite ripples to spread from shore to shore. Even on the water's surface we cannot always discern the fate of the far-spreading waves, when they pass beyond the plane of human vision. But we know the waves must continue to sweep on and on, even though unseen by the eye. In like manner, we know that each single impulse that smites the ever-moving, fluidic substance of the universe, spreads throughout its measureless surface the ever-widening circles of vibratory activity.

The apprehension of the real nature of the universe reveals its unity. In its last analysis no particle of matter can be different from any other. Differentiation in nature lies merely at the point of the variation of vibrations.

Ceaseless variation means chaos. Fixed and organized variation means cosmos. The so-called differentiable forces are but variable vibrations. Hence, in the end, all forces are but one force. This force is that power that sways all particles of matter (within fixed periods of oscillation), each particle constituting an infinitesimal pendulum. What we call matter is, therefore, graduable from opaqueness to translucency, from translucency to etherealness; from palpability to impalpability, from visibility to invisibility; according to the varying lengths of the oscillations which are covered by these ever-swinging pendulums. Shorten the lengths of the periods of oscillation and matter becomes more dense, hence more visible; widen the periods and matter becomes less dense, that is, less apparent. When the periods are infinitely expanded, matter passes beyond the affection of the senses and then becomes invisible.

And now that we have learned that all nature is vibratory, it will help us to apprehend a still more recondite truth. Man and all his physical and psychical activities are also vibra-

tory. Man's most important function is thought. But, what is thought? Is thought an activity that is *sui generis?* Is it contradistinguished from all the rest of nature? Not at all; like all other natural activities thought also is vibratory. In its last analysis thought is motion, and is, therefore, as verily a thing as is a rock or a tree. But, as we have seen, all motion in the universe follows the law of rhythmical oscillation. Therefore thought must do the same, and, hence, is a vibration, or better, a series of vibrations.

If, however, the dynamics of silence are discernible in the general view of nature we have above outlined, how much more manifest must they be in the activities of mind! Nowhere can we discover the power of silence more effectually than in the exercise of human thought. Thought is mental energy, itself vibratory, which transposes the relation existing between transitory vibrations. In other words, it alters their polarities — it magnetizes and demagnetizes all existing things. In a physical sense we know that thought produces instantaneous changes in the cellular arrangement of the brain. All thought is formal because it is physically cast in distinct cellular forms. These cellular formations are subject to constant transmutation. The cellular form changes as the thought changes. Thought affects the cranial cells as a pebble affects a brook. Therefore, thought is, manifestly, a force. Doubtless, it should be classified with the other so-called occult forces of nature — chemical affinity, cohesion, gravity, heat, light, electricity, etc. It is a finer and far more intangible gradation of the same series of forces.

But, as we have said, all force in nature is one. That force is vibration, or polarized oscillation. Hence thought is, like all things else in the universe, the manifestation of vibratory energy. When I speak my voice goes on forever. Physics teaches us that no sound wave ever expires. Hence, by the same law, when I think my thought goes on forever. It affects every series of vibrations with which it comes in contact; either, it assimilates with it, or it depolarizes and transforms it. Hence, thought is the mighty Demiurge of exis-

tence. Thought is imperishable; thought is creative; thought is deific.

There is an atmosphere where thoughts oscillate continually, moving hither and thither like invisible angels seeking communicative and susceptible minds whereon to impinge their radiant beams. We find much truth in those ancient fables which assumed that each life is surrounded by its own aura, on whose atmosphere is drawn the picture of every thought or fancy, desire or aspiration, which radiated from one's brain.

We are, indeed, so surrounded every moment. The invisible recorder indites each image that floats through the brain upon this universal palimpsest. On this there is constant erasure and constant registration. Yet, all is indelible; and if it shall ever come true that we shall some time confront this record, and, with the spiritual chemicals of memory, wash the surface of that mysterious palimpsest, it may be the manifold registration will overwhelm us either with its horror, as is pictured in the dream of the Judgment Day, or rescue us from the torture wheel of repeated existence, as portrayed in the halcyon hope of ineffable Nirvana.

But whatever be its teleological sequence, that thought is ceaselessly carving its images on the invisible atmosphere of Being is indisputable. Thought is dynamic. It pierces the void of space as does the sun. Its waves ceaselessly beat against the shores of time. Each of us is momentarily overwhelmed with the surge that sweeps down from the abyss of antiquity, and deluges us with the experiences of a thousand ages.

Who, then, shall say what thought is his own? O foolish pride of man! Who can claim independence, originality in thought or invention? Each thinks because all others think. We think because we are thought into.

Each mind is a reservoir sucking up the rippling currents that sweep through the plains of thought. Thought is the heritage of the past, the heirloom of the future. Nevertheless each person is responsible for his own thoughts, for he can shape his mental characteristics and control its suscepti-

bility. We need entertain only those mental messengers which we wish to; we can reject those we do not fancy.

The Will is the Gate-keeper of the Soul. How powerful is thought; how thaumaturgic! We read, "God said (that is thought) light, and light was." This immortal sentence is the prophecy of man's capacity. For, out of primitive chaos, man thought order, and order was. Man thought, and the hirsute, tree-climbing savage clothed himself and builded cities and civilizations. Man thought, and the marble breathed with beauty, life, and love. Man thought, and crude mountain ore, stretched into ribbons of iron, lay across the pathless plains, spanning continents and binding human interests. Man thought, and lo! stars fall at his feet and in his hand he dissolves their elements till he proves the unity of the physical universe. Man thought, and that serpentine monster of the air—subtle electricity—was harnessed and forced to yield to human uses. Such are the dynamics of silence. And now let me close with the thrilling psalm of that David of philosophy, Thomas Carlyle:—

"Capabilities there are in me (says Teufelsdrockh) to give battle in some small degree against the great Empire of Darkness. Does not the very Ditcher and Delver, with his spade, extinguish many a thistle and puddle; and so leave a little order, where he found the opposite? Nay, your very Daymoth has capabilities in this kind; and ever organizes something (into his own body, if no otherwise) which was before inorganic; and of mute dead air makes living music, though only of the faintest, by humming.

"How much more one whose capabilities are spiritual! who has learned or begun to learn the *grand thaumaturgic art of thought!* Thaumaturgic, I name it, for hitherto all Miracles have been wrought by it, and thenceforth innumerable will be wrought; whereof we, even in this day, witness some. Of the Poet's and Prophet's inspired Message and how it *makes and unmakes whole worlds*, I shall forbear mention; but cannot the dullest hear steam-engines clanking around him?"

HENRY FRANK.

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EVOLUTION OF THE PEACE MOVEMENT.

THE numerous peace societies of the United States and Europe date from the year 1815, when the long wars of the Napoleonic era and our war with Great Britain were terminated by the signing of treaties of peace. The terrible suffering, loss of life, injury to commerce, and destruction of property which these wars entailed, deeply shocked large numbers of people both in Europe and America. The first fruit of the movement inaugurated in America by Dr. W. Ellery Channing and Dr. Noah Worcester, was the establishment at New York, in 1815, of the American Peace Society. In December of the same year the Ohio Peace Society was instituted, and similar societies were established in Boston and Philadelphia (1816), and in Maine and Rhode Island (1817). These societies, and, also, one subsequently formed in South Carolina, were amalgamated in 1828, under the name of the American Peace Society,* with headquarters in Boston; and the publication of an organ, "The Harbinger of Peace," was begun about the same time.

The peace movement in England had for its founders the Rev. David Bogue, Mr. William Allen, and Mr. Joseph T. Price, and, through their efforts, the first British peace society was organized, June 14, 1816. No sooner had the society been regularly established than the "Herald of Peace," —a periodical in the interests of the peace movement,—was launched, and an active propaganda begun, not only in England, but also on the Continent, where translations of the society's publications into French, German, Italian, and Spanish, were scattered broadcast. The founders of the society also succeeded, though not without much effort, in enlisting the coöperation of a number of prominent Frenchmen, and, in 1821, was established the Société de la Morale Chrétienne, which had for its chief object the promotion of peace and

* Mr. Benjamin F. Trueblood, secretary of this society, is now the recognized leader of the peace propaganda in America.

concord between nations. The first president of the society was the Duc de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, and, among its many distinguished members, were M. de Lamartine, the Duc de Broglie, and M. Carnot and Benjamin Constant.

A branch of the society was established at Geneva in 1830, by the Comte de Sellan, and a periodical, "Archives de la Société de la Paix à Genève," was published. A continental agent was employed for several years, during which he went over France, Germany, and the Netherlands, distributing the pamphlets of the society, making speeches, and organizing branches of the association. Meanwhile, the American society had been actively at work; and, mainly through its efforts, the legislature of Massachusetts in 1837 adopted a resolution favoring arbitration and recommending the insertion of a clause providing for the same in all treaties that might thereafter be made between the United States and foreign countries. The peace movement in Europe made headway, little by little, without attracting great attention, until 1843, when the societies of the two continents decided to have an international convention at London, with the view of giving more unity to the movement and making its aim, principles, and purposes better known and understood. The convention opened its proceedings, July 1843, under the presidency of Mr. Charles Hindley. The Duc de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, president of the Société de la Morale Chrétienne, and many other distinguished Frenchmen attended as delegates. The convention unanimously decided to send a memorial to the governments of all civilized nations, requesting them to embody in all future treaties of peace, or alliance, a clause binding themselves, in cases of dispute, to submit all questions at issue to a tribunal of arbitration.

In the same year, a peace convention was held at Brussels, which was largely attended. Resolutions were adopted calling for arbitration, a congress of nations to provide for disarmament, etc. These resolutions were presented to Lord John Russell, then Prime Minister of Great Britain. Lord John declared himself thoroughly in sympathy with the reso-

lutions presented to him, and added that in event of a dispute arising between Great Britain and any other nation, he would deem it his duty to consider favorably any proposition for arbitration, that might be made to the British government.

The next peace convention was held at Paris, in 1849, and in the same year Richard Cobden presented his "Peace and Arbitration" resolution to the British House of Commons. The measure was supported, and its passage advocated in eloquent speeches by John Bright and other distinguished men, but it received only 79 votes in a total of 228. The Paris convention was presided over by Victor Hugo, and was a brilliant gathering. Over five hundred English and about fifty American delegates were present, besides a large number from the different European countries.

A convention was held at Frankfort in 1850, and at London in 1851. The latter was brought about by those indefatigable friends of peace, Elihu Burritt and Henry Richard, M. P., and presided over by Sir David Brewster. The meeting of the convention was coincidental with the opening of the universal exposition. Among the delegates were twenty-two members of the British parliament, and many members of the legislative assembly and council of state of France.

Peace conventions were also held in 1852 and 1853, but the breaking out of the Crimean war, in 1854, which terminated only in the signing of the Treaty of Paris, in 1856, followed by the Franco-Italian war, in 1859, the campaign in Mexico, the Prusso-Danish, and Austro-Prussian wars, our own civil war—these greatly retarded the movement. Nevertheless, the principle of arbitration was embodied in one of the clauses of the treaty between Great Britain, France, and Russia, mainly through efforts of the peace societies.

In 1867,—the year of the Paris World's Fair,—there was a remarkable awakening of the peace movement in Europe and the United States, and a number of new societies were organized. The Ligue Internationale de la Paix was founded by Frédéric Passy, and the Pennsylvania Peace Society by

Dr. Henry Holcombe, in 1868. In the same year a committee of peace was formed in Italy by Signor Francini, and other members of the chamber of deputies. The Peace Association of Friends in America was founded in 1869.

The war between France and the German states, which began in July, 1870, arrested for a time the progress of the movement. The Dutch Peace Society was formed by Mr. Van Eckat at The Hague, September, 1870. Meanwhile, the war was raging, and similar societies were formed during the year at Amsterdam, and other cities of Holland.

The Belgian Association of the Friends of Peace was organized at Brussels in 1871, with a local branch at Verviers. The Scandinavian countries are almost a unit in favor of peace. The Swedish Peace and Arbitration Association * was founded in 1883, by Mr. Hedlund, of the Swedish parliament, and the Danish Peace Association for the Neutralization of Denmark about the same time, through the efforts of Mr. Fred Bajer, M. P. There are now twenty-five branches of the society in Denmark.

The principal peace societies in France are La Ligue des Femmes pour le Désarmement Internationale, the Société des Travailleurs de la Paix, founded at Paris in 1879, by M. Desmoulins; the Société de Paix d'Arbitrage International, founded in 1884, by M. Godin; the Société de la Paix pour l'Education, Paris; the Société des Amis de la Paix, Chermont Ferrand; La Fraternité Universelle, Grammond; Les Jeunes Amis de la Paix, of which M. Frédéric Passy † is honorary president, and La Société des Journalistes de la Paix, of which M. Marcel Huart is the general secretary.

Italy has a large number of anti-military societies, among them the Lombard Union for the Promotion of Peace, founded in 1878 by Sig. E. T. Moneta, editor of "Il Secolo,"

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* King Oscar of Sweden is among the most indefatigable of the modern peace enthusiasts, and is in near touch with all the principal peace societies throughout the world.

† Although the Baroness Von Lüttner's "Lay Down Your Arms," is the best known and most quoted argument of the partisans of peace, M. Passy has been the most prolific writer and most determined advocate of peace, and stands as the modern leader of this great cause.

and the Association for Arbitration and Peace between Nations, Rome, whose president is Sig. Ruggiero Borghi.

Other important societies on the Continent are the Fédération Internationale de l'Arbitration et de la Paix, at Brussels, founded in 1889 under the presidency of Mr. E. de Laveleye; the Würtemburg Association for Arbitration and Peace, Stuttgart; the Frankfort Association for Promoting International Arbitration, at Frankfort-on-the-Main, Franz Wirth, president; the Fédération de l'Arbitrage et de la Paix, Buda-Pesth, Hungary; and La Ligue Internationale de la Paix et de la Liberté, at Geneva, under the presidency of M. Charles Lemonnier.

The British peace societies have done a great educational work, since 1816, by public meetings, by the distribution of literature, through the press and pulpit, and in every way that the people can be reached. Among the large number of societies in Great Britain, the largest are: the International Arbitration League (formerly the Workmen's Peace Association), founded in 1870, by Mr. W. R. Cremer, M. P., and the International Arbitration and Peace Association of Great Britain and Ireland, founded by Mr. Hodgson Pratt.

There are, in the United States, between forty and fifty peace societies, including those already mentioned. The most worthy of note are, The American Friends Peace Society, of Indiana and Ohio, founded in 1873, with its headquarters at Fort Wayne, Ind.; the National Arbitration Society, Washington, D. C.; and the Christian Arbitration and Peace Society, of Philadelphia, founded in 1886. From the inception of the peace movement in America, down to the present day, the cause of peace has had as advocates some of the most illustrious men of the United States, including even in its earliest days such distinguished scholars and statesmen as Dr. Wm. E. Channing, Dr. Kirkland, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Josiah Quincy, Elihu Burritt, John G. Whittier, Charles Sumner, and Robert C. Winthrop.

The value of woman's work for peace can hardly be overestimated. The influence of woman has always been a

potent factor in all great movements, and she now sees a supreme opportunity to use that influence in the cause of peace. There are a number of societies for the purpose of promoting peace and abolishing war, of which the members are women only. The most important of these are the Women's League for Universal Disarmament of Paris, of which the Princess Wiezniewski and Mme. Camille Flammarion are the active leaders; the Society of Women of the Occident and Women of the Orient, Mme. Hyacinthe Loyson, president; the Ladies' Auxiliary of the Peace Society, Mrs. Henry Richard, president; the Women's Peace and Arbitration Association, of which Mrs. Wm. Bright Lucas is president; the Ladies' Society, at Amsterdam, Miss Bergerdahl, president; the Ladies' Peace Association, of Copenhagen, Mrs. M. Bajer, president; and the Women's Department of Peace and Arbitration of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, of which Mrs. Hannah J. Bailey is president. The subject of peace has also had a prominent place at ninety meetings of the union, and eighty-five thousand women of America have signed an address to the Hague convention.

Organized labor in America is strongly in favor of arbitration and peace, and opposed to militarism. At the conventions of the labor organizations in 1846, 1850, and 1868 resolutions were adopted against foreign wars, and demanding disarmament in foreign countries. At the recent peace meeting in Boston, Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, said: "The organizations of labor in all civilized countries are in correspondence with each other. There has never been a convention or conference of workers which has not declared for peace and for impressing upon the public mind the absolute necessity of tranquillity."

Modern warfare is very costly. Vast sums have been spent and an enormous number of lives lost through it. The wars of American and European nations, from 1790 to 1880, cost 4,470,000 lives and fifteen billions of dollars. The indirect loss cannot even be approximately estimated. In

Napoleon's disastrous campaign of 1812, it is estimated that 600,000 men were killed in battle, or died of cold or hunger, in the short space of one hundred and thirty-four days. The Crimean war cost the nations that took part in it $1,500,000,000 in cash, and the lives of 550,000 men. The Russians lost over 400,000 men, and the allies 150,000 men.

The last war between France and Germany cost France 120,000 men killed in battle or dead of wounds or sickness, and in money, including the indemnity paid to Germany, $1,850,000,000. There were also more than 200,000 men disabled. The German loss in killed and wounded was smaller, but, nevertheless, aggregated 150,000 men.

The cost in men and money of the principal wars since 1851 is: —

War.	Cost in Money.	Cost in Lives.
Italian (1859)	$300,000,000	45,000
Austro-Prussian (1866)	330,000,000	45,000
Russo-Turkish	1,000,000,000	225,000
Franco-Prussian	2,500,000,000	210,000
Zulu and Afghan	300,000,000	40,000
	$4,430,000,000	565,000

Our civil war, including pensions and interest on the public debt, cost nine thousand millions of dollars ($9,000,000,000) and the lives of 700,000 men, most of them between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-five, the very flower of the country's manhood. Our recent war with Spain, brief and successful as it was, cost us (including the $20,000,000 paid to Spain) $381,000,000 and 6,200 lives. Millions of dollars will have to be paid out for pensions, interest on the war loan, and other payments arising out of the war, not to speak of the cost of maintaining garrisons in Cuba and Puerto Rico, with the Philippines still to be reckoned with.

The number of men in the armies and navies of the most powerful six nations of Europe is as follows: —

EUROPEAN ARMIES AND NAVIES.

Number of Men Maintained and Their Cost to the Nations.

	Army. Number of Men.	Navy. Number of Men.	Cost of Army and Navy, 1899.
Russia	896,000	29,859	$305,157,000
England	180,513	106,390	214,995,000
France	616,092	42,322	190,415,000
Germany	585,453	21,713	143,660,000
Austria	358,211	13,580	65,856,000
Italy	25,984	23,992	77,061,000
Totals	2,662,253	237,856	$997,144,000

UNITED STATES COMPARED WITH EUROPE.

	Army.	Navy.	Cost.
United States	58,012	18,685	$150,815,985
Annual pensions paid to ex-soldiers,			145,748,865
Total annual cost to United States, army, navy, and pensions, in time of peace,			$296,564,850

The annual war expenditure per capita of the principal countries of the world is: —

EUROPEAN COUNTRIES.

Russia	$1.17	Sweden and Norway	$1.36
Germany	2.70	Belgium	1.44
France	2.21	Roumania	1.56
England	3.21	Portugal	1.06
Austria	2.08	Bulgaria	1.36
Italy	1.46	Switzerland	1.49
Spain	2.12	Greece	1.29
Turkey	.83	Servia	1.16
Netherlands	1.92	Finland	0.62
Denmark	1.22		

NON-EUROPEAN COUNTRIES.

British India	$0.40	United States (1896)	$0.72
Japan	0.54	China	0.03
Brazil	0.59	Argentina	1.28
Chili	1.72	Egypt	0.23
Guatemala	1.49	Canada	0.32

The armed forces of Europe on a war footing would be 17,000,000 men, one man out of every five on the Continent being a soldier. The expenses of the army and navy in England absorb 40 per cent. of the total revenue; Russia, 29 per cent.; France, 27 per cent.; Italy, 22 per cent.; Germany, 19 per cent.; Austria, 17 per cent. The expenditure for interest and management of public debt absorbs 43 per cent. of the receipts of Italy; Austria, 29 per cent.; France, 28 per cent.; England, 27 per cent.; Russia, 25 per cent.; Germany, 13 per cent. Yet, despite this great outlay, the inhabitants of Europe gain no real security from war, but only an armed peace.

The principal nations of Europe have a common desire for disarmament. In Germany, popular discontent is manifested in the rapid spread of socialism. Although Germany received from France, in the years 1871–72, five milliards of francs, or one billion of dollars, as indemnity for the war, not one cent was expended in promoting the well-being of the German people. The whole of this fabulous sum was used for military and naval purposes. The debt of the empire was next to nothing in the years succeeding the war with France, but it now amounts to $750,000,000, and is increasing rapidly. The act of the Czar in calling the disarmament convention together is, in itself, an admission that there is something radically wrong in our social system. The message has been received with great enthusiasm by the people of Europe, for it offers a prospect of release from the tyranny of the monster of militarism, which is devouring the substance and wasting the resources of nations.

Time out of mind, agitators for humanity have been weighed in the balance as visionaries by "the idle majesty of might," while the trade in wholesale butchery has thriven. It is only a little over a hundred years, since the first society for the suppression of human slavery was established in London, and its founders were looked upon as visionary enthusiasts. Yet chattel slavery has been abolished throughout Christendom, and military slavery must in time also dis-

appear. The death knell of militarism will sound ere long, even if the results of the convention at The Hague should fall short of the expectations of the advocates of peace.

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RATIONAL COLLEGE EDUCATION.*

INTELLECTUAL education has a two-fold purpose,—acquisition of knowledge and mental discipline. Knowledge is an end in itself and a means of discipline. What knowledge is of most worth, and what curriculum will produce the most desirable culture, are the fundamental questions which have exhausted the reasoning of ancient and modern writers on education.

A rational system of education must be based on a correct understanding of the constitution and development of the mind, and of the demands of modern life. The prevailing system of higher education is mainly traditional. Although the college curriculum has been much improved during the past quarter of a century, no systematic effort has been made to conform it, completely, to the known laws of mental development, or to the requirements of modern life. Undoubtedly the chief aim of primary education should be to teach thoroughly "the three R's"; and the purpose of professional and technical education is to impart the knowledge and skill required for successful professional practice. But what should be the curriculum of the college proper?

As the fields of science and philosophy have widened, the college curriculum has been enlarged by the addition of optional subjects of study. This has necessitated specialization. Instead of a single curriculum, courses have been arranged in arts, philosophy, science, and literature. One

* See "Modern College Education" by the same writer in July Arena.

American university, however, has recently abolished the distinction of special courses by making all subjects elective. Under this system the student determines his course according to taste or prejudice. An ideal college curriculum would combine the acquisition of the most valuable knowledge with the most desirable mental training. But what knowledge is of most worth? What faculties should receive the most training, and what, exactly, are the cultural effects of the various subjects of study?

Knowledge is valuable in proportion as it is useful in every-day life. The most valuable knowledge is that required for self-preservation. Next in importance is that which the constitution of society renders more or less necessary; such is knowledge of social and commercial customs, of government and laws. Last in the scale of values is that class of knowledge which has little or no relation to the conditions of modern life; such, for the average person, is detailed knowledge of the ancient languages, histories, mythologies, and, for the non-professional student, minutiæ of the sciences.

As a means of mental development, no study is worthless. The acquisition of knowledge of any kind develops some faculty of the mind. The study of the Hebrew language is, perhaps, as good a means of training the memory as the study of Latin. But varied mental discipline is desirable; and an ideal curriculum will not provide for the cultivation of the memory at the expense of the other intellectual powers.

In arranging a curriculum the greatest prominence should be given to the studies which combine the most useful knowledge with the most desirable culture. To this end a careful estimate should be made of comparative educational values. Herbert Spencer has shown science to be superior to the classics as knowledge and as a means of mental development; but he has not solved the problem. What is the best college curriculum?

There is not, of course, any means at present known by which the effect of any mental exercise can be definitely determined; nor can the progress of mental development be

accurately measured. Educational values must largely depend, too, upon the method of study, or the ability of the educator. One method of instruction in history, for instance, might develop the ethical sense, form the judgment, and teach wisdom; another might chiefly train the memory and store the mind with dead facts. No two educators would estimate educational values alike. Education cannot, by any system of calculation, be made an exact science. But it is possible to form a curriculum which shall give to the student the benefit of all the knowledge we possess of the development of the mental powers and the demands of modern life. As a means of determining, approximately, the comparative educational values of the various subjects of study, the following table of educational values has been devised:

SUBJECT.	Esthetic (4)	Ethical (4)	Memory (4)	Reason (3)	Invention (2)	Utility (2)	Wisdom (1)	Average
Law	10	60	50	90	70	90	90	46
Debating	20	60	50	80	90	85	80	43
Rhetoric	25	15	15	55	80	85	40	30
History	20	60	50	50	15	60	70	30
Physical Science, Var.	10	15	30	60	35	70	40	29
Elocution	50	25	20	50	15	75	40	26
Sociology	25	50	5	50	20	60	60	26
Political Economy	10	25	15	90	25	50	50	25
English Literature	50	25	20	25	20	50	20	19
Ethics	20	90	5	90	15	10	50	19
Higher Mathematics, Var.	5	15	20	90	35	20	5	18
English Language	5	5	30	20	5	80	5	13
Classics	20	5	80	25	20	20	5	12

The values assigned are estimated on a scale of one hundred, presuming ordinary capacity. The numbers in each column are divided by the figure in parenthesis at the head of that column. Adding laterally, and multiplying by three to offset the division, we get the averages in the last column.

Memory is one of the most valuable of the mental powers; but it is most susceptible to cultivation during childhood. It is important to consider that memory is not a single mental capacity, but that there is one memory for form, another for names, another for music, and so forth. The power of recollection depends largely on understanding. As the mind develops, the power of making logical associations increases, and the necessity for memorizing by rote decreases. In proportion as the attention is occupied with arbitrary details must the normal development of the reason and judgment be retarded. Persons remarkable for verbal memory are rarely distinguished by general ability, and those who are superior in other respects are often weak in memory. A system of higher education based largely on memory exercise may be, not merely defective, but injurious.

The purpose of college education is general culture, not special training for a particular calling. But the curriculum should not exclude psychology or law merely because special knowledge of those subjects is required for particular professions. The college should not be opposed to the useful, nor should it ignore entirely the law of the division of labor. The systematic study of law is one of the best means of developing the reason and judgment. The valuable training to be derived from debating should not be left to chance. A definite amount of work should be required in this, as in other departments. Here the best ability of the faculty can be used to the greatest advantage. Every class should be a debating society, the instructor acting as leader and judge. Macaulay thought that the training of the Athenian youth who listened to the debates between the great masters was superior to that afforded by any university. The mind is not a receptacle to be filled, but a variety of capacities to be developed. To promote normal development, not merely to lecture and hear recitations, is the highest office of the college educator.

Probably too much is attempted by the ordinary college. Franklin, Webster, Lincoln and many others of our ablest

men inform us that they had few books, but that they read those few again and again. A few thoughts well assimilated are better than many only swallowed. The duty of the true educator is, not to think for the student nor to marshal many facts and thoughts in review before his mind, but to stimulate him to activity — to give him the key to all knowledge and all philosophy.

If it be true that the classics and mathematics are inferior as means of liberal education to science, literature, and philosophy, it follows that less time should be devoted to the former. Only specialists in language, mathematics, or science, need continue those studies in the university or school of technology. Thorough analytical study of such masterpieces as Macaulay's Essays on History, Bacon, and Milton; Gibbon's Rome; Cicero's Oratory and Orators; Guizot's History of Civilization; Spencer's First Principles, Data of Ethics, and Sociology, might be substituted for the ordinary routine work in the classics. The editor of the American edition of Spencer's works justly remarks, "that the thorough study of Spencer's philosophical scheme would combine, in an unrivaled degree, those prime requisites of the highest education, a knowledge of the truths which it is most important for man to know, and that salutary discipline of the mental faculties which results from their systematic acquisition."

The established system of college education has done much for intellectual development. We venerate the old college; we esteem it only a little less than the church. But we claim the right of dissent from many of its tenets. The best system of physical training is that which develops, harmoniously, all the physical powers, and particulary those which will be most exercised in the contest for which it is intended to prepare. The best college training is that which develops all the mental powers, but especially those whose exercise is most necessary and useful in every-day life — to the individual and to society.

The system of teaching in common use in college tends to develop the receptive and retentive, rather than the judg-

ing and creative powers of the mind. The student's attention is occupied mainly with the acquisition of the thought of the text-book or of the lecturer. Such a system necessarily develops retentiveness rather than productiveness. Hence we find the percentage of original writers, inventors, discoverers, and reformers is greater among those who have not had all the advantages of the so-called best schools. Macaulay believed that had Shakespeare learned to read Sophocles we should never have had Lear. Too much attention is given to acquiring the thoughts of others and to gleaning the husks of knowledge, not enough to the developing of the reasoning, judging, and inventing capacities.

The college should require for admission a good academic education, including a general knowledge of Greek and of French. The required reading in Latin and in German might be decreased so as to admit of a higher standard for entrance in English and some knowledge of the other important languages, without extending the time now required for preparation. The academy should furnish general rather than special training. English should receive more attention than Latin and German. It is surely unwise to begin to study three or four foreign languages, as if the student were to be a specialist in each. The time given to all of them would not suffice to give to any one of them that command which is the object of the study of all. Few, even of the teachers of languages, master them so as to enable them to make such translations as have been made of almost every work worth translating. The claim that knowledge of foreign language is the only key to its literature is no longer reasonable.

The division of college courses into literary, scientific, philosophic, and pedagogic, would allow proper exercise for individual capacity and taste. The first two years might be the same for all — a gymnasium or general culture stage. The third and fourth years might be arranged to meet the requirement for special preliminary training for a particular department of university or professional school study.

There is not, in this country, any well marked distinction

between the college and the university. Most of the colleges have recently assumed the name "university" and, with one or two exceptions, those that were designed as universities are doing college work. If the work might be divided so that the first two years could be assigned to the college and the second two to the university proper, much better work could be done. The missing link in education — a means of preventing round men from getting into square callings, and square men into round — should be supplied. With the advice of those who have watched his development, and formed an estimate of his talents and acquirements during two years, each student might be directed, with due consideration for his own predilection, tastes, and circumstances, into the channel for which he might seem best adapted. Thus at the end of the second year the courses would diverge into special scientific, literary, philosophic, and pedagogic.

The chief aim of the first two-years' course should be to cultivate mental capacity, particularly the power of comprehensive reasoning and judging. The second two-years' course should develop the inventive faculty and the capacity for original thought and investigation. That the ordinary classical, mathematical, and scientific courses of study and the "pouring-in" system do not fully develop such capacities is amply proved by experience. It is unreasonable to expect creative power to result from the learning of paradigms and vocabularies. Training in intuitive mathematical reasoning, in which there can be no variation, is not calculated to develop the power of discovering truth. The mere possession of detailed scientific knowledge, however valuable, is not education in its best sense. The modern college curriculum should include the study of *science* rather than of the sciences.

The following outline — as yet necessarily imperfect — is suggested for the first two years of the college course:

First year. (1) Knowledge and Culture: Their relations, uses, and methods of acquisition. (2) Spencer's First Principles and Data of Ethics. (3) Macaulay's Essays on Bacon, Milton, and History. (4) Development of English language

and literature and elementary law (Kent and Blackstone). *Second year.* (1) Criticism of current thought in reviews and critical study of masterpieces of literature. (2) Character (Smiles) and Sociology (Spencer). (3) Argumentation and principles of rhetoric. (4) Political Economy and Government. Optional collateral courses in science, history, literature, and languages should be offered; but these should be subordinate. Two hours weekly should be required in debating.

This is an age of cheap books and vast knowledge. Everybody reads, but few know how to read wisely, or to discriminate between truth and error. Even the so-called educated man is often the victim of his latest author. The ordinary system of college training directs the greater part of the student's energy to absorbing the thoughts of others and to the acquisition of words, facts, and formulæ which, though valuable when rightly used, are not assimilated, and instead of developing, tend rather to retard development. Mental digestion is not a passive process.

The theory that the unlimited acquisition of knowledge is desirable, and that all study is beneficial, is one of the most pernicious of educational dogmas. All knowledge is valuable. But if it were possible for one to encompass the realm of the known by the memory, no benefit would result to the individual or to the race. The "learned blacksmith" did nothing for mankind. Watts, Franklin, and Edison, without great learning, added much to the sum of human happiness and wisdom. Knowledge is power only as it is rightly used. The acquisition of knowledge and thought should not be the sole object, even in the professional school. The best physician or lawyer is not necessarily he who knows most of the contents of the books. The development of capacity is more important than the acquisition of facts, formulæ, and theories — especially in the college proper, the avowed purpose of which is not preparation for a particular calling, but mental development.

The general knowledge of ancient and modern languages,

history, science, and mathematics which every well-educated person must possess, should be acquired in the academy; detailed knowledge is the object of special study, which is the province of the professional or technological school or of the university proper. Instead of directing the student's efforts to the learning of facts and opinions set forth in the text-books or in lectures, the text-book should be made a basis for original study. The student should "read not to accept nor to believe, but to weigh and consider." An abstract of each paragraph of the text should be made. The student should be required to set forth his own views on each topic treated by the author. He should also propose questions which, with those suggested by the instructor, should form the basis of study and investigation. Properly conducted, such a system would, necessarily, develop capacity for original thought and investigation, and a love of truth. A student so trained, instead of finishing his education at graduation, would commence it. He would undoubtedly have less knowledge to forget within the succeeding ten years, but he would certainly have greater capacity for dealing with the problems of his own experience.

The second half of the course should be arranged as a preparatory course for future special study. The pedagogic course, for instance, which would be especially adapted to those who might wish to devote themselves to education, should be arranged to cultivate the capacities required for the greatest usefulness in that field of labor. The instructors in a modern college should be, not merely well informed and duly graduated, but able men and women — trained thinkers capable of developing the reasoning, judging, investigating, and inventing capacities in others.

If, as many of our most careful and conscientious students of educational problems believe, and as those who view the results from an unprejudiced position assert, college education is not as effective as it might be made, our plain duty is to discover the defects in the system and endeavor to correct them. This will necessitate the overruling of that conserva-

tism which is the peculiar characteristic of the established college; but the gain that must accrue to the cause of true education will more than compensate for the loss.

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THE INNER LIFE.

THE most important epoch in human life begins with the discovery of the inner world, the world of individual consciousness, the home of creative thought, the inceptive point of action. For this discovery involves an entire change of attitude toward life, and is the clue to the obscurest problems, the beginning of all philosophical truth. The consequences are, in fact, so great and so distinctly individual that one can hardly hope to suggest them to another. The present series of discussions is, however, an analysis of the inner life, and the reader who has followed me thus far is ready to consider the vital issues logically suggested by the foregoing articles, and to apply to his particular inner life the conclusions which have become more and more emphatic as we approached the problem from successive points of view.

Our general subject has been the meaning and scope of action. We have found the ultimate meaning of life in the fact that the universe is the progressive manifestation of God, whose world plan involves the attainment of universal freedom and harmony, the realization of the highest moral and spiritual ideals. But the meaning of life, the nature of experience, for you and me, we have everywhere traced to the second great fact, namely, that man thinks and acts, that the entire universe is colored by the mood in which he approaches it, his reaction in relation to it. The meaning of finite action is that man is a creative organ of the universe, a free moral agent. The sphere of action in each of us is

co-extensive with individuality. The limitations of action are the limitations of law; for example, the successive stages of evolution, no one of which can be omitted, and the bounds placed upon us by the fact that we are moral beings, members one of another. The genesis of action we have traced to the creative effort, arising in the far inner world of belief, conviction, will, love, and genius. The highest ideal of action we have found to be coöperation, adjustment to the advancing harmony of life, service, love. We have rejected the theory that man can do anything he pleases; and although we discarded the easy optimism of believers in fate, and the doctrine that "all is good," we still found it possible to believe in the ultimate goodness of things.

The endeavor to emphasize the need of individual action, as opposed to supine belief in fate, has, however, brought us to the parting of the ways. What kind of action is wisest? Shall we aggressively force things to go our way? Or is there a higher law? Shall we work upon the surfaces of things, or develop from within with due consideration for our fellow beings?

I shall soon give an unqualified answer, and by so doing not only part company with certain theorists, but also set at rest the critics who, because of the stress laid on finite action and the distinctions between good and evil, have charged me with a change of view. But I wish at first to call attention to the aspect of the inner life, which seems to me to give the clue to the individual problem as a whole, namely, the sacredness which surrounds the inmost experiences of the soul. For I do not ask the reader to study the inner life as the home of the personal self alone, but as the holy of holies, which witnesses the supreme revelation of God. It is the spiritually creative world, the manger wherein is born the Christ ideal. I know of no solution to the total problem of life except the discovery of this, its richest and noblest aspect, and the outward manifestation in all its fulness of the beauty and sanctity of this supreme ideal.

In order to realize this sacredness, before we consider the

more serious problem, let us enter the inner world as we would a great cathedral, to worship in spirit and in silence. This spirit is best illustrated by those occasional moments when there is a brief pause in our restless, every-day life, and we seem for the time to possess that of which we are in search. In such moments a power is revealed which surpasses all other forces, a consciousness which transcends the highest endeavor of self-consciousness, yet is that which inspires and guides it. When that spirit comes, one feels a sense of awe, of calm humility, a quiet desire to become truly and fully receptive, that no obstacle in self may impede the divine inflow. All problems are, for the time being, thrown into the background; all fears are banished. There is almost no questioning, no attempt to dictate the form which the inspiration shall take. Nor is one inclined to apply the tests of skepticism. All that is for another time. Now the one deep desire is, not to reason about reality, but to possess the thing itself. As the sky raises its pure azure above the highest mountain, so is this spirit superior to all that aspires to attain its boundless beauty and love. And I offer no proof that there is a divine presence which each man may perceive in his inner sanctuary but that presence itself, the immediate consciousness that one has transcended the mere finite to abide for a season with the Infinite. Were I to undertake more, an adequate description of all I mean by this great love and peace, my words would defame its sacred presence, and the cold analysis would convey, not the poetry of the inner life, not the warmth of love, but the dull prose of mere science, the grasping hate of selfishness, which insists that the last citadel of sentiment shall yield.

We are already face to face with the great issue which the inner life so clearly emphasizes, namely, that we find what we seek, that we see only what we are developed to see, — action and reaction are equal.

The law is brought home to the mind with fearful emphasis when one realizes its tremendous consequences. Hitherto, one has cast the blame upon the world. One has complained

of the conditions of life, found fault with friends, criticized society, condemned the government, and blasphemed God. One has sought salvation through belief, labored for temperance reform by securing restrictive legislation, tried to destroy disease by doctoring effects, to idealize society by imposing an artificial ideal upon it. One has lived an external life, a life of the flesh, in pursuit of happiness, the mere accumulation of possessions. Now it dawns upon the mind with the force of unshakable conviction that everything primarily depends upon the individual, that salvation through character is the only way, that all permanent reform begins within, the only cure comes through self-help, the only freedom through self-knowledge and self-mastery. Then follows a gradual realization of all that these great facts involve. Peace is to be found only within. The individual advances so far only as he understands and makes effort for himself. All change comes about through evolution. All development is from an inner center or seed. We make our own happiness and misery. We are injured, contaminated, oppressed, when there are corresponding and inviting conditions within. Disease is an exact result of the life we lead. Environment is such as our own constitution attracts. Not one moment of life is exempt from the steady march of events instantly, impartially, and irresistibly modified by all that we are at the time, by all that we think, by all that we do.

The law of the inner life, then, is, know thyself: seek first the kingdom, the creative realm, the spiritual center of calm, poised self-control, then regulate the entire in accordance with this high ideal. Begin each day, begin each new undertaking, by first turning to this holy of holies that you may consecrate yourself afresh. Transcend sensation, the merely personal inclination and desire, and ask, What is the highest ideal, what is demanded of me as a son of creative Spirit, of all-encompassing Love? Then test each detail of daily conduct by the same high standard, that each hour may be inspired by conscious coöperation with the creative Father. For it is not enough to seek the inner kingdom, then pas-

sively wait for all things mechanically to follow. This savors of fatalism, of *laissez faire* religion.

In our discussion of the harmony of life* we have seen that each phase of the advancing Perfect calls for understanding and adjustment on our part. The inner life is made complete only through outward, physical, and social life; *it is not perfect in itself.* Introspection simply intensifies egoism and indifferentism, unless it is followed by the outgoing life of service. Solitude, silence, receptivity is good only as a means to an end, to fellowship and activity. One should not sacrifice an atom of Anglo-Saxon energy and enterprise. One should be constantly on the alert to avoid lazy optimism and self-complacency. Become a Hindu within, a seer, a spiritually poised and peaceful soul, only that you may be a better Anglo-Saxon without. Possess yourself and your forces that you may avoid the tremendous waste of energy of our American life. Practise economy of motion, but begin always within, by first arresting the nervous scattering of force. Centralize conduct. Forever forego the attempt to transform your life by merely altering your surroundings and working upon effects. Concentrate upon the inceptive point of all activity in the inner world.

Consciously or unconsciously all life is an outpouring from within. Hence are issued all the commands that lead to good or bad action. Fear springs from within, causes one to shudder and draw back. Anger throws its stern power into the features and clinches the fists. Sorrow melts the hardened frame and joy lights it up. All our moods, for example, jealousy, grow into huge proportions because we first harbor an inmost sentiment, and permit it to expand and add to itself.

When all has been said in favor of the active realization of our inner ideals, the chief stress, however, must be placed upon receptivity; for it is here that we are most apt to err. We desire things for ourselves; we wish things to go our way; we carry individuality to excess and become dominating. One

* See the May Arena.

of the mental healing schools has degenerated into this attitude by placing undue emphasis upon the assertion of the "I."

The attempt to use the power of thought for personal purposes, the "claiming" of wealth, the sending out of desire that a certain friend shall give one a certain present, the effort to control minds at a distance—all this is a perversion of the inner life, a subtle form of selfishness.

The higher way is the setting aside of the finite self by asking, "What wilt thou have me to do?" It has no desire, it has no will, except for that which shall be given it to do. It is not a "trust," it is not a monopoly; it is coöperation for the highest good, not merely for self and society, but for the glory and beauty of God; the rounding out of the total universe. It is the *life* of righteousness, not merely the *seeking* of the Kingdom which shall cause "all these things to be added unto you." It is to the little children that the kingdom shall come. It is with those who preserve receptivity, spontaneity, and humility that it shall abide.

Furthermore, the inner life is the life of faith. All things shall be added only to those who are daily and hourly true to the law. Patience and moderation, equanimity and fidelity to all the stages of painstaking evolution—these are indispensable to the completion of the spiritual plan. There is a natural attraction which draws the soul to conditions like the inner altitude. Action and reaction are equal in infinitely minute detail. Precisely as one measures out love and trust, or despair and doubt, shall one be rewarded.

To him who dedicates his life in entire willingness to obey the inward command, favorable circumstances shall come with a power which nothing can withstand.* All things yield before such a soul in a wonderful way. "All things work together for good for them that love the Lord." But the love must be there, the wisdom, the fidelity to the moral law.

We must stringently avoid the pitfalls and snares of the "all-is-good" doctrine; for each new experience calls for discernment. He alone shall keep the path, who persistently

* See the April Arena, p. 477.

watches and prays, that he may know the disinterested guidance from the personal, the divine moving from the subtly illusive egoism which persistently simulates and pursues it.

No rule is adequate. It is impossible to sum up the wisdom of life in a single precept such as "Resist not evil," "All is good." For in reality —

> "All are needed by each one,
> Nothing is fair or good alone."

Every individual is dependent on society; society shall be perfected only through the full development of the individual. Every man must be receptive, yet every man must be active. Sometimes it is wise to accept circumstances as they come; sometimes they must be strenuously resisted. There are conditions in which it is wisest to hold still and wait, letting all things become adjusted. Again, if one were non-resistant, one might harbor a trouble months and years, when a few strokes of wise positiveness would have put an end to it.

Every occasion must therefore be met by the wisdom of the occasion, the highest, newest guidance from within. Every effort must be made to keep the faculty of receptivity alive and pure. It is pure dogmatism to say that we cannot temporarily degenerate. It is a barefaced assumption of omniscience, to claim that there are no failures; an unpardonable confusion of ethics and science to affirm that "whatever is, is right." For, whatever ought to be, is right. What is, does not tell me what is right and what is wrong. Injustice is oppression, slavery, sin. But the inner vision reveals a higher ideal, and assures us that justice is right; that ignorance is an excuse only for a mistake, never for a crime; and that we ought to pattern our life after this superior enlightenment.

It is a base betrayal of the inner life to overlook these distinctions. To affirm that "all is God, therefore all is right" is to sweep away in one breath finite selfhood, finite thought and action, and all the exigencies, the struggles, failures, successes; all the joys and beauties of evolution. The inner world is precisely the place where one must become more

conscientious, must discriminate. There must be no confusion between the divine and the human; between feeling and the ethical motive which should govern feeling; the emotion that lifts one above self and the one that involves one in it; the power that makes for righteousness and the one that makes for mere individualism.

The moral life issues from within, and is such when we are discriminative, when we *intend* it as such. "Every time we sincerely, honestly *mean* to do right, no matter how mistaken we may turn out to be in our judgment, our action has a moral worth," says W. M. Salter. The moral life is a life governed by principle, where impulse is mastered and the purest motives are chosen. In the fuller sense it is the result of a highly developed state of discriminative consciousness. It is both intellectual and spiritual, both knowledge of the law and the power of love's strongest incentive.

In whatever way we regard the inner life, therefore, we find that for each of us it is fundamentally conditioned by the individual. Everything that develops me depends upon my thought about it, my reaction upon it. All that comes to me, comes because I sought it. I may forget that I prayed for it, but nature does not forget, my subconscious mind does not forget. We attract what we fear, as well as what we hope for. Whatever *strongest* thought we associate with certain surroundings, certain persons and experiences, is likely to be continuously associated with them in our minds.

Why, then, if thought is thus continuously powerful are not our ideals more quickly realized? Because will or choice is but one of the factors of experience. The laws of evolution are hard and fast. The inner world governs the outer only when the outer has risen to its high level and all things correspond. In many directions, as we have repeatedly noted in this series of discussions, mere thought is insufficient; we must act and act persistently.

It is important, also, to remember that, although we are creative agents, the power we use is given to us. We are

sharers in a life that limits and blesses, serves and unites us all. Of ourselves we can do nothing; he who would autocratically control the forces of the inner life, has not fully understood it. It cannot too often be repeated, we are members of a social organism. We are dependent on others, upon the steady march of events over which we have only a slight power. The growth of ideas for example, is best stimulated by controversy, and in vain does the hermit endeavor to dispense with society. The best result of mere introspection, therefore, is the discovery of its utter inadequacy if made an end in itself; the discovery of the dignity and beauty, the opportunity and privilege of individual life as a part of the whole, a function in the social organism, with duties to that organism.

But it seems a hard saying — that the circumstances in which every soul is placed are due to the inner life of the individual, that the pauper in the slums, the oppressed laborer and the slave are such because of their own state of development. Can it be true that not the oppressor, the deceiver, and the thief are to blame, but the innocent victim who is drawn into misery through his own ignorance? Such a conclusion would seem harsh and cruel in the extreme; it would excuse the wrongdoer except so far as he himself suffers; it would call for a complete change in all methods of social reform.

The believer in reincarnation puts in a word here which seems to him to solve the difficulty. The miserable, degraded, and oppressed souls have gravitated into conditions of hardship in this life because of misconduct in a previous existence; their own karma is the cause of their present misery, and they must suffer until the debt be paid. But how happens it that some souls gravitate into downy beds of ease, why are some so gifted, some so "lucky," and some born into conditions where they can recline in luxury and evolve theories of justice to account for the sufferings of the under half; theories in which it is perfectly easy for those to believe who are not themselves condemned to misery? If

you carry all this a stage farther back and attribute these inequalities to past incarnations, is not your problem as difficult as before? When did the inequalities begin? Is it credible that a poor, ignorant, downtrodden slum-dweller once had the same opportunties put before him which lead to the development of a Beethoven, a Browning, a Lincoln; that he rejected these, and personally laid the foundations of every phase of his present misery?

The mystery of injustice is obviously made the greater by such an extreme doctrine. We have found that "nothing is fair or good alone," that the individual is a dependent, related, social being, and that no precept is adequate by itself. Our circumstances come both from ourselves and from our ancestry. In many instances the parents are responsible for bringing children into the world under unfavorable conditions. *The individual is responsible only when he is given a choice.* He awakens into conditions of which he can become master only so far as he understands them. To the degree that he has come to consciousness, his attitude is responsible for the results which circumstances produce upon him. The majority of the oppressed are still ignorant of the inner life, and of the law of individuality. Environment is a powerful factor in all evolution. Freedom and conscious self-development come with the social conditions which make them possible. If the oppressor be enlightened and the oppressed ignorant, the oppressor is at fault.

The question of justice is therefore too large to engage us here.* We are primarily concerned with the possibilities put before the self-conscious soul. The soul's conditions we must at present be content to call the raw material of experience, whose beginning must concern us at another time. But whatever the material, however severe the experience, the soul can begin to evolve out of it, the moment genuine enlightenment begins.

Instead of complaining at one's lot, heaping blame and abuse upon one's employer or ruler, instead of seeking escape

* I shall discuss this question in a later issue of The Arena.

from oppression by running away from it or by forced external methods, the method of the inner life would be: Formulate the higher ideal, aspire, seek the inner kingdom, believe that changed circumstance are coming to you, create them in thought, hold firmly to them, and cultivate an attitude of mind tending to invite them. Meanwhile, learn all that the present circumstances can teach. Philosophize about them each day. Concentrate your energy within, instead of wasting it in anathemas and the application of physical force.

The reformation of society, the perfecting of the race, depends upon each individual. Each soul must understand, each soul must find its own method of adjustment to society. Never will the millennium come by legislative, artificial, and leveling methods. True equality is liberty for each individual to become truly himself, fully express himself; and individual self-expression necessarily begins from within. The individual is far more likely to command the conditions of equality, if he first understands what they are to mean *for him,* than by joining some movement to compel them to be granted before he truly understands and deserves them.

In that sacred inner world whence all creative power rises, there is a Wisdom, a Love, a Power that will lead and prepare the way. Trust that. Commend yourself to that. Seek its presence; seek its inspirations. Ask whither it is tending, what it desires of you. Try to harmonize your life with its promptings. And set apart periods of waiting, in silence and receptivity; dedicate your life anew to its service, to its beauty, its peace, and its love. Thus shall the inner life enlarge into the larger social life, the life of sympathy and coöperation. Thus shall the individual discover the true meaning of his life with God.

Our reasoning therefore compels us to brand as one-sided, inadequate, egoistic, any doctrine of the inner life which concerns itself merely with the individual, with methods of self-contemplation and mere thought. We shall have a generation of self-complacent individualists, if the practice of "entering the silence" be carried to excess. Indifferentism

is a sure consequence of the placid belief that all one need to do is to *wait* until all things fall into harmony by their own gravitation. Constructive coöperation is the higher law,— individual contribution to the welfare of society. The inner life reveals the higher activity, the wiser method of reform. But, I repeat and repeat again,—

"All are needed by each one
Nothing is fair or good alone."

HORATIO W. DRESSER.

Boston.

FROM THE WESTERN SHORE.

MR. HUNTINGTON ON EDUCATION.

UNDER this head, in pursuance of The Arena's policy of a broad and liberal Americanism untrammeled by the traditions and conventions that have so long denied proper place and relation to the thought and life of the newer America, so essential to any comprehension of the real America of our day, it is my purpose to present each month a rapid and running review of public affairs and interests on the Pacific Coast. The special phases and features of our common American problem of the democratic life, which are presented by this young and vigorous part of the country, it is believed may be of exceptional interest to the general reading public in the east as well as in the west. Here on this sunset shore we find a typical instance of the civil and industrial enterprise and struggle involved in what Whitman calls "this puzzle, the New World." In the efforts here made, wise or unwise, to bring this "puzzle" to a definite and tolerable solution, we may read out lessons valuable to socio-

logical students and thinking men on either side of the Sierras. To make what is presented in these pages thus valuable in a general way will be kept steadily in view. Having accepted responsibility for this special feature of The Arena, my purpose is to utilize the opportunity in behalf of whatever is vitally essential for the development of our western community toward a true and generous greatness. California, Oregon, Washington, Nevada — these constitute the field, an empire of unlimited possibilities. Their institutions, their energies and resources, their men and women — these are the potencies with which we have to deal.

Fortunately, this brief review of movements and events of national importance, as they appear against the Coast horizon, will be supplemented by able pens. It will be found that the contributions of these California writers will possess human interest of the largest, both for their clear, fresh elucidation of problems of the day and for a certain original and characteristic perception and treatment reflecting the as yet dimly understood influences in the mental and spiritual realm of the sunny clime and luxuriant beauty of the lands that skirt our Pacific shore. Professor Brown, of the University of California, gives us a delightful taste of this quality in his article on "National Unity" in this issue of The Arena. In the special field of education Professor Brown's paper will be followed by articles from others not less prominent and active; articles entitled, therefore, to wide attention.

The western coast has appreciated the honor of having the National Educational Association come hither for its annual session. Unquestionably the deliberations of this notable gathering and the enthusiasm which it engendered, cannot fail to advance the cause of education in this section. But, having listened to the wisdom of the wise men in the Educational Association, the fact remains that the most notable of recent utterances upon the subject of education is that of our great railroad magnate, C. P. Huntington, which has called forth a discussion almost as voluminous as that anent The Man with the Hoe.

Here we have an American of the largest practical success censuring the methods and complaining of the results of our American system of education, and inferentially attributing his own success to his lack of such education as our colleges provide. After criticizing France for "forcing the young in order to prepare them for the government service," and quoting with approval the protest of the Emperor William against the German schools for "turning out more learning than is good for the nation at large, and more than is good for the individual," Mr. Huntington proceeds to deprecate "the increase of the higher education for the masses" in America. In explication of his views, he says:

"While the preparation for professional life requires advanced knowledge, it seems to me that the vast majority of our young people spend too many of their vigorous years of youth inside the schoolroom, and not enough in the practical work of life. The years from fifteen to twenty-one are immensely valuable, for they are the years of keen observation, individuality, and confidence. In many cases — quite too many — they are spent in cramming the mind with knowledge that is not likely to help a young man in the work he is best fitted to do. How many young men with college educations are standing about waiting for something that will never come, because the work that lies nearest at hand is not to their liking. Somehow or other our schools, which teach young people how to talk, do not teach them how to live. People need little, but want much. Since I have come to California one-third of my daily mail is made up of appeals for help, and these calls are about equally divided between requests for contributions to help pay off debts and mortgages which should not have been contracted, and applications of young men out of work. . . . It seems to me that slowly, but surely, there is growing up a stronger and stronger wall of caste, with good honest labor on one side, and frivolous gentility on the other. We seem to be fast outgrowing those things which, when our fathers lived, were called sterling qualities, but now are called follies, or work that a gentleman should not do; as though all honest work is not honorable work."

These remarks touch on what is unquestionably one of the great problems of democratic civilization. I confess to a gen-

eral sympathy with Mr. Huntington's rebuke of the growing spirit of caste, and with his strictures on the schools, if it be indeed true that education, as we know it in America, tends to create a distaste or a genteel contempt for "good honest labor." I am not so sure, however, that the "wall of caste," to which reference is made, is the work of education. It is easy to assume that the school advantages enjoyed impartially in our country are directly responsible; but, as matter of fact, the strongest walls of such caste distinctions are found in countries and in times in which the masses are without school privileges, and only the few are academically trained. Moreover, it has been pointed out by learned sociologists that the spread of education is the one strongest influence tending to preserve the sense and the fact of social equality in America. Nevertheless, Mr. Huntington's utterance is an echo of a superficial judgment very generally held by men of culture, as to the cause for the deprecated tendency in our country. But the desire to escape the yoke of common toil, the love of leisurely refinement, and the predilection for gentility and *delicatesse* are not referable directly to the increase of knowledge and mental discipline. This diagnosis is superficial and incomplete. The disease lies deeper, and is of a far more general character. It permeates, and to a large extent vitiates, our entire system of life and all our institutions, educational and other. That a man should prefer to be a railroad magnate rather than a section-hand, or a college professor rather than a gardener, or a leader of the city's society rather than a night sweeper in its streets, is not traceable to the multiplication table and the English grammar, nor even to psychology and literary criticism. The preference exists even in the absence of these acquisitions and disciplines. To be sure, knowledge and intellectual training may help one to realize his choice and gratify his ambition. But his education is not the immediate source of suggestion and incitement as toward a career of exceptional success or the life of a leisured gentleman.

It follows that the remedy which Mr. Huntington suggests

would not reach the root of the ailment. He would have the higher education withheld from the masses, and would have "the vast majority of our young people" spend fewer years in the schoolroom. He would have them disciplined rather in the "practical work of life." Now this would be merely to abridge for the masses the means and facilities for a successful struggle for exceptional place and power; it would not demolish that "wall of caste" of which complaint is made. It would be a discrimination against the "majority of our young people," with a view to holding them perforce in the common ranks. If Mr. Huntington really believes in the essential purports of democracy, he should have counseled thus, namely: that *all* our young people should be kept at school up to the age, say, of twenty years, with a view to a broad and liberal education upon general lines; and also, and at the same time, *all* should be disciplined to life's practical obligations and tasks. This would call for a considerable modification of our present educational system. It would require us to cease from that "cramming of the mind" against which Mr. Huntington rightly protests, — the crowding of it, that is, with unused intellectual furniture and bric-a-brac. The schools would have to curb their ambition to overtone and unduly furbish the youthful mind. Then, further, it would be necessary to provide systematically for the practical side of education, for instruction in applied knowledge. In lieu of this, we must shorten the daily school hours and encourage, or even demand, if that be feasible, the employment of all school children in moderate practical tasks at home or elsewhere. This should mean the suppression of that terrible curse, child-labor, with long and regular hours of grinding toil, and the substitution for it of only a wholesome discipline of all children to usefulness and practical skill. This policy would in itself go far to weaken the "wall of caste," inasmuch as it would familiarize all our youth with the idea that labor is, in such a world as ours, both a duty and an honor. That is a fine and readily accepted phrase with which Mr. Huntington graced his speech, that "all honest

work is honorable." There are few voices to dispute this sentiment, but the trouble is that not all honest work is *honored.* For example, it is safe to affirm that among the numerous guests invited to the Southern Pacific banquet not one is now earning his living by manual labor. And if, by some sudden turn of fate's wheel, all the gentlemen who were present, and who applauded Mr. Huntington's words, were compelled to resort to manual toil for their support, every one of them would feel it to be a dire misfortune, and this especially and particularly because they know it would mean a forfeiture of their social standing. It is an easy dictum of smooth-flowing speech which proclaims the honorableness of all honest labor; but when it comes to the bestowment of social honor, the line is carefully drawn to exclude certain kinds of labor. This is something which education does not govern and cannot change. Nothing can change it except such social and industrial reconstruction as shall mete out to honest labor, of whatever nature, just, impartial, and adequate reward.

EDWARD B. PAYNE.

San Francisco.

WHEN YOU I BEHELD.

WHEN you I beheld, far over the trees,
All bare of their branches, there floated a breeze
Of perfume and summer, of flowers and bees —
When you I beheld!

When you I beheld, the care and the strife
Were counted as nothing; for me a new life
Sprang up at your bidding, and music was rife —
When you I beheld!

When you I beheld, the years that were dead
Came hand in hand homeward, and each, blushing red,
Dreamed once more of springtime, their agony fled —
When you I beheld!

RUTH WARD KAHN.

Leadville, Colo.

THE HOUR AND THE WOMAN.

A Woman — in so far as she beholdeth
Her one Beloved's face;
A Mother — with a great heart that enfoldeth
The children of the Race:

A body free and strong with that high beauty
That comes of perfect use, is built thereof:
A mind where Reason ruleth over Duty
And Justice reigns with Love.

A self-poised royal soul, brave, wise and tender,
No longer blind and dumb;
A Human Being, of an unknown splendor
Is she who is to come.

—*Charlotte Perkins Stetson.*

PERHAPS to no one more than to the writer herself are these prophetic lines applicable, though she aimed to picture only her ideal woman. To arrive even in a remote degree at the realization of one's ideals is, in itself, a distinction that compels admiration and inspires reverence. The human craving to find in poet and philosopher a living embodiment and exponent of the thought flashed upon one's consciousness, is well satisfied in Charlotte Perkins Stetson, whose word and work are synonymous.

For a number of years the original verse of Mrs. Stetson has been floating about in the newspapers, which, with all their faults, are more or less fair records of the upward thought and movement that show at what point of recognition we are in our march of human progress. It did not matter that the now world-famed poem, "Similar Cases," was first printed in a periodical of limited circulation among a few radical thinkers who dared to aspire to a higher order of life than is possible in the existing state of things. It did not matter that "The Nationalist" itself went down before the adverse winds that have wrecked many other brave crafts setting sail for the port of Freedom. This poem that first took passage in the ship-of-war,—which by the way, went down only to rise with ten-fold power in other forms — has since

made its world voyage on its own strong, bright wings, claiming swift recognition even with the "Neolithic Man," who is sufficiently susceptible to its truth and humor to appreciate the satire on his own "clinching argument," and to give hope that he, too, in the slow evolution of the race, will "have to change his nature."

Other poems of equal force and brilliancy, over the same signature, have, from time to time, appealed to our slumbering sense of truth and justice in respect to common customs which we had accepted without thought; as things to be regretted, perhaps, but still endured. The keen, delicate lance that with one dart pierces to the very center of sores that we have kept covered, has been felt many times through the poems, under various familiar titles, which have come to us in fragmentary ways during the last half dozen years. To find them collected in the first pamphlet editions sent out from San Francisco in 1893 and 1895, was a real delight which lost nothing in flavor to some of her admirers because they could be shared with others for a half dollar. A more expensive, revised, and enlarged edition has been issued within the last year. It is called "In This Our World," and in it Mrs. Stetson's admirers will find new claimants for favor.

But just now our business is with Mrs. Stetson's latest work, "Women and Economics,"* a philosophic study of the economic relations between men and women — a study which aims, as the author says in her preface — "To show how some of the worst evils under which we suffer, evils long supposed to be inherent and ineradicable in our natures, are but the result of certain arbitrary conditions of our own adoption; and how, by removing those conditions, we may remove the resultant."

The primal evil which Mrs. Stetson points out in our social life, is the economic dependence of woman on the sex-relation. From this false and unnatural position, sanctioned by human law and sustained for centuries as an inviolable

* "Women and Economics, a Study of the Economic Relations Between Men and Women as a Factor in Social Evolution." By Charlotte Perkins Stetson. Crown 8vo, pp. 340, Small, Maynard & Co., Boston.

custom, has proceeded the multitude of social perversions which the present age has set about eradicating by this, that, and the other so-called reform. While granting that the sexuo-economic relation has had its use in the earlier evolutionary stages of humanity, the time has come, in the view of Mrs. Stetson, for a radical change in the status of woman who can no longer find her sole environment in man.

"The inevitable trend of human life," she says, "is toward a higher civilization; but while that civilization is confined to one sex, it inevitably exaggerates sex-distinction until the increasing evil of this condition is stronger than all the good of the civilization attained, and the nation falls. Civilization, be it understood, does not consist in the acquisition of luxuries. Social development is an organic development. A civilized state is one in which the citizens live in organic industrial relations. . . .

"The sexuo-economic relation serves to bring social development to a certain level. After that level is reached a higher relation must be adopted, or the lifting process comes to an end; and either the race succumbs to the morbid action of its own forces, or some fresher race comes in and begins the course of social evolution anew. Under the stimulus of the sexuo-economic relation one civilization after another has climbed up and fallen down in weary succession. It remains for us to develop a newer, better form of sex-relation and of economic relation therewith, and so grasp the fruits of all previous civilizations and grow on to the beautiful results of higher ones. The true and lasting social progress beyond that which we have yet made, is based on a spirit of inter-human love, not merely the inter-sexual, and it requires an economic machinery organized and functioned for human needs. The sexuo-economic relation drives man up to where he can become fully human. It deepens and develops the human soul until it is able to conceive and fulfil the larger social uses in which our further life must find expression. But, unless the human soul sees these new forces, feels them, gives way to them in loyal service, it fails to reach the level from which all further progress must proceed and falls back. Again and again society has so risen, so failed to grasp new duties, so fallen back.

"Today it will not so fall again, because the social con-

sciousness is at last so vital a force, in both men and women, that we feel clearly our human life cannot be lived on sex-lines only. We are so far individualized, so far socialized, that men can work without the spur of exaggerated sex-stimulus, work for some one besides mate and young, and women can love and serve without the slavery of economic dependence—love better and serve more. Sex-stimulus begins and ends in individuals. The social spirit is a larger thing, a better thing, and brings with it a larger, nobler life than we could know on a sex-basis solely."

It must not be supposed that Mrs. Stetson's clear and sustained argument militates at any point against marriage in its truer and diviner sense. On the contrary, the whole trend of her reasoning is towards such freedom, such independence, as shall make possible between the individual man and woman a union based on the highest sentiment of love and social use, rather than on the low, common plane of selfish passion and economic dependence. None too scathing is the scorn and shame with which the lower and baser motives of marriage, so-called, are held up to our view by this bold, logical thinker who fearlessly strips the illusion of false sentiment from what passes in the world as love and wedlock. The process may be a little startling, but the flash of light which penetrates and riddles the sham, reveals to us all the more clearly the beauty and perfection of the true.

It is not a fair treatment of "Women and Economics" to give its bald, bare statements, wrested from the chain of argument that harmonizes and shows the logical sequence and consistency of its conclusions. The best that can be done is to ask every reader to lay aside all preconceived views and prejudices on the particular subject in hand, and to bring to the study a calm, impartial spirit of inquiry that does not shrink from admitting truths even when they undermine the long-cherished theories and beliefs of heredity and education.

The conventional thinker will inevitably be shocked by Mrs. Stetson's ungloved handling of a relation which has been from time immemorial regarded as, on the one hand, sacred

and beautiful, or, on the other, wanton and unmentionable. But it is sometimes necessary to be shocked before we can be moved to that dispassionate, unbiased consideration which will qualify us to distinguish between the real and the fictitious value of time-honored customs and institutions. A great step is gained by the woman who reads this book, if she catch a glimpse of larger horizons, and begins to realize that any personal love which limits her vision to mere temporal ends and fills her life with doubt, anxiety, anguish, fear, dissatisfaction, and unrest, is unworthy of the name of love, and must either be lifted to a higher plane or be set aside altogether. What Byron calls "the blind necessity of loving" does not compel any human being to merge all individual hopes and aspirations and possibilities in the unsympathetic sphere of another life when from every side comes the appeal of nobler objects for which to live and toil and sacrifice, the demand for the larger good that embraces and benefits all.

In this affirmation there is not a breath of irreverence for love and marriage in the truer sense. Rather is there a declaration of freedom to reject the false and meretricious, and to exalt the real and abiding union of man and woman, founded not on the mere selfish and external relations, but on the deeper spiritual sympathy and purposes that find in each the impelling force of larger inspiration and accomplishment.

No doubt, on this point, the author of "Women and Economics" has yet a further and fuller word to speak. She is too thorough an evolutionist to stop on the threshold of a subject which she has here barely opened to the shocked eyes of the conservative thinker, satisfied with a form that has no in-breathing power of life and substance.

When Mrs. Stetson has waited long enough for the storm of protest against her radical utterance to subside, we shall look for the reconciling and fulfilling word of which this book is but the *avant courier* — a sort of John Baptist, in wild skins, going before to stir the "Neolithic Mind" which is crying:

This is chimerical! Utopian! absurd!

There is another problem connected with this profound subject which some of us do not find settled by the brilliant argument that makes "Women and Economics" what one of its critics has called "the book of the age," and another has named "a force that must at last be reckoned with."

The question of economic independence for women is one very difficult to dispose of in a day when strong able-bodied men go about the streets begging for work that shall save them from the almshouse or the penitentiary.

It is true that Mrs. Stetson gives us in high light the ideal picture of that kingdom of righteousness in which every member of the human family shall have an equal place and opportunity for the development of individual powers of use and happiness.

This, indeed, is the end toward which all earnest, sincere workers are striving. But not until the industrial world is reorganized and resystematized upon the platform of the golden rule, can woman enter upon her career of absolute economic independence without adding to the accumulated train of evils in the mad struggle, when every hand clutches at both its own and its brother's portion. Possibly, to anticipate the best, the sudden assumption of every woman to economic freedom and industrial rights might precipitate the revolution which is to usher in that reign of "peace and good will" forecast by all the prophets.

Meantime no woman in sexual relations need consider herself a dependent on such relation. The matter is in her own hands. When she makes her own individual law in the sex-union it will be respected. For the rest, if she will follow her highest convictions of right, without too many words about it, she will arrive at a clearer vision of her own place and power. It is certainly not the man's place and power. It is a new insight, a new impulse that we want and not the accumulated force, in the same direction, of women acting as men.

Mrs. Stetson herself, is giving a fine example of free womanhood in following her own high ideals, with a sincerity and

directness that wins the admiration of even those who do not agree with her.

As a masculine critic * remarks, "No one can easily overpraise the vigor, the clearness, and the acuteness of her writing." And he adds, "She writes, indeed, like a man, and like a very logical and very able man."

This is a mistake. She writes simply like Charlotte Perkins Stetson, a woman who, in the school of experience, has learned her lessons, not automatically from the text-books of custom and tradition, but with spiritual insight and a keen analytical sense that penetrates to the heart of things, — that insists on a reason for existing conditions, as well as upon the logical process of reaching a higher state. If there are errors in her vision she will be swift to acknowledge them when discovered, for truth is what she seeks. Unquestionably she brings to her study of human life the force and vigor and independence derived from the strong ancestral Beecher stock from which she springs ; for the powerful influence and direction of heredity cannot be denied even with our higher claims to heredity from God. Added to a noble birthright, a wise training has given to the world a woman of individual character ; one free enough and brave enough to speak her honest understanding and judgment on a matter which the world of modern men and women have accepted without thought, or with finger prudishly pressed on lips that murmur secretly over conditions regarded as inevitable and unalterable while nature endures.

To some persons — perhaps to the majority — there appears a certain hardness and rudeness of touch in Mrs. Stetson's treatment of wifehood and motherhood, which is instinctively resented. But a closer study of her attitude toward these relations will reveal an unusual reverence for all that is deepest, purest, and holiest in them. It is only the false sentiment that is riddled and cast out in her keen analyzing process. As a revelation of the spirit of true motherhood turn to the not too familiar :

* Prof. Harry Thurston Peck, in "The Cosmopolitan."

MOTHER TO CHILD.

How best can I serve thee, my child, my child,
Flesh of my flesh and dear heart of my heart!
Once thou wast within me — I held thee — I fed thee —
By the force of my loving and longing I led thee —
Now we are apart!

I may blind thee with kisses, and crush with embracing,
Thy warm mouth in my neck, our arms interlacing,
But here in my body my soul lives alone,
And thou answerest me from a house of thine own —
The house which I builded!

Which we builded together, thy father and I —
In which thou must live, O my darling, and die!
Not one stone can I alter, not one atom relay,
Not to save or defend thee, or help thee to stay,
That gift is completed!

How best can I serve thee? O child if thou knew
How my heart aches with loving! How deep and how true,
How brave and enduring, how patient and strong,
How longing for good, and how fearful of wrong
Is the love of thy mother!

Could I crown thee with riches! Surround, overflow thee
With fame and with power till the whole world should know thee;
With wisdom and genius to hold the world still,
To bring laughter and tears, joy and pain at thy will —
Still — *thou* mightst not be happy!

Such have lived — and in sorrow. The greater the mind,
The wider and deeper the grief it can find;
The richer, the gladder, the more thou canst feel
The keen stings that a lifetime is sure to reveal,
O my child! Must thou suffer?

Is there no way my life may save thine from a pain?
Is the love of a mother no possible gain?
No labor of Hercules — search for the Grail —
No way for this wonderful love to avail?
God in Heaven — Oh, teach me!

My prayer has been answered, the pain thou must bear,
Is the pain of the world's life, which thy life must share.
Thou art one with the world — though I love thee the best;
And to save thee from pain I must save all the rest,
Well — with God's help I'll do it!

Thou art one with the rest, I must love thee in them,
Thou wilt sin with the rest and thy mother must stem
The world's sin. Thou wilt weep — and thy mother must dry
The tears of the world lest her darling should cry.
I will do it — God helping!

And I stand not alone, I will gather a band,
Of all loving mothers from land unto land,
Our children are part of the world! Do you hear?
They are one with the world, we must hold them all dear.
Love all for the child's sake!

For the sake of my child I must hasten to save,
All the children on earth from the jail and the grave,
For so, and so only, I lighten the share
Of the pain of the world that my darling must bear —
Even so, and so only.

When we have a race of mothers entering fully into the spirit of this poem, then we shall have taken indeed a long step toward that divine order of love which is the end of all our human striving. So far from undervaluing the vocation of maternity, which has been conceded as the one unquestioned right of womanhood, it must be acknowledged by even her severest critics, that Mrs. Stetson exalts and broadens the office and power of motherhood. But there must be the condition of free, brave womanhood to insure such a race of mothers.

However distant may appear the day when the principles of "Woman and Economics" shall be put to a practical test, we may congratulate ourselves on the impulse to thought which has been given by the book. It is well to consider all possible underlying causes of unhappy conditions which are bewailed, but accepted as the mysterious providences of an inscrutable Law. For the rest each must determine individually in how far he or she may give unqualified support to any radical movement toward a higher social state. It remains to be seen whether women, more than men, will resist this relentless attack on the time-honored institution of marriage as a means of livelihood, vested as it is, with the sacred rites of the holiest of compacts. But all changes from lower to higher

levels are pushed by the power of thought, and if the sex relation is lifted, in common perception, from the sensual plane, and made to stand in its true character for something greater than mere worldly considerations, then the author of "Women and Economics," by her bold stroke, will have contributed her share to the upward impetus.

ANNIE L. MUZZEY.

Joliet, Ill.

THE SOCIAL REFORM UNION.

THE Union Reform League, described in the July Arena, has become THE SOCIAL REFORM UNION, and with a greatly enlarged scope. The change was made at the Buffalo Conference. The new name and the new platform were adopted by the convention without a dissenting vote. This makes the new platform the most important reform platform in the land, since it is one on which all schools of reform are united. At the Buffalo Conference there were socialists and individualists, single taxers and prohibitionists, men and women of all parties and of every school of thought. Yet, after four days of economic discussion, this platform received not one negative vote. It shows that the reform forces are more united than was thought. The following is the new platform: —

1. Direct legislation and proportional representation.
2. Public ownership of public utilities.
3. Public revenue from taxes on land values and (for the time being) on franchises, inheritances, incomes.
4. Money (gold, silver, or paper) to be issued by government only, a full legal tender, and in quantity sufficient to maintain the normal average of prices.
5. Anti-militarism.

Upon this new platform it was voted to build a great national organization, like the Union Reform League, but to be called the Social Reform Union. Such an organization was

actually begun July 4, and the following long list of representative officers elected: —

PRESIDENT.

W. D. P. Bliss, Alhambra, Cal.

SECRETARIES.

Eltweed Pomeroy, New Jersey.
Prof. Frank Parsons, Massachusetts.
Prof. Edward Bemis, Illinois.

TREASURER.

N. O. Nelson, Missouri.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

Henry D. Lloyd, Illinois.
Prof. George D. Herron, Iowa.
Mayor S. M. Jones, Ohio.
Bishop F. D. Huntington, New York.
William Dean Howells, New York.
Ex-Gov. St. John, Kansas.
Eugene V. Debs, Indiana.
Gov. C. S. Thomas, Colorado.
Mrs. Anna L. Diggs, Kansas.
Hon. Geo. Fred Williams, Massachusetts.
Gov. Hazen S. Pingree, Michigan.
Samuel Gompers, District of Columbia.
Edwin Markham, California.
Senator Marion Butler, North Carolina.
Laurence Gronlund, New York.
Mrs. Corrinne S. Brown, Illinois.
Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Stetson, New York.
Judge Frank Dorter, Kansas.
Hon. Frank Burkett, Missouri.
John S. Crosby, New York.
Mrs. Josephine K. Henry, Kentucky.
George E. McNeill, Massachusetts.
Hon. Barnett Gibbs, Texas.
Jos. R. Buchanan, New York.
Mrs. Catherine M. Severance, California.
Judge Walter Clark, N. Carolina.
Ex-Gov. John P. Altgeld, Illinois.
Bolton Hall, New York.
Booker T. Washington, Alabama.
E. P. Wheeler, New York.
B. Fay Mills, Massachusetts.
J. R. Sovereign, Idaho.
Gov. J. R. Rodgers, Washington.
Edwin D. Mead, Massachusetts.
Gov. D. W. Jones, Arkansas.
J. A. Wayland, Kansas.
Hon. J. J. Lentz, Ohio.
George Howard Gibson, Georgia.
Rev. William S. Rainsford, New York.
Mrs. Florence Kelley, Illinois.
R. S. Thompson, Ohio.
Mayor J. D. Phelan, California.
James B. Reynolds, New York.
Hon. Charles H. Goakum, Texas.
Robert Franklin, Kentucky.
W. L. Peek, Georgia.
Edmund L. Cocke, Virginia.
Judge B. L. D. Guffey, Kentucky.

MEMBERS OF COMMITTEES.

Executive Committee.

F. D. Jones, Los Angeles, Cal.
Dr. J. R. Haynes, " "
W. H. Knight, " "
Hon. R. A. Dague, " "
Frank Williams, " "
George S. Hewes, " "
William H. Stephens, " "
Nathan Cole, Jr., " "
William F. Burbank, " "
A. R. Sprague, " "
W. D. Gould, " "
E. L. Hutchinson, " "
W. L. Moore, " "
W. C. Pitchner, " "
Frederick Baker, " "

National Committee.

Alabama, Dr. G. B. Crowe, Birmingham.
Arkansas, W. S. Morgan, Hardy.
Colorado, Dr. Persifor M. Cook, Denver.
California, Burdett Cornell, Oakland.
District of Columbia, Miss Jennie Monroe, Washington.
Florida, F. M. Sprague, Tampa.
Georgia, Dr. S. J. McKnight, Dalton,
Illinois, James H. Ferris, Joliet.
Indiana, C. M. Walters, Indianappolis.
Iowa, Dr. Geo. A. Gates, Grinnell.
Kansas, John W. Breidenthal, Topeka.
Kentucky, J. A. Parker, Louisville.
Lousiana, President Dillon, ——.
Massachusetts, George F. Washburn, Boston.
Minneapolis, J. C. Hanley, St. Paul.
Michigan, G. R. Malone, Lansing.
Mississippi, R. K. Prewitt, Ackerman.
Missouri, F. E. Richey, St. Louis.
Montana, J. H. Hogan, Helena.
Nebraska, Prof. C. Vincent, Omaha.
Nevada, H. H. Hogan, Reno.
New Hampshire, F. R. G. Gordon, Manchester.
New York. C. B. Matthews, Buffalo.
New Jersey, G. H. Strobbell, Newark.
Ohio, M. A. Neff, Cincinnati.
Oklahoma, R. E. Bray, Enid.
Pennsylvania, Dr. C. F. Taylor, Philadelphia.
Rhode Island, George Farnell, Providence.
South Dakota, W. E. Kidd, Aberdeen.
Tennessee, W. I. Williams, Coutterville.
Texas, Milton Park, Dallas.
Utah, L. E. Hall, Salt Lake City.
Washington, Griffith Davis, Seattle.
West Virginia, George L. Spence, Parkersburg.
Wyoming, John McNair, Sheridan.

It is too early to speak definitely of the plans of the new union, but it is proposed to go to work with energy and on a large scale. A fund of $5,000 will be at once raised to push the plan. Four national organizers will be put in the field, with salaries enabling them to give all their time to the work. One will be in the east, one in the south, one in the central-west, and one on the Pacific Coast. They will enroll organizers in each state. Tracts and pamphlets will be issued on the plan suggested for the Union Reform League last month. The first of these, a study of Direct Legislation by Prof. John R. Commons, will appear in The Arena next month. There will be two series of tracts, one on *What We Want;* the other on *How to Get It.* One tract of each series will appear each month. The cost for each series will be 50 cents a year. Subscriptions for either

series, or for both, can be sent to any secretary or to the President, Rev. W. D. P. Bliss, Alhambra, Cal. Pledges are also desired from 400 persons who will give $1 per month to organize this great work. It means no less than the union of the reform forces of the United States. It is impossible to start a new party now; but if we unite now for the great idea, the great party will appear later.

W. D. P. Bliss,
President.

"LIZ."

SHE was nobody's child. She grew up in the gutter down in the east end of London. She was not even good-looking, and her only name was Liz.

When she took passage on the "Eclipse," the clerk entered her on the list of emigrants as Liz Smith.

Somehow or other, Liz had lately discovered a conscience. She did not know how it had happened. Perhaps it was the sight of the salvation army, then in its infancy, marching through the streets amidst the jeers and stones and mud of the crowd. Something touched her heart and opened her eyes to the fact that her mode of life was far from perfect. She was too self-reliant to seek sympathy or ask advice, even if anyone had taken enough interest in her to proffer advice; but, after days of introspection and self-accusation, she made up her mind to emigrate, to get away from it all and make a new start. So she took passage on the "Eclipse," just about to sail for Queensland.

Liz went on board without any leave-taking, nor did she carry much baggage. She wore her faded cotton gown and an old plaid shawl, which served both for hat and cloak, while her few belongings were tied up in a colored cotton handkerchief. Most of the other emigrant girls were highly respectable, at least in their own estimation. Liz was vulgar

in her appearance, her language was coarse, and she bore the inevitable stamp of a low life; they would not associate with her.

Poor Liz had a hard time during the first part of the voyage, for though her many little acts of kindness towards the girls who were seasick were gratefully received at the moment, yet those who would have been friendly were restrained by others who were less merciful, even if not entirely beyond criticism themselves.

The Bay of Biscay was passed with its rough weather, and as the genial warmth of the sun, the blue skies, and the glittering waves tempted the people to the decks, little cliques were formed among the emigrants, and society was established very much as it would have been in any country village, except that there was no communication permitted between the single women and the single men, who were quartered at opposite ends of the ship. The married women took upon themselves the regulation of society, and criticized both single men and women, and their own and each others' husbands, and advised each other as to the bringing up of each others' children. The families would mingle on the main deck in the waist of the ship, the men smoking, playing cards, telling stories, swearing, or singing hymns, while their wives busied themselves with sewing and gossip, and the children sought new and ever more enchanting forms of mischief.

There was a fat, good-natured Frenchman, a harmless drudge, who went by the name of Dominique. Nobody knew his other name. Mrs. Dominique, his spouse, ruled everything within her orbit. She ruled Dominique and the children, and to the rest of the emigrants she laid down the law on all matters of domestic duty and social deportment. When any of Mrs. Dominique's children got into mischief, which happened about once in every ten minutes, Mr. Dominique was taken to task, and ordered to catch and bring forward the offender to her for substantial reproof.

Mondays were washing days on board the "Eclipse," and one

Monday, Dominique innocently drew a few buckets of water for Liz. He was good-natured and gallant, and did not like to see the poor girl working hard to do that which he could do so easily. Now Mrs. Dominique was very jealous of her husband, and, on hearing of his act of gallantry, she proceeded to make life a burden to him, at the same time declaring her undying hatred of "that low hussy."

Liz was not one to quail before such an attack, and as she was able to give a liberal discount even to Mrs. Dominique in the matter of vocabulary, there were thrilling scenes at times. During these Dominique's fat face assumed a troubled expression, and he generally waddled off to look for the children, of whom there were five, the eldest being just six years old. This little excitement brought Liz into prominence, and as a result, in spite of her many crudities, she made some friends. She was always ready to do a kind act, and many were the little sacrifices of personal comfort that she made for her fellow-voyagers. Besides which, Mrs. Dominique was not popular.

In due course the "Eclipse" reached the latitude of the Cape of Good Hope, caught the westerly winds, and was headed eastward for Australia. The wind increased to a gale, and the ship rolled heavily as she tore along over the huge billows of the mighty southern ocean. Many were the bruises sustained by the emigrants who had not yet acquired the knack of locomotion under such circumstances.

One night Mrs. Dominique slipped as the ship rolled, and was flung across the deck. The doctor was sent for, and she was carried to the hospital, which was in one of the cabins under the poop, for she seemed to be seriously hurt.

The next morning it became known that a new passenger had come on board, and Mr. Dominique smiled blandly as he received the congratulations of his fellow-emigrants. Well might he be pleased, for Mrs. Dominique's annual gift had been presented to him much earlier than he anticipated. Nevertheless, as the days wore on Dominique's face once more assumed the well-known troubled expression, for it

was rumored that matters were not going as well with Mrs. Dominique as one might have hoped. She had sustained a severe nervous shock, and the rolling of the ship was so violent as to be extremely wearisome, even for those who were in the best of health. The married men and women surrounded Dominique when he went between decks, and plied him with questions. The single women talked in whispers down in the steerage, — all except Liz, who sat apart in a state of mind apparently apathetic.

One evening somebody came down below and whispered to the excited girls that Mrs. Dominique had passed into another world. They all gathered round the messenger and listened with bated breath to the details of the matter. The wind screamed and hummed in the rigging, and the waves roared and swashed about on the main deck, while the awe-stricken emigrants huddled together in the steerage and wondered what Dominique would do now to manage his large family.

In the cabin the doctor and the captain were in consultation. A gentle rap was heard on the door, and the next moment Liz stood before them. She let her shawl drop across her arms, clasped her red hands nervously, and waited pale and trembling.

"Well, girl! What do you want?" the doctor asked rather testily, as if he did not relish the interruption.

"Doctor,— Oh, doctor,— I want ter awsk,— is the little baby alive, doctor?"

"Yes, the baby's alive. But, by George, captain! he won't be alive very long. The woman that I've got in there now has her own children to look after."

"Let me 'ave 'im, doctor,— let me take care of 'im," she cried, shaking violently with excitement. Seeing the doctor hesitated, she continued impetuously, "I'll be good ter 'im, doctor, s'elp me Gawd, I will. Let me 'ave 'im, doctor,—"

"Nonsense, woman. What do you know about children? Besides, it wouldn't do at all."

"Oh I knows lots about children, I do; honor bright. I've

minded the kids down the alley when the wimmin went out doin' chores, and I knows lots about 'em. I kin take care of 'im, doctor."

"You'd better go down to your berth again," he remarked, coldly, after looking her over critically from head to foot.

"For the love o' Gawd, doctor, do give me a chawnce," cried Liz, falling on her knees and stretching out her arms in supplication. "I wants ter do somethin' good, doctor. I wants ter start out new, and that's w'y I'm a-goin' ter Horstralia. An' I loves the little kids, doctor, and I'll be like a mother to 'im, I will honest and true, s'elp me."

"You were never any great favorite of hers. I should think you'd want to leave her child alone," said the doctor, thinking of Mrs. Dominique.

"It wasn't no fault of the pore little baby's, doctor. He didn't 'ave nothin' ter do with that, and she's gone now."

"Why don't you try her, doctor?" the captain suggested. "You must have somebody, you know, and I'll guarantee that Liz will be faithful."

So Liz gained her point and devoted herself day and night to the little helpless scrap of humanity. As for Dominique, he had plenty to attend to in the necessities of the other children, in which he received a little help from the sympathetic mothers. But he was only too glad to find anyone,— no matter about antecedents,— who would take the care of his youngest off his hands.

Of course, society was very much scandalized at the idea of the helpless innocent being subjected to the evil influences of such a desperately wicked character as Liz, but as no one else seemed to be able or willing to do anything, and as Liz was now perfectly indifferent to any amount of criticism, matters went on very well. The poor baby, who had made such an inauspicious start in life, did not thrive. Indeed, he could not have been expected to thrive, for though it may be very delightful to the poet to be rocked in the cradle of the deep, yet that cradle is not exactly the place for very tender babes. Neptune's children are generally born pretty

well grown up, and the hoary sea-god sometimes becomes impatient and flings the cradle about roughly,— much too roughly for a tiny infant, particularly in the latitudes which sailors call the "roaring forties."

That the baby did not thrive was no fault of Liz's for she was thoroughly devoted to him. There was no thought of self,— she had found an occupation, and all the best part of her nature came to the surface. All through the long weeks the "Eclipse" was running down her easting, Liz gave herself up ungrudgingly to the service of her young charge. No white-headed albatross or mollyhawk, nor any flock of beautiful cape pigeons, skimming gracefully above the waves, had any attraction for her. Even the news that an iceberg was in sight was received with stoical indifference. Liz felt that she was doing something definitely good for the first time in her life,— and that was sufficient.

Now and then, when she was on the poop and Bill Thompson was at the wheel, she would say a few words to him, for he was able to tell her something about the new country to which she was going. Bill was not an old man, but in twelve years of sea life he had seen much of the world, and of Australia in particular. He had mined for gold at Ballarat and at Charters Towers, had driven, shorn, and canned sheep, had tramped half across the huge island, and was able to tell Liz a great deal about the ways of the settlers in Queensland ; and to put her on her guard, too, for Queensland is not altogether a paradise for the newcomer.

At last the voyage was at an end. The "Eclipse" was towed up the river and made fast to a wharf in Rockhampton. All the men from the surrounding country were in town to see the emigrants land, for the news of the arrival had spread with great rapidity. A passage was roped off from the landing place across the road to the door of the long wooden shed, by courtesy called the immigrant depot, and on each side of this passage, which was guarded by the whole of the Rockhampton police force, stood the motley and expectant multi-

tude. There were householders looking for servants, planters, farmers, and stockmen in search of wives; there were tradesmen in need of assistants, and mechanics hoping to find men of their craft. Lastly, there were men from the diggings and stations up country, who had come down to the coast to spend their earnings and have a carousal; tall, bronzed, bearded men in slouch hats, flannel shirts, and long boots with spurs — coatless and careless.

Through the midst of this crowd the "new chums" filed, carrying their hand baggage and only too glad to see new faces and to joke and chaff with them. At the end of the long stream came Dominique, carrying his year-old child and scolding at the others like an old hen, full of cares. Just in front of him walked Liz with her shawl over her head and the baby in her arms. She looked neither to the right nor to the left, and she had nothing to say to the jocose colonials. She scarcely seemed like the old Liz who came on board the "Eclipse" four months before in a fit of desperate longing to tear herself away from associations which weighed her down, and were fast putting her beyond hope of salvation. Half the battle was now over, and her occupation had already given her an appearance of comparative refinement. The bold, defiant stare was gone and a look of tender solicitude for her helpless charge softened her features.

The "new chums" settled down as best they could. Many of those unhampered by families obtained employment very quickly. Some went up country, and some of the family men set themselves up in business. Rockhampton could not afford lodging to all the crowd, so several families lived in tents just outside the town and others lived in rude shanties hastily built for the purpose. Old Dominique secured an abode of this kind, and having obtained a few boards and some empty barrels, proceeded to furnish his residence by making a rough table, a few seats, and a long bed for his children, in which half the family slept at one end and the rest at the other, Liz having a shake-down on the floor, while the old man slumbered in the kitchen.

Dominique was a tailor by trade, and, as his woes had been well talked of, the kind-hearted people of Rockhampton soon began to bring him work, and the old man was well set up in business before he had been two weeks in the place. Liz lived with the family as a matter of course and acted as housekeeper, nurse, and cook, all of which services were accepted by Dominique with a bland smile and a shrug of the shoulders; for Dominique considered himself a very fine fellow. He was well drilled in domestic matters and would chop wood and fetch water with the intelligent docility of a performing poodle, and, while many people considered that being released from the government of a shrewish wife he must be happy, yet the fact was that he felt like a boy who had run away from school and was in constant expectation of a scolding. He secretly appreciated the controlling mind which had formerly taken from him all responsibilities and allowed him only the one duty of obedience.

The "Eclipse" was about to sail up the coast. She had been in port a month and had discharged all the cargo that was destined for Rockhampton. In honor of her departure the citizens gave a grand ball to the officers and crew. It was about ten o'clock on the night of the ball that Liz sat on the doorstep of Dominique's shanty rocking herself to and fro, sobbing bitterly.

By and by a man emerged from the darkness and approached with the rolling gait of a sailor. When he was within a few feet of her, still unnoticed, he stopped and hesitated a few moments.

"What cheer Liz?" he presently exclaimed in a gruff voice.

"What cheer Bill," she sobbed in reply. "'Ow are yer Bill?" for it was none other than Bill Thompson.

"Oh I'm 'arty Liz, — but 'ow's yerself, and wotcher takin' on about?"

"Oh Lor', Bill, don't talk," Liz responded, rocking herself again. "The little kid's bin and gone and died, Bill, — pore little young 'un!"

"Well, well, gal! yer don't ought to take on so about 'im. He never warn't no 'count. Wonder 'e ever lived at all. Where's old Dominique?"

"'E's gone ter buy a corf'n," she sobbed, "and then they'll come and take the pore little young 'un away. Oh, Bill, I wisht I'd died instead, I do."

"Aw, let bygones be bygones, Liz. The young 'un's a sight better off. 'E's saved hisself a deal o' worry, and Lor', gal, 'e'll never know the diff'rence. Look 'ere, now! I've bin a lookin' fer you down at the ball."

"I don't go to no balls," she said bitterly; and then drawing her shawl round her she added quietly, almost softly, "I'm a-workin' now."

"Well, I 'ope it ain't no 'arm fer me ter come and tell yer as I've left the hooker. She hauls out, ye know, — in the mornin'."

"No, no, — it's good of yer to come, Bill, but I'm feelin' orful bad, I am."

"An' I've got a job ashore here on the wharf!"

"Honor bright?" asked Liz, all attention.

"Yes, and wot's more I'm a-goin' ter settle down and git married."

"That's right, Bill, — that's the right thing ter do. But then I shan't often see yer," she added with a tinge of remorse. "Who's the gal, Bill?"

"That's jest wot I've come ter talk to yer about," he replied.

Bill hitched up his trousers, hooked the quid out of his cheek, with a huge, grimy forefinger, and wiped his mouth with the back of his hairy fist.

"Well, I ain't much of a catch for a gal, ye know, but I've thort as if you'd 'ave me, Liz, — you're the gal."

"Git out! You don't want no one like me. W'y don't yer go and awsk one o' them nice lookin' young gals? There's Annie Owen, and Laura Matthews, and Belle Jownes, — them's the kind for the likes o' you. They're all good gals, too, — w'ich I ain't," she added, drawing her shawl round her again.

"Look at 'ere, Liz. I ain't foolin' with this 'ere job. I don't want none o' them hornamental pieces as come out 'ere just coz they wanted ter git married, — there's plenty round as likes that kind. I'm lookin' for a woman as'll make a good wife for a pore man, — one wot knows trouble, and wot 'as a true 'art. That's you, Liz."

"I ain't one as'll make a good wife fer any man. Go and awsk them gals and they'll tell yer I ain't good fer nothink. No, Bill, I've come out 'ere ter start new and I've started. I'm at work now an' I don't want no bluffin' and foolin'."

"S'elp me Bob, Liz, I ain't foolin'. I knows wot I wants, and as fer that — I don't set up ter be no better than you. You cawn't do *me* much 'arm."

After a moment's pause he added, "Come now, Liz, say the word and it's a go. We'll git the parson termorrer, an' I've got a few pounds o' back pay ter set up 'ouse with."

Liz was all huddled up, with her face buried in her hands, and her only reply was a slow shake of the head.

Bill Thompson sat down beside her on the step, put his arm round her waist and gently tried to raise her head.

"Look at here, Liz! 'Taint no one-sided bargain," he said. "Come, Liz."

Liz slowly raised her head, placed one hand on his shoulder and looked him square in the face.

"Honest and true, Bill? No bluffin'?" she asked.

"Honest and true, Liz, — sure as my name's Bill Thompson."

"Oh, Bill!" she said in a broken voice, "no one's ever been good ter me, — only you. I do love yer, Bill, I do s'elp me, Gawd!" and the tears fell thick and fast on the sailor's tarry overalls as she bent over and kissed his hands.

"Come, come now. Swab up yer scuppers — ye'll be all gormed up with pipin' yer eye," said Bill.

"It's a go then, Liz?" he asked a minute later.

"All right, Bill, it's a go — and I'll be the truest true ter yer, — I will."

Bill Thompson is one of the prosperous citizens of Queens-

land, and he declares that he owes his success to the good management of his wife. When Liz wonders how Bill ever found anything to admire in her, he always says, apologetically, "Well, ye know, it was all along o' that babby of old Dominique's. That's how yer can find out a good woman. It's the 'art as tells the story."

HENRY C. LAHEE.

Boston.

UNDER THE ROSE.

THE BUFFALO CONFERENCE

Those of us who believe in going forward, who are filled with the divine discontent, and who look for better things, may take heart of grace from the National Conference on Social and Political Reforms, which adjourned July 4 at Buffalo, after five days' sessions. Despite the efforts of a large section of the daily press to belittle the gathering, and to misrepresent its character and its action, I regard it as one of the most notable and inspiring occasions in the history of our country. That socialists and individualists, single taxers and silverites, direct legislationists and green-backers, populists, democrats, and republicans should come together from all parts of the country with the single purpose of emphasizing the demand of the people for radical reform by seeking a practical plan of united action in furtherance of that demand, is in itself immensely significant. Edwin D. Mead, on taking the chair at the opening meeting, fitly characterized the gathering as one of optimists. It was probably the first convention of a political or quasi-political character held in a hundred years, in which there was absolutely no thought of offices, no ax-grinding for personal or

party advantage. It was representative in the best sense of the word; American as the ordinary convention of party wire-pullers and party hacks is not. Such men as Edwin D. Mead, Willis J. Abbott, Edwin Markham, George D. Herron, Fay Mills, W. D. P. Bliss, John C. Crosby, Mayor Jones, H. O. Nelson, Eltweed Pomeroy, Bolton Hall; Breidenthal, Ridgely, and Hoffman, of Kansas; Williams of Massachusetts, Lentz of Ohio, and Professors Commons, Bemis, Doepers, Arnold, Wills, and Ward, mean dignity and power in any meeting or movement. Democratic, too, was the mingling of these notables with the less known but not less earnest and enthusiastic delegates fresh from farms and factories, schools and stores, all over the land. Of course, those who expected that advocates and adherents of any one reform would be induced to abandon that reform in favor of another, were disappointed. The spirit of compromise was conspicuous by its absence. The conference is hardly to be looked on as heralding the millennium. It could not satisfy everybody, and in attempting this it would certainly satisfy nobody. What did it accomplish? If it did nothing more than demonstrate that reformers of widely divergent views could meet and reason together, it would have done much. In addition, it placed itself squarely and substantially on record in opposition to the recent assaults on academic freedom, and established a free school of economics; it adopted a practical plan for a referendum of the independent reform vote, which shall make it possible to unite and make effective at the polls the voice of the people; it established the Social Reform Union, by means of which a most effective engine of enlightenment and propaganda is put in the field to educate and organize the discontented; and, lastly, it adopted an address to the people, which should sound a tocsin of alarm as to the dangers menacing our institutions, with an urgent call to action to all lovers of our country and lovers of freedom. The address, although worded by that splendid prophet of the new day, George D. Herron, was the product of calm and thoughtful consideration and counsel in an excellent Committee on

Resolutions. Only the opposition of a few, who, from first to last, showed themselves to be thoroughly out of sympathy with the spirit and purpose of the conference, prevented the adoption of the address by a unanimous vote. One of these, W. J. Ghent, is primarily responsible for the elaborately framed and circulated attempt to show that the assemblage lacked patriotism because it did not cheer an incidental mention of Dewey's name, in a speech made by Rev. W. H. Thomas against militarism! The fact is, that Dewey's name was applauded repeatedly during the conference before and after this incident. Ghent used to be a good socialist and a member of the Fabian Society, but he has been abroad lately and mistakes ebullient emotion over "splendid victories" for patriotism, to such an extent that he sees nothing but "glory for the American arms" in our slaughter of men fighting for freedom in the Philippines, and in the lawless persecution of striking miners in Idaho by General Merriam. Following Ghent's lead the Rev. Robert Ely, of Cambridge, made a spectacle of himself by interrupting the proceedings and misusing the privilege of the platform to howl for Dewey. Quite unnecessarily this little man was heard constantly explaining that he was *not* Prof. Richard T. Ely. S. E. Moffat, correspondent of the New York Journal, is a bright fellow and his intentions are good, but his natural timidity took alarm at the straightforward and emphatic tone of the address. He thought the indictment of plutocracy and militarism "extreme," and essayed certain deprecatory criticisms which simply suggested that the Committee on Resolutions had not been over careful as to offending the sensibilities of Mark Hanna and Mr. McKinley! But three out of three hundred do not count for much, and before the next conference, in January, 1900, these three may develop sufficiently to blow hot or blow cold — to stand for the people or the "plutes." The speech of the convention, taking all things together, was that of Herbert Casson, in opposition to the organization of a new party. Somewhat sobered and less egotistical than the style to which he has accustomed us,

still unnecessarily bitter, and biting in his sarcasm, perhaps, he yet carried away his hearers by sheer force of earnestness of feeling and force of logic. George Fred Williams, too, seemed to have his hearers with him in his frank and manly advocacy of the democratic party as the logical instrument of political and economic reform. In this connection, it is worth while noting that the reform in which least interest was shown was currency reform. Hardly a word was said in favor of free silver, and "sixteen to one" the shibboleth of '96, was not heard even once in the convention. What interest was shown in the currency question was almost purely academic — a most interesting, although slimly attended, afternoon session being devoted to an able presentation of the advantages of the multiple standard by Dr. C. F. Taylor, of Philadelphia, Major Winne, of Boston, and Professors Parsons, Commons, Wills, and Arnold. The Sunday of the conference was marked by the surrender of the churches of Buffalo to the reformers. Herron, Fay Mills, Crosby, Parsons, Bliss, and Wills delivered splendid sermons, morning and evening, in the fashionable churches, and I preached a steady streak of social righteousness to a congregation of gentle and earnest Christians on the further rim of the respectable end of town. Altogether, this conference was a success, — and the next will be greater.

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POLITICS AND EDUCATION

Encouraged, no doubt, by President McKinley's flagrant violation of his pledges regarding civil service reform, the republican Board of Regents of the Kansas State Agricultural College have turned out President T. E. Will, and Professors Bemis, Parsons, and Ward, of the faculty of that institution, on account of their political and economic views. An attempt to show maladministration or partisan teaching in the college having completely failed, after a most exhaustive investigation, the Kansas republicans now make no further pretense of other than partisan motive.

Their attitude towards educational standards is openly declared and brazenly boasted. The idea that colleges are places for the teaching of truth is distinctly repudiated by the party in power in Kansas and in the nation. Instead, they proclaim that professorships are "plums" of office quite as much as postmasterships and consulates have been, and that the economic doctrines taught by appointees to professorships must be pleasing to the governor and his henchmen. "To the victors belong the spoils," and when it is a question of partisan advantage, the teaching of the youth of the country is pitilessly prostituted to partisan ends. It is well, however, that the mask has thus been thrown aside and the purposes of the politicians made plain. When the people of Kansas realize the full meaning of this outrage at the State Agricultural College, those responsible for it will be called to account with startling suddenness and unanimity. Not in Kansas alone, but throughout the Union, the manhood of America must rise in condemnation of this wanton debauchery of public education, this attempted assassination of Freedom in the house of her friends. The element now in power in the nation, stands for a ruthless commercialism, whose methods are detested and execrated by self-respecting citizens of all parties. Its impudent assumption of the party name that Lincoln and Sumner, Grant and Garfield glorified, is rightly resented by the decent republicans it is driving out of that party by thousands; crystallizing the democratic party also by its sharp definition of the line separating plutocracy from democracy. This un-American element in the nation now stands not merely accused, but brazenly boastful of the spirit and purposes of which this crime against freedom in education in Kansas is but the logical expression. The brutal provocation of a war to compel our friendly Filipino allies into subjection to a military satrapy, the use of federal troops to terrorize striking miners in Idaho, the appointment of horse doctors as army surgeons, and the distribution of military commissions to incompetents with political pulls, like the neglect which consigned the flower of the

nation's manhood to fever camps and fed them on "embalmed beef," while rewarding the convicted commissary general with a six years' holiday on full pay, — all these things fitly stamp the intrenched and organized enemies of the republic. But "they cannot fool all the people all the time," and the election of 1900 is not far off.

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ACADEMIC FREEDOM

Perhaps the most substantial and significant achievement of the Buffalo Conference was its spontaneous and successful start of a People's College of Economics, to be absolutely free from political or capitalistic control, influence, or interference. The delegates to the conference were not rich — many of them made serious sacrifices to attend from points as distant as Oklahoma and California — but they subscribed $15,000 for the new free college in almost as many minutes. The recognition of the opportunity for protest against the prostitution of economic teaching to please millionaire benefactors, or provide places for political henchmen was unmistakable. Equally clear and emphatic, was the recognition that academic freedom must be defended and preserved as the very ark of the covenant of all freedom. I hope there will be no need to establish the new college; that its fund may go to maintain a department of economics in one of our great universities, pledged to absolute freedom in research and freedom in the proclamation of the truth which such research reveals. But if our great universities are content to play the lackey to the rich, the people will turn from them and abundantly support a new university.

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THE BIG STORES

Exceedingly interesting and suggestive will be found the articles in this number on "Department Stores in the East," to be followed next month by a second series dealing with this problem as it is presented in the leading western cities. The tendency towards concentration and

consolidation in business is perhaps nowhere more strikingly displayed than in the remarkably rapid rise of the department store. This institution, in fact, furnishes an object lesson of greatest value. Making its way against very decided opposition, crushing relentlessly the small dealer, and revolutionizing the retail distribution of goods of every description, it has, despite all this, succeeded within ten years in establishing itself permanently. Directly dependent on the purchasing public, it, of course, has had to rely on the manifest advantages it offered to the consumer, not in the matter of cheapness alone, but also in the matter of convenience and efficiency of service. The department store is not only a trust in miniature, but may even be regarded as a miniature of all the trusts, which come together at the department store counter. A study of the development of the institution is valuable, not only for the light it throws on this particular branch of business, but even more so for the light it sheds on the whole matter of trust combination and concentration. Slowly but surely the businesses combined by the department store on the retail side, will be combined on the manufacturing and the wholesale side. A few years ago no reformer had a good word to say for the department store. It represented iniquity, as the source and support of the sweat-shop evil, of low pay, long hours, and hard conditions generally. The department stores were said to be accountable for the transformation of independent small merchants into servile, sycophantic employees, for the destruction of independence and manhood, and were considered centers of capitalistic aggregation and accumulation in its worst form. Now, however, so earnest a social reformer as Mrs. Florence Kelley, State Factory Inspector of Illinois, expresses herself in a recent letter to me as follows: "Personally, I think the department store an immense step forward; they are far more humane, with all their brutalities, than are the small employers. They need legislation on behalf of the employees, however, and must ultimately give way to the collective distribution of which they are the forerunners."

A PREACHER ON PREACHERS

The Rev. W. D. Simonds, of Madison, Wis., in his recent address before the American Unitarian Association, uttered some very pertinent truths regarding the common attitude of the clergy toward social reform. Mr. Simonds is a thinker and a worker, a man of hard common sense, who knows what he is talking about. My only objection to him is, that he is a parson. The idea of a priestly caste of spiritual leaders differentiated from their fellows by the title of "Reverend," and appointed to the pastoral charge of their flocks, is essentially mediæval and behind the times. The great men in the modern church have been great, not on account of their connection with it, or on account of anything the church gave them, but in spite of it. The funeral of Phillips Brooks in New York, presided over by the present ambassador to England, and in which leading men of the Jewish, Roman Catholic, and various Protestant denominations paid glowing tribute to Bishop Brooks's character and services, emphasized the fact that his greatness rested on his character as a man, rather than as an ecclesiastic. So it was with Henry Ward Beecher and Henry Edward Manning. Here is what Mr. Simonds says:

"If there is any man perfectly satisfied with existing social conditions, he has two diseases — a hardening of the heart and a softening of the brain. If there is anything that tires me, it is to hear some dapper little clergyman, who never took hold of the business end of a day's work in his life; who has had his three meals a day ever since he cut his teeth; who could not chop a tree without danger of chopping his legs, and who, if left with nothing but his hands, would be a beggar or a pauper in thirty days — it tires me to hear such a man talk of the compensations of poverty, and decry certain noble discontent in the modern conscience. Poverty! I have slept in its hard bed, I have eaten at its scant table, I have gazed into its gaunt face, I have felt the clutch of its bony hand; and I declare that hopeless, rayless, blighting poverty is not of God, but of the devil!"

The question that arises — and it is one that will not down — is whether or not the attitude of certain clergymen so well described by Mr. Simonds, is the common attitude of the clergy — the rule of which Mr. Simonds's own position is

the exception. There are men in the pulpit, thank God, in whom the citizen preponderates over the ecclesiastic. But the experience of our eminent contributors, George D. Herron, and William D. P. Bliss, for instance, demonstrate that the preacher of social righteousness is handicapped by sacerdotal ordination and pastoral charge. The function of pulpiteer, especially of pulpiteer to a rich and fashionable congregation, tends logically to degeneracy of the moral faculties.

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MRS. GESTEFELD AND MRS. EDDY

Mrs. Ursula N. Gestefeld writes me from Chicago that a reference to her in Mrs. Woodbury's article on "Christian Science and its Prophetess," in the May Arena, as "one of Mrs. Eddy's former helpers with whom she eventually quarreled," is not entirely correct. "There has never been a quarrel between Mrs. Eddy and me," Mrs. Gestefeld writes, "for I never accepted a position where such a result could be possible. Although I was her pupil, from the day I left her class-room I have maintained an independent position. A few years later, by Mrs. Eddy's direction, some of her pupils came to me and requested my help in a work they were about to undertake, which I gladly gave, as they had not then crystallized into what they are now — a fanatical, denominational sect. With this exception, I have never been connected directly with that body of people known as Christian Scientists." Word comes to me from Los Angeles that the Christian Scientists of that city have split into warring factions. The whole colossal humbug is rapidly going to pieces, and with its disappearance will vanish the chief obstacle to the wider recognition and acceptance of the genuine metaphysical movement with its message of freedom to the individual and to society. The editor of the Christian Science organ here in Boston recently published elaborate affidavits to prove that Mrs. Eddy was not dead. It will take more than affidavits to prolong the life of the Great Spoon Syndicate.

P. T.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH.

THROUGH NATURE TO GOD.
By John Fiske. 16mo, pp. 194, $1.00.
Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.

Whatever may be the topic chosen by John Fiske, we may be certain of his absolute command of the knowledge required for its treatment, and of another quality not always united to knowledge — a crystal clearness in the use of words. Calm and untroubled English lends the final touch of charm. The book is designed as a companion to the two which have been more widely read than any other of his always popular works, "The Idea of God" and "The Destiny of Man." A radical evolutionist, and a scientific student in its broadest sense, we owe to him what leading scientists pronounce to be the most important development of the theory of evolution, recognition of the part played by the lengthening of infancy in the genesis of the human race. It is probably by this that he will be best remembered by scientific students, but the world owes him another debt, for his clear and unmistakable putting of the soul's consciousness of God, the certain hope of future life, and the relation of both these demonstrations to man's ethical life on the earth, which, it is plain, is a theater for the most marvelous drama of all, a play so complicated, so slowly unfolding, that we are but now becoming conscious of its meaning, and "even the angels desire to look into it."

The opening essay of the volume "The Mystery of Evil," is followed by "The Cosmic Roots of Love and Self-Sacrifice" and "The Everlasting Reality of Religion." Whatever may have been his personal doubts, in the past,— and agnosticism was the portion of most scientific men till facts compelled them into recognition of the spiritual forces they had ignored,— it long ago became clear that a new and nobler faith was opening to all who understood the message of science. To use his own words:

> "When we have once thoroughly grasped the monotheistic conception of the universe as an organic whole, animated by the omnipresent spirit of God, we have forever taken leave of that materialism to which the universe was merely an endless multiplication of phenomena. We begin to catch glimpses of the meaning and dramatic purpose of things; at all events we rest assured that there really is such a meaning. . . . From man's origin we gather hints of his destiny, and the study of evolution leads our thoughts through Nature up to God."

We have been called a faithless generation. The century counts as almost purely material, yet never since time began has there been so earnest and so general a demand for spiritual certainty. The pessimist may sneer at some of its forms, but when the scientific man himself bows reverently before the new revelation from the atom and the cell, the time

has passed for fear that either cynicism or pessimism have further power for harm. The noble essay on "The Unseen World," which with its companion studies is now in its sixteenth edition, has had almost equal share in turning the scale for thousands of readers. The sceptic will still be in evidence, for it is a fashion with many. But for sceptics of all orders, literary and otherwise, this trilogy may be commended as the sane, balanced, orderly opening up of the new religion, that which marries Science to Religion, and opens to all the world the plain path, never more to be darkened or filled with stumbling blocks. "The Lesson of Evolution," he writes, "is, that through all the weary ages, the human soul has not been cherishing in Religion a delusive phantom, but, in spite of seemingly endless groping and stumbling, it has been rising to the recognition of its essential kinship with the ever-living God. Of all the implications of the doctrine of evolution with regard to man, I believe the very deepest and strongest to be that which asserts the everlasting reality of Religion."

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THE MIRACLES OF ANTICHRIST.

Translated from the Swedish of Selma Lagerlöf by Pauline Flach. Cloth, 12mo, pp. 378. $1.50. Little, Brown & Co., Boston.

The "idle singer of an empty day," whose touch has been all too discernible in a good deal of the fiction of the time, has given place to one of another and more strenuous order. It is the burdened singer of a too-full day, whose voice is heard in the singular but always powerful work of the new Swedish novelist, Selma Lagerlöf, whose novel of "The Story of Gösta Berling," has attracted wide attention, and by many critics been counted as prophecy of the novel for which all wait,—the twentieth century novel. But that coming piece of fiction will most surely possess characteristics that neither Miss Lagerlöf nor any other novelist of today has yet brought into line. In "Gösta Berling" she has given us, as it were, a Swedish Niebelungen Lied; pages crowded with characters as strange, as weird, as disproportioned as so many Brocken shadows. It is folk-lore and old ballads and traditions; it is the north of somber, quick-vanishing winter days, and bitter nights; it is the Edda put into the men and women, if these strange creations can so be called, of today. It is certain that however modern, these northern folk are still tinged with the memories and inheritances from their old mythology, with strange traits of the primitive man; and that facing these conditions the author, powerless before her extraordinary mass of material and minute detail, has worked it up as she could. Powerless, one says on the one hand. On the other, absolute mastery shows itself. Not Balzac nor George Sand have given more delicate, more patient and literal rendering of the poetry of common life, than this young woman, whose force is immense, and almost as untutored as that of the strange creations who move in her pages. There is deep humanity, great faith in the redemption of man by the power in woman, great faith, no less it would seem, in the traffic of souls still going on, the dominion of Satan in the world. But while the singularity of the handling will deter readers, for many more it will be a fascinating study, absolutely new of its kind.

In "The Miracles of Antichrist," Miss Lagerlöf has shifted her scene to Sicily, but has carried with her the same qualities that mark her first novel, if, indeed, this work can be called a novel, violating as it does at every turn the canons of the art of fiction. But where poet eyes see, one has to forgive vague and erratic renderings, when balanced, as hers are, by insight, sympathy, and high imagination. The title requires the explanation of the sentence from an old Sicilian legend printed on the title page: "When Antichrist comes, he shall seem Christ. There shall be great want, and Antichrist shall go from land to land and give bread to the poor. And he shall find many followers." It is impossible to determine the author's personal faith, since the statement varies from chapter to chapter, a fresh inference for each being the constant portion of the reader. The endless staccato touch, the hysterical quality she gives her heroine is so joined with exquisite deeds and thoughts that judgment is at sea finally. Nothing more profound and full of suggestion has been written in a generation than the vision of the Emperor in the opening chapter; nothing more charming and true to nature than the gradual conquest of the little Gaetano by Donna Elisa, and his child-life in the dim old shop and the beautiful village under the shadow of Etna, the great Mongibello. Her feeling for nature in every aspect is intense,— her interpretation that of a poet. But when all is said, the strangely brilliant pages leave one overburdened and perplexed. It becomes clear that as yet she has failed to catch the meaning of the modern movement; that socialism to her stands for much the same as utter anarchy, and that she does not see its bearing on the life of the future to be not a mere substitute for the methods of today, but a solvent from which will presently emerge new forms, with larger life for the individual. And not understanding, she lacks impressiveness, and answers no questions.

The novel of the twentieth century is yet to come. "The Miracles of Antichrist" has no faintest relation to it save in power of handling here and there. It is a novel of transition purely. It is filled with the uncertainty and unrest that mark most of the present thought. It lacks high faith, it is painfully restless, painfully overstrained. But it is none the less a novel that must be read, if only as indication of what absolute newness of material and of sensation lie before the reader. So keen an observer must needs learn quickly some lessons yet unmastered, and give us presently a more coherent presentation of the life she watches with an intensity that of itself somewhat clouds and hinders true vision. The translation is an excellent one, and the book itself is admirably made.

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ANGELS' WINGS.

A series of Essays on Art and its Relation to Life, by Edward Carpenter. 12mo, pp. 248, nine full-page plates. The Macmillan Co., New York.

A growing constituency in this country is learning to look for any word from Edward Carpenter, the English socialist, who like many other English socialists, is also a man of letters. Walt Whitman set the keynote for Carpenter, as he did for a group of young Englishmen who understood and recognized the "good gray poet" long before he knew much

but dishonor in his own country. Carpenter went farther than the rest, adopting his methods in versification, or the lack of it, and in his "Chants Toward Democracy," showing the same love of nature, the same sympathy with the struggle of humanity, that marks the elder poet. In a delightful little volume, "Civilization, its Cause and Cure," he gave us his observations in prose on the life of the nineteenth century, its abortive endeavor, its false ideals and its mad rush and struggle for wealth, with an insight so keen, a satire so biting, a humor so delicate and glancing, that even his enemies smiled, and his friends made it a pocket companion. A many-sided man, musical, artistic, a mystic, and always a lover of mankind, it is no surprise to find in the present volume suggestions of each and all of these tastes and tendencies. Taking Raphael's famous fresco, "La Disputa," in the Vatican, with its six winged angels, he writes delightfully as to the handling and meaning of "Wings" in the story of art from the Greek down, following it by a long and equally delightful essay on "Nature and Realism in Art;" its ending emphasizing the question that those who deny the place of realism are called on to answer:

"It was the wonder of the Athenian art-period that for once at least, then, in the history of the world, the very details of the daily life of the city were all united by the threads of poetry, of tradition, of custom, of religion, in one overruling idea of order, harmony, beauty, and dedication to the gods and the common life, so that the simplest, purest realism became at once the means of expressing the highest artistic feeling? The contagion of feeling induced by a work like the Parthenon frieze was such as to unite the people in the closest solidarity. Never before, probably, and certainly never since, have Nature and Art fused together so completely. Realism today, however skilful, almost necessarily contains ugliness, because the motive of life generally is ugly. Never again will art attain to its largest and best expressions, till daily life itself once more is penetrated with beauty, and with the spirit of dedication — each part to the service of the whole."

It is the artist that still speaks in the noble chapter on "The Human Body and its Relation to Art," no less than in that on "The Individual Impression." At every point one is tempted to quote passages of deepest significance. The dress the Macmillan Company has given to the book is worthy of the beautiful quality of the work itself, which will confirm the regard of those who deem the author as the natural successor of William Morris, though with less of the Berserker quality than that which marked the elder man.

HELEN CAMPBELL.

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THREE MORE EXPOSURES.

"Legal Aspects of Christian Science." "Christian Science Examined." "Passing of Christian Science."

Now that the ball has at last been set in motion, the number of *exposés* of "Christian Science" increases month by month. Like the writer in the North American Review for March who discusses "The Legal Aspects of Christian Science," the authors of the two treatises, "Christian Science Examined," by Henry Varley, and "What Is Christian Science?" by Rev. P. C. Wolcott (cloth, 35 cents each;

Fleming H. Revell Co.), believe that the best way to expose this fanatical doctrine is to give it publicity. In both these treatises the doctrines of Mrs. Eddy's "Science and Health" are made to speak for and refute themselves in contrast to the teachings of orthodox Christianity. Mr. Varley takes up the propositions of "Science and Health," one by one, and shows their absurdity. Mr. Wolcott successively considers and rejects the metaphysical, theological, and therapeutic aspects of the system. Of the book itself, Mr. Wolcott says, "One may open it almost at random and read in either direction without materially modifying the character of the argument, or the sequence of ideas." "It is written without a trace of literary art, and is without a single redeeming grace of style to relieve the tedium of disjointed, inconsequential, dogmatic, and egotistical assertion and repetition." Both authors admit a certain measure of therapeutic success on the part of Christian Scientists, but believe that the metaphysical theories have nothing to do with the cures that have been wrought. The third author, C. G. Harger, Jr., entitles his *exposé*, "The Passing of Christian Science" (pp. 91, cloth 75 cents, paper 30 cents; D. J. Stoddard, Buffalo), and examines "Science and Health" as a religious doctrine and from the point of view of physical healing. It fearlessly exposes the ridiculous absurdities, false claims, and blasphemies of the alleged "discoverer" and divinely inspired prophet. The volume also contains an interesting collection of data relating to other fanatical movements.

H. W. DRESSER.

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MORALITY AS A RELIGION.
By W. R. A. Sullivan. 8vo, pp. 296, $2.00. The Macmillan Co., New York.

The impression has gone abroad that "mere morality" is essentially cold and barren, and the chief criticism that has been passed on the services of societies for ethical culture is, that they lack the spirit of worship. One is sometimes tempted to say that the ethical culturists leave God out of account. Yet this apparent neglect is due to the fact that the ethical movement is a reaction from orthodox theology. It has thrown off the fetters of dogmatism and reacted far toward the other extreme. Even Mr. Salter's admirable treatise, "Ethical Religion," one of the most earnest appeals to duty ever published, is in many respects an intense struggle with agnosticism, which leaves one in doubt concerning the author's spiritual views. But in this volume ethical thought has become more spiritual, and one is imbued with a true reverence and worship. The author has read so deeply in Kant, August Comte, Tennyson and Emerson, that these great souls seem to reproduce themselves in him, to voice their common message. Mr. Sullivan is not a mere moralizer, he is also a poet. Cold analysis is never permitted to intrude upon the confines of poetry, the love of the beautiful. The cold analyst might complain that the author always stops short of philosophy, and assumes what he does not prove. But logic lovers can find proof in other treatises; here we have ethics passing into religion, an earnest,

straightforward appeal to duty because it is beautiful, because in performing it we discover our fellowship with God.

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SANITARY ENGINEERING.

By William Paul Gerhard. 16 mo, pp. 132, $1.00. W. T. Comstock, New York.

Mr. Gerhard has long been known as an enthusiastic worker in his chosen field, and as one whose manuals are regarded by the institutes of technology as admirable text-books. As speaker he has performed equally good service in popularizing the thought which fifty years ago barely existed, and that only in the minds of the few who saw its coming place in the life of the people. His recent address before a meeting of the Brooklyn Engineers' Club, entitled "A Half-Century of Sanitation," should be read by every student in the lines, and is especially commended to the chairman of the municipal improvement committee in every woman's club throughout the country. In the little volume before us, the aim is simply to give definitions, and this is done with the same accuracy and clearness that mark the work of this author throughout. Public health is beginning to have the consideration it long lacked, although that eminent sanitarian, Dr. Benjamin H. Richardson, long ago asserted that not till women were taught sanitation would there be any general improvement in the race. It is well, then, that the way grows clearer, and that this phase of work for the race is gaining an attention never until now given.

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WHAT SENSE! OR ECONOMIC NUTRITION.

By Horace Fletcher. 16 mo, pp. 128, 75 cents. Herbert Stone & Co., Chicago.

Mr. Fletcher has made for himself such a name for wholesome, hearty optimism, and his passage from "Menticulture" and "Happiness," on to the social problems involved in his equally happy treatment of our waifs in "That Last Waif, or Social Quarantine," has so confirmed the belief in his keen common sense, that the present booklet is likely to be accepted because the others have been, although well worth consideration on its own account. However one may disagree with some of his conclusions, anything that points the way to a simplification of living, especially of diet, does good service to a weary generation. We are constantly complicating not only in wants, but in elaborate service of those wants, and the table leads. Mr. Fletcher is convinced that one meal a day is enough, and argues entertainingly to that effect. The day laborer would fare ill on his regimen, which might, however, be adopted with advantage by the overfed the world over. But for the majority of rational beings, while simplification is imperatively needed, the wisest thinkers in these lines would tell us that two meals are better than one, and that the body, for most of us, while ready to do far better work on less food than we at present take, still calls for two,— in invalid cases, for three moderate meals. The literary worker may experiment in Mr. Fletcher's lines to advantage, and it would be interesting to know if his own conversion proves a permanent one.

BOOKS RECEIVED

The Light of Reason, a solution of the economic problem, by A. B Franklin; paper, 192 pp., 35 cents; C. H. Kerr & Co., Chicago.

Questions and Answers on Finance and Economics; paper, 74 pp.; and The Impending Crisis: The Republic in Danger; 59 pp.; by Hermann Haupt, Washington, D. C.

Clerical Sportsmen, a protest against the vacation pastime of ministers of the Gospel, by J. H. Moore; 6 pp., 4 cents; Chicago Vegetarian, McVicker's Theater Bldg., Chicago.

Metius, The Hollander, Inventor and Discoverer; 10 pp.; published by the author, Dunkirk, N. Y.

The Right to Property in an Idea, Allen R. Foote; 16 pp.; Franklin Institute, Philadelphia.

Powers of Municipalities — A Discussion, by Allen R. Foote; paper, 79 pp; The Commercial Club, Indianapolis.

Par: A Labor Trust, by S. E. Carlin; 16 pp., 25 cents; Smalley Printing Co., Chicago.

Saline Starvation and How to Avoid it, by C. D. Hunter; paper, 5 cents; Christianity and Vegetarianism, by various authors; paper. 5 cents; Chicago Vegetarian.

Leading Cases on the Law of Legal Tender and Money, by J. J. Crandall; cloth, 351 pp.; S. Cheir & Sons, Camden, N. J.

The New Economy, by Laurence Gronlund; cloth, 364 pp; Herbert S. Stone & Co., Chicago.

The Story of France, by Thomas E. Watson; Vol. I., 695 pp., 8vo, $2.50; The Macmillan Co., New York.

The Philippine Islands, by Ramon Reyes Lala, a native of Manila; cloth, 345 pp., $2.50; Continental Publishing Co., New York.

The Bible, an Historical and Critical Study, by A. P. Barton, editor of The Life; paper, 68 pp., 50 cents; published by the author, Kansas; City.

A Pure Democracy, and How it can be Secured: Initiative and Referendum, by R. S. Thompson; paper, 44 pp., 5 cents; The New Era Co., Springfield, Ohio.

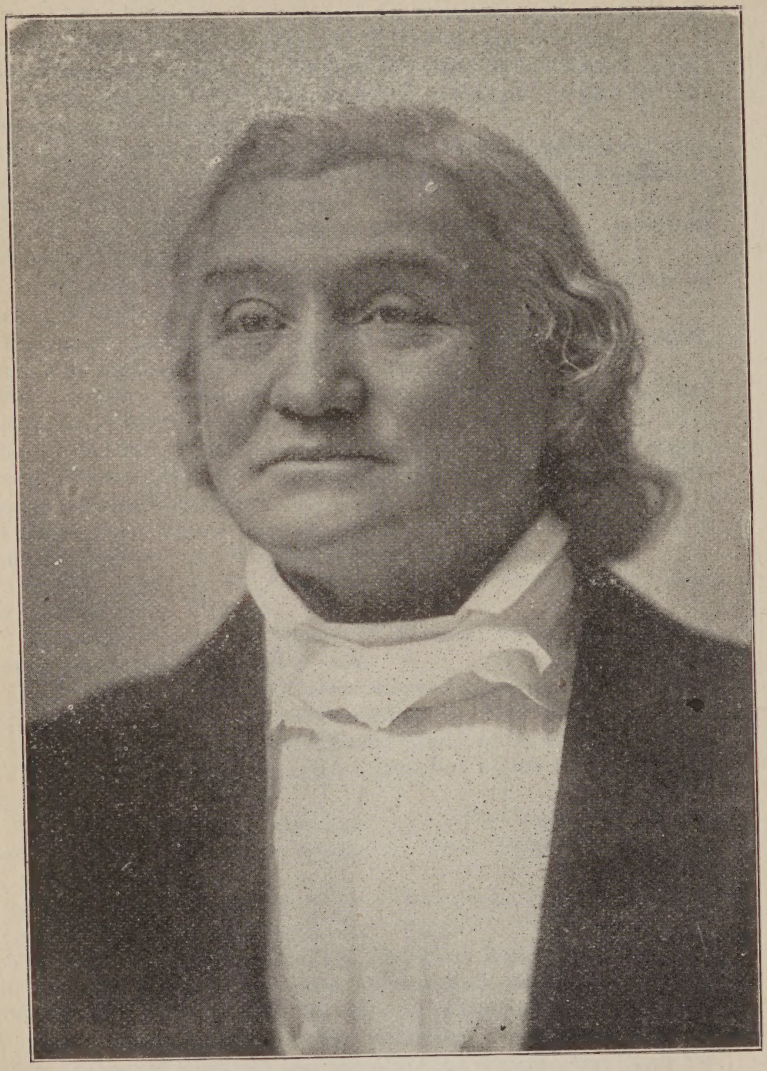
The Philippine Islands, by Dean C. Worcester; cloth, illustrated. 520 pp., $4.00; The Macmillan Co., New York.

The Love of Money, a lyrical and historical drama, by Perry Marshall; paper, 56 pp., 25 cents; Chas. H. Kerr & Co., Chicago.

Millennial Dawn, Vol. IV., The Day of Vengeance, by C. T. Russell; paper, 656 pp., 35 cents; Tower Publishing Co., Alleghany, Pa.

The Millennial Kingdom and the American People; Our Near Future: A Message to all the Governments of the Earth; Mysteries Unveiled; paper, 50 cents each, published by the author, Kansas City, Mo.

Christian Science, a Sociological Study, an exposure of the fanaticism of Mrs. Eddy and her followers from a medical point of view, by C. A. L. Reed, M. D.; paper, 32 pp.. 10 cents; McClelland & Co., Cincinnati, O.



JAMES A. HERNE IN "GRIFFITH DAVENPORT."

Workers at Work Series, VI. (See page 375.)

THE ARENA

VOL. XXII. SEPTEMBER, 1899. NO. 3.

THE ORGANIZATION OF INDUSTRY.

THE first prominent development of the trust organization in this country was in the consolidation of numerous lines of railroad into trunk lines. There was, at the time this took place, a fear in the public mind — in which I shared — that these combinations and consolidations would result in exorbitant rates for transportation and to the detriment of the public interest. What the result has been is shown by the following extract from a report adopted by the National Board of Trade at its annual convention in 1896:

The average charge for sending a ton of freight one mile on thirteen of the most important railroads in the United States during 1865 was 3.08 cents; in 1870, 1.80 cents; in 1875, 1.36 cents; in 1880, 1.01 cents; in 1885, 0.83 cent; in 1890, 0.77 cent; in 1893, 0.76 cent; in 1894, 0.746 cent; and in 1895, 0.72 cent. Since 1895 the figures have not varied so largely, but have shown a constant tendency downward.

These railroads performed one-third of the entire transportation of 1895, and from the figures given it appears that 0.72 cent would pay for as much transportation over their lines in 1895 as could have been obtained for 3.08 cents thirty years earlier. This reduction, amounting to three-quarters of the average rate of 1865, was exceeded by that in price of but few even of those articles in the manufacture of which new inventions have worked the most radical changes.

The entire transportation performed by the railroads of the United States during the twelve years ending June 30, 1894, was equivalent to moving 136,799,677,822 passengers and 807,935,382,838 tons of freight one mile. Had rates averaging as high as those of 1882 been collected on this traffic, the railroads would have earned $2,629,043,459 more than they actually received.

The next most prominent aggregation of capital in the commercial world is known as the Standard Oil Company, and the effect of combination upon the price of oil is illustrated by the following statistics, compiled by the United States government, showing the wholesale export price for refined petroleum for the period extending from 1871 to 1898:

EXPORT PRICES, 1871 TO 1898.

The prices represent the market value of article at time of exportation.

Year.	Cents.	Year.	Cents.	Year.	Cents.
1871	25.7	1881	10.2	1891	7.0
1872	24.9	1882	9.1	1892	5.9
1873	23.5	1883	8.8	1893	4.9
1874	17.3	1884	9.2	1894	4.2
1875	14.1	1885	8.7	1895	4.9
1876	14.0	1886	8.7	1896	6.8
1877	21.1	1887	7.8	1897	6.3
1878	14.4	1888	7.9	1898	5.7
1879	10.8	1889	7.8		
1880	8.6	1890	7.4		

This great decline in the price of oil is attributable partly to the increase in production, but more largely to improvements in manufacture and transportation, which were only attainable through the aggregation of capital in this industry.

Among the more prominent of the recent so-called trusts is that of the American Sugar Refining Company, a corporation formed under the laws of New Jersey for the purpose of consolidating the sugar refining interests of the country. Until recently, when additional capital flowed into this channel, it did about eighty-five per cent. of the sugar refining business in the United States. The effect of this

is shown by the following table, giving the price of both raw and refined sugar, with the differing margins during the nine years prior to the consolidation and nine years since:

AVERAGE PRICE.

	Centrifugals. Raw, per lb. Cents.	Granulated. Refined, per lb. Cents.	Difference per lb. Cents.		Centrifugals. Raw, per lb. Cents.	Granulated. Refined, per lb. Cents.	Difference per lb. Cents.
1879,	7.423	8.785	1.362	1888,	5.749	7.007	1.258
1880,	8.206	9.602	1.396	1889,	6.433	7.740	1.207
1881,	8.251	9.667	1.416	1890,	5.451	6.171	0.720
1882,	7.797	9.234	1.437	1891,	3.863	4.691	0.828
1883,	7.423	8.506	1.083	1892,	3.311	4.346	1.035
1884,	5.857	6.780	0.923	1893,	3.689	4.842	1.153
1885,	5.729	6.441	0.712	1894,	3.235	4.119	0.884
1886,	5.336	6.117	0.781	1895,	3.258	4.140	0.882
1887,	5.245	6.013	0.768	1896,	3.631	4.539	0.908
Av'ge,	6.807	7.905	1.098	Av'ge,	4.291	5.272	0.981

The trust was formed in 1887.

Since 1896 prices have been affected by changes in the tariff, and during the past few months by increased competition consequent upon the construction of new refineries, which have reduced margins to a point absolutely unremunerative. The figures for 1897 and 1898 are as follows:

1897	3.550	4.500	0.950
1898	4.240	4.970	0.730
March 30, 1899 . . .	4.370	4.940	0.570

This reduction in price has been effected partly by increased production, but largely through buying the raw material cheaper than could be done when a large number of separate refiners were competing for the product. Large economies were also effected by closing inferior plants and enlarging and extending superior ones. The American Sugar Refining Company has bought its raw material cheap, but it has given the public the benefit of these purchases, merely retaining as its profit about one-third of a cent per pound. This, considering the nature of the business, is a reasonable profit. It employs more labor than was employed

before the organization of this industry, and pays higher wages for it.

These illustrations are but types of many in the evolution of industries, which is the result of the great forces before mentioned, and which have revolutionized the entire economic situation. That there have been instances of hardship and injustice attending this revolution cannot be doubted, but it is equally certain that the total results have been beneficial to the public at large and to the interests of the laboring classes especially, who constitute the majority. At some stages of this evolution this remark was, perhaps, not true. The action of these forces was so rapid that men were thrown out of employment faster than wants were created or industries were widened. Labor, however, soon followed the example of organization, which capital had set, and during the last decade the organization of labor has progressed faster than that of capital, and has forced a division of a larger share of the profits of industry for labor than at any previous period of history. In other words, the profits of capital have been steadily decreasing, while those of labor, and especially organized labor, have steadily increased. At no previous period would a dollar buy so many of the necessaries and so much of the comfort of life as at present. While this is admitted by intelligent laboring men, many of them contend that opportunities for earning a dollar have constantly diminished, and they are now seeking, by the advocacy of shorter hours for labor, to make employment for a larger number of persons; and I believe this is a worthy and beneficent aim. It is better to have a larger number of persons employed for eight hours than a smaller number of persons ten or twelve hours. Unrest of labor in a free country is not a dangerous phenomenon, but rather a safety valve, and one which capital can afford to encourage. At the same time it must not be forgotten that education of the masses has created new wants, and that these wants have grown faster than the means of gratifying them. The problem should be viewed from both sides, and only what is reasonable should prevail.

Wherever unlimited power exists, it is usually accompanied by tyranny, whether of labor or capital. There are labor trusts as well as capital trusts, and in all the annals of combination there are no greater illustrations of tyranny than the attitude of some of the labor organizations towards laborers. This, however, was the inevitable outcome of organization and of the evolution which is now going on throughout the world under the operation of the great forces that now control the world—steam, electricity, and machinery. Under the operation of these forces the world has grown richer. All the resources of nature are being developed. Capital has increased faster than the opportunities for its profitable employment, as is evidenced by the steadily decreasing rate of interest. I used to think that combinations of capital would eliminate competition, but experience has shown that, instead of eliminating it, it has elevated it to a higher plane. If a combination of capital in any line temporarily exacts a liberal profit, immediately capital flows into that channel, another combination is formed, and competition ensues on a scale and operates with an intensity far beyond anything that is possible on a smaller scale, resulting in a breaking down of the combination and the decline of profits to a minimum.

A striking illustration of this is found in the sugar and coffee industries today. Arbuckle Brothers had attained a commanding position as roasters and sellers of coffee, and they also sold, but did not refine, sugars. Because the American Sugar Refining Company would not sell to them cheaper than other buyers of sugar they decided to go into the sugar refining business, whereupon leading spirits in the American Sugar Refining Company, seeing that the margin of profit in the coffee business was good, decided to go into roasting and selling coffee. The result has been that this contest of giants has reduced the profits in both industries to a minimum, if not to a positive loss, making it hard for smaller manufacturers and dealers to live, but saving millions of dollars for consumers that would otherwise have inured to manufacturers and dealers.

The only trusts which have succeeded for any length of time have been those which have been conducted on a far-sighted basis of moderate margins of profit, relying upon a large turn-over and the economies resulting from the command of large capital intelligently administered. The truth of this is illustrated by innumerable failures in trust organizations to control prices, recent illustrations of which are the Strawboard Trust, the Starch Trust, the Wire Nail Trust, and the old Steel Trust. There are trusts, so-called, in nearly every branch of business, and there is good and bad in all, but the good so far predominates that such aggregations of capital should be encouraged, accompanied by safeguards against abuses. The only additional safeguards needed are for stockholders and investors, interests which are often sacrificed through lack of publicity. The average investor is the chief sufferer. So far as the interest of consumers is concerned it is amply protected now; first, by competition, as I have shown, and second, by the statute law, which, if invoked, will nullify any contract in restraint of trade. Any unreasonable combination is subject to indictment for conspiracy. Special "trust" statutes are not necessary, although many have been enacted.

The evil of overcapitalization is often condemned. No doubt it is an evil, but it hurts its authors as often as it does investors, although, perhaps, not to the same extent. It is very difficult to estimate actual values where earning power is such a large factor, and this, as is well known, varies greatly with the changing conditions of trade. At present trade is good, money is easy, and we see great activity in the formation of "trusts" with enormous capitalizations, the value of which only time can prove. But it is safe to say there will come periods of business depression when it will not be possible to earn dividends. Then these securities will find their level.

A large capitalization cannot increase earning power, but it may serve to conceal the percentage of earnings on the actual cost of some properties and furnish counters with

which to juggle in the stock-market. In many industrial properties the "good-will," which is a property created by brains, industry, time, and population, is the principal value. Unlike a railroad or a gas plant this cannot be reproduced, and the sole measure of capitalization is its earning power. What other measure can there be to the capitalization of a newspaper or ordinary industrial company? Never before has there been so much necessity for caution and investigation on the part of investors. This is illustrated by the following from a recent circular of a leading firm of bankers and brokers in New York:

> The manufacture of securities goes on so rapidly now that "the Street," *literally the street*, is full of them, and the Stock Exchange cannot list them as fast as they come out. There never has been such a "curb" market before. The list is a long and growing one. Wall Street has to educate itself in a variety of industries. It used to study railroading and transportation only, paying but little attention to the methods, details, and statistics of individual industries. In the near future we must inform ourselves in a general way, at least, as to steel billets, barbed wire, freight cars, paper bags, baking powder, electric and air power cabs, passenger and freight elevators, hard rubber goods, typewriting machines, smelters, cigars, cigarettes, beet root sugar, pumps, potteries, etc. Our horizon is widening; we are getting expansion in Wall Street, and getting it all at once. Bankers and brokers are looking over these new candidates for loans and marginal accounts, and are proceeding with great caution. They are not so enthusiastic as the promoters of these various consolidations, and therein lies the safety of the situation. If bankers and brokers had joined promoters in their mad craze to over-capitalize, and had aided and abetted them in enticing the public in on easy terms of marginal purchases, the situation would by this time have become dangerous. The industrial stocks will have a checkered career. Some will be admitted into the inner circles of credit among bankers, some will stay outside in the cold, many will appeal sooner or later to speculative favor, and finally the test of time will separate the sheep from the goats. It will be difficult to find skilled managers who can successfully conduct the new combinations, and great crashes will come within a year or so that will wreck the whole market. There will be as many Cordages as Standard Oils, and probably more, but we are not yet in their shadow.

The fact remains, however, that stock companies are industrial partnerships usually composed of a large number of small partners as stockholders, and that both profits and

losses are much more widely distributed under this organization of industry than under former conditions. The theory has been advanced that the organization of industry into "trusts" dwarfs individual effort and diminishes individual opportunity. I think this is untrue. The bravest, wisest, and strongest naturally become officers in the organization of industry, and those less capable become the rank and file, with opportunity for promotion based on merit. Luck and opportunity undoubtedly have something to do with leadership, but the fact remains that steam, electricity, and machinery have forced the organization of industry, and it is now a contest of nations for the trade of the world. We cannot all be generals or admirals in industrial organization, but we can all try for it.

The popular hostility to trusts is due principally to lack of knowledge of their economic effects, but these are gradually becoming better known. There were just enough abuses attending them to give an excuse for sensational journalistic denunciation, and this has caused undue prejudice. A great politico-economic question like this should be considered dispassionately, and all sides of it carefully investigated before conclusions are stated. As before said, the result of my many years of study of it has been to materially modify the views I entertained in the beginning. The editor of United States Consular Reports for August, 1898, in discussing industrial centralization in Europe, says:

> Our period is distinguished by its tendency to centralization, not only in the state, but likewise in industry and commerce. Large firms are competing with small shops to such an extent that the latter are disappearing one after another. The factory has displaced the workshops. Everything is being done on a large scale. Everything is becoming colossal. Nor is this all. We see even now the great factories, not finding themselves sufficiently strong alone, and fearing their reciprocal competition, renouncing their own autonomy and combining among themselves, and this tendency is everywhere manifest. The French *chargé d'affaires* at Berlin calls attention to their centralization in Germany; the French consul at Glasgow mentions the same phenomenon at Glasgow. These facts are significant. They certainly indicate one of the tendencies — perhaps, it might be said, one of the necessities — of

our epoch. It is certain that production is passing through a serious crisis. Competition has occasioned a considerable decline in prices, and in order to retain markets certain industries have been obliged to work under unprofitable conditions. To avoid final ruin, they have agreed either to limit the production, to maintain prices, or to conclude complete consolidation. Hence the cartels, the syndicates, the associations. We neither approve of nor do we reprobate this new procedure; we simply record it, remarking that sometimes certain laws are developed, whatever may be their consequence.

The Contemporary Review for March of this year contains an article on the tendency towards industrial centralization in British industries, recent illustration of which is the Bradford Dyers' Association, Ltd., embracing twenty-two firms, with a capital of $22,500,000, and controlling ninety per cent. of the local dyeing trade. A similar fusion of interests in the Lancashire bleaching trade, with a capital of $30,000,000 is contemplated. The fine cotton spinning trade has begun to organize. Thirty-two firms with a capital of $20,000,000 in stock and $10,000,000 in debentures has been organized. In the cotton thread trade J. & P. Coats and four other firms consolidated with $28,000,000 capital and debentures, and fifteen other firms have been organized into a combination with $13,750,000 of stock and debentures. All the large establishments engaged in making paper for newspapers have consolidated their interests. In the engineering trade, twenty-four firms have consolidated, with a subscribed capital of over $70,000,000. Armstrong & Co. absorbed Whitworth & Co., and have a capital of $21,000,000; and similar consolidations have taken place in metallic bedsteads, spring mattresses, cased tubes, spun mounts, rolled metal, brass wire, metal tubes, iron and brass fenders, china, furniture, electrical fittings, marl for pottery ware, common building bricks, and coffin hardware.

In most of these organizations the employers and workmen are also confederated, a feature not common in this country. The employers agree to employ only union labor; the men agree to work for no firm outside the combination, and for none which cut prices. A minimum wage is agreed upon and there is a sliding scale for increases.

Not only is consolidation going on in manufactures, but also with distributive firms. The capitalization of incorporated stores and trading companies in the grocery, provision, oil, and drug trades during 1896–97 was $90,000,000. One company has a capital of $5,000,000 and one of $12,500,000. These establishments have branches all over the country, which are driving individual retailers to the wall. Lipton's Company has seventy-two branches in London and one hundred and eighty-one in the provinces. One tobacco company has one hundred branches. In the grocery, tobacco, chemical, and drug branches of the shop traders, the trades are grouped in local associations and federated nationally for various purposes of mutual defence, the main purpose being to prevent extensive competition. The department store has achieved a greater development in England than in this country. Retailers complain of it as much there as here, and the Scotch retailers have been making an effort to find a remedy through tax legislation.

I am not interested in trusts except as a student of their politico-economic features, but I am satisfied that we must maintain this organization of industry if we would keep our place in the march for the world's trade. There are 1,440,000,000 people in the world, of which we have 75,000,000, possessing a larger purchasing power than any similar number elsewhere, and a larger producing power, because to a greater extent than any other nation we command the great forces of nature and of brain power embodied in machinery.

With a consuming power of 75,000,000 we have a producing power of 150,000,000. Our problem is to keep our labor and capital continuously and remuneratively employed by preserving our home market and reaching out for a place to dump our surplus among the other 1,365,000,000, each one of whom has *some* wants. There are natural wants and artificial wants. The former are principally those of the stomach, and in supplying those we have to compete with the fertile lands and cheap labor of the whole world. The artificial wants are those of fashion or convenience. Upon these

wants depend the prosperity of our country. Paris supplies the wants of fashion in woman's dress, the artificial want in that line; England the fashions in men's apparel. We have thousands of inventions so much more convenient and useful than those now used by the people of the world, that all our manufacturers have to do is to show them and they will find a market. The peasant who has been ploughing with a crooked stick or reaping with a sickle is satisfied until he has seen a moldboard plow or a modern harvester; the student with the olive oil lamp or the tallow dip until he has seen the petroleum, gas, acetylene, or electric light; the wooden-shod clodhopper or the sandal-shod Oriental with his footwear until he has seen that artistic and comfortable triumph of machinery, the American shoe.

The same methods which we employ in introducing goods in the United States we must employ abroad. Publicity is the great factor, and this must be attained by the printing-press in the language of the various countries; by the personal representation of educated experts able to overcome the barrier of language; by cutting canals and laying cables; by the up-building of an American commercial marine which shall carry our flag and our goods on every sea, and by the establishment of international banks with a currency which will command the confidence of the great commercial countries of the world. Then will the star of empire, first progressing westward, shed its effulgence over the whole world. With it, in time, will come a universal coinage, a universal system of weights and measures, a universal language; and Tennyson's dream of "the parliament of man, the federation of the world," will be realized, with the English-speaking race, led by the universal Yankee nation, as the evangel. But don't let us shy at the bogy of the organization of capital, now called "trusts." They are an evolution of commerce, as natural and resistless as the tides. Steer them! Don't try to stop them, for they are necessary to economical production and distribution. Regulate them, temper them with the organization of labor, and work out "the greatest good to the greatest number," on a basis of what is reasonable.

The adjustment of the relation of labor and capital under these new conditions is one of the great problems to be solved. Our motto should be "labor and capital — allies, not enemies; justice for both."

F. B. THURBER.

New York City.

WHERE JURY BRIBING BEGINS.

DURING the last two or three years public attention has frequently been called to the mass of speculative litigation lately grown up, based upon claims of damage for personal injuries.

The point that claims attention most directly is the enormous interests involved, as when it is shown that the amount of these claims pending in the courts of Chicago — representing an accumulation of about two years — reaches a total of fifty or sixty millions of dollars. It is said that the amount of claims in these courts against certain railway companies exceeds the amount of their general mortgage.

Another point that claims notice is the impossibility of effective defense against these claims. Statistics show the mathematical chances of a verdict for defendants are about one in seven, and much less when the claimant's lawyer is "expert." The damages awarded, always large, are rapidly increasing in amount, sometimes being as high as fifty thousand dollars, and often reaching twenty and thirty thousand.

In most cases, however, the feature of this class of litigation, which has made itself conspicuous, is that the claims are, in the great majority of cases, fraudulent. Perjury and subornation of perjury is usual. Claims are based frequently upon fictitious accidents; sometimes even the plaintiff is fictitious, and when there is a meritorious claim and a real

injury, the plaintiff is fortunate if, after exatortionte payments to lawyers, "runners," and doctors, he escapes deliberate malpractice, inflicted to increase the pecuniary reward. In some instances the increasing burden which this great system of plunder imposes upon the industry of the country, has called out a note of warning. "Manufacturers," said the Chicago Tribune, "will be driven out of this country if they are to be plundered perpetually under the forms of law."

This is not, however, the worst of the situation.

Speaking of a different aspect of the same subject, a writer in one of the eastern states has said that the effect of this speculation upon the people, and upon the jury system, is a worse evil than the effect upon corporations:

> Legalized robbery, and profiting by practical theft, cannot become institutions, even as against corporations, without affecting character, individual and public, in all other relations. The jury-box cannot be a party to crime in one relation, and made a tribunal of virtue, patriotism, and justice in others. The danger to the people of a democracy, in the degradation of institutions composed of the people, is a far worse menace than political and official crookedness. The latter occasions money loss and affects a limited class. The former debauches the whole people, and tends to render them unfit for the prerogatives of citizenship in a republic.

In the two years last past, the progress of the evil throughout the country has been in this direction, and some phases of its development, in their effect upon the public, deserve attention.

It would be strange if, from the school of crime which surrounds these claims, there should arise a class of practitioners to whom the integrity of court and jury should be inviolable; and it would be still more strange if, out of the large number of persons of all sorts and conditions daily exposed to judicial plunder, — defendants of small means facing commercial failure; corporations whose large means cannot stand a thousand claims; lawyers dependent for livelihood upon their practice and afraid to report disaster to their clients, — there should not be found some willing to

adopt the methods used against them, to sacrifice means to ends, and to defend this course by persuading themselves that their act was unavoidable. This is the situation which has developed. "Runners," whose business it is to produce witnesses and to frame stories, are eager to increase the amount of their verdict by influencing jurors by the methods they know so well; and, unfortunately, defendants in many cities have followed the same path. It was but a short time ago that the charge of jury bribing was most unusual. Now it is common, and generally, when made, is found to arise in a damage suit. An unusually large award of damages is always regarded with suspicion by the defendant, — sometimes not without reason,* — and a verdict for the defendant, or even a disagreement is frequently, and in some cities is generally, regarded as suggestive of bribery. Much of this suspicion is unfounded. In most cases juries are wholly uninfluenced by secret communications with either party. Yet the situation is grave, because it marks a new step in the progress of an unchecked evil. It has already lessened public confidence in the courts, and its possibilities for mischief are very great.

For this condition of affairs there can be but one effectual remedy. The origin of speculation in damage claims, said Judge Hammond of the United States district court in Tennessee, "is the corrupted public sentiment in favor of looting any public, or quasi-public, treasury, in aid of private suffering or private want, if not private greed." If courts are to command confidence, if government is not to be tyranny, administration of justice must be free from a tendency to "loot." A court the decisions of which are controlled, not by evidence, or by law, but by prejudice, so that it is always possible to foretell in whose favor the decision will be, is no court. Reform in this matter means justice, and nothing less. Such a reform can only come with a change in public opinion, and for it we must look first of all to the public prints, particularly to the newspapers:

* Illinois Steel Company *v.* Szutenbach, 67 Ill. App. 28.

It is not strange, said Judge Hammond, that men coming into the jury-box from the flood tides of a periodical literature devoted to an agitation for relief from individual suffering by socialistic combinations of the poor against the rich, should find the verdict of a jury against "a corporation" a most convenient sort of combination to mitigate suffering. . . . It will only "average up" things if we take every occasion to distribute some of this dangerous aggregation of wealth to those who sorely need it, and the "corporation" will never feel the loss. Perhaps not a single juryman is conscious of this reasoning in the given instance of its exercise; indeed, he does not, in fact, go through this formula in reaching his verdict, and is, therefore, not guilty of the implied corruption there is actually in it; nevertheless his state of mind is such that the process works itself by the callous indifference he indulges towards the case of the "corporation"; and the supersensitive sympathy he feels toward a poor laborer, or anyone injured by violence, causes him to do an injustice he does not recognize as such. But this state of mind is chronic with him and the result of a pernicious education." †

But this pernicious education, and particularly for its application in personal injury cases, the newspapers are largely responsible. Their language often seems to advise verdicts against the defendants impartially and in all cases, as barber surgeons used to advise phlebotomy. One newspaper not long ago, in commenting on the facts that judgments against street railway companies nearly confiscated their properties, remarked: "The people are making some headway against street railway and other corporations. If half the judgments obtained in the lower courts are confirmed, the surface roads will be glad to sell out to the people, or to whoever wants to buy." Often, too, the papers do not limit themselves to general comment, but participate in the argument of pending cases. In a recent instance, a well-known paper, which has had much to say about the exercise of improper influences upon juries, during the trial of a case, published matter which the judge had expressly withdrawn from the hearing of the jury. Had a private individual made this disclosure, he would probably have been punished. The paper knowing, as it must have known, that its publication would necessarily reach the jury, was so far without moral responsibility, that it committed this great wrong openly, and without explana-

† "Personal Injury Litigation." Yale Law Journal, June, 1897.

tion, excuse, or subsequent apology. The verdict in that case gave the plaintiff his whole demand. In another instance a paper of wide circulation so persistently argued a personal injury case in favor of the plaintiff, as to draw from the court the remark, that "It is evident some one is trying to push this case." The case was certainly "pushed," for in the opinion of the court, the verdict was not only against the evidence on the question of liability, but was also excessive in its measure of damages.

The cases referred to are but illustrations of a situation which arises with ever increasing frequency, where in private disputes the issues are determined not by court or jury, but "by newspaper"; where the interested parties are given no hearing before the authority which decides upon their rights; where the purpose of the decision is not to do justice between parties, but to make a readable article, to strike a popular note, to produce a dramatic effect, to punish a rival or an enemy of the editor, or to influence local issues of politics or administration. When courts or juries become instruments to accomplish purposes like these, litigants will not hesitate to protect themselves by whatever influence over juries they can command. Judges, too, must share responsibility for the condition of things which has so rapidly developed. Under the general tendency to sympathize, the courts have been unwilling to enforce as firmly as they might well-recognized rules of law, until it has come about that the protection which the law and the constitution afford to property rights is not as strong as a vague "tendency" in the jury-box. It is difficult, within the compass of a magazine article, to show in what respect the rules of law have been broken down, but some convincing illustrations of the fact can be given.

It is the law that before a person can recover damages for negligence of another, he must show that he was himself, at the time of the injury, exercising ordinary care. In other words, defendant cannot be charged with plaintiff's fault. Applying this doctrine, it was for some time a general rule

that before crossing a railroad track, a person should, by looking or listening, ascertain whether it was safe to proceed. This rule is no longer enforced in Illinois, and the supreme court of that state has traveled so far on the path of deciding nothing itself, and of leaving everything to the "views" of the jury, as to hold that an adult person, in full possession of her senses, who, finding the gates at a railroad crossing down, nevertheless went under, around, or over them, and was injured by the approaching train, was not, as a matter of law, negligent, but the question must go to the jury. The jury decided against the defendant, and on appeal the verdict was sustained.*

In another case, an employee of an electric company brought suit against his employer to recover damages for injuries sustained by touching a live wire. The charges of negligence against the defendant were, firstly, that it had failed to instruct the plaintiff of the danger from these wires; and, secondly, that the defendant's foreman had assured the plaintiff that there was no danger. The jury, in answer to special interrogatories, found (a) that the plaintiff before and at the time of his injury, knew and understood that there was danger from contact with these wires; and (b) that the plaintiff did not believe the assurances that there was no danger, which the foreman was said to have given.

It was, therefore, clearly established in this case: (1) that the plaintiff was not in need of instruction; (2) that instruction would have done him no good; (3) that failure to instruct did him no harm; (4) that the foreman's assurances, if he ever made any, were without effect on the plaintiff.

Notwithstanding, the jury returned a general verdict for the plaintiff, and this was upheld on appeal.†

Other cases rule that it is not negligence for a person riding on the platform of a street-car to omit to hold on, even although injured for lack of this precaution; ‡ nor for a per-

* Chicago and Western Indiana Railroad Company *v.* Ptacek, 171 Ill. 9.

† Chicago Edison Company *v.* Hudson, 66 Ill. App. 639.

‡ Kean *v.* West Chicago Street Railroad Company, 75 Ill. App. 38; Guina *v.* Second Avenue Railroad Co., 67 N. Y. 596.

son to attempt to board a moving car, though injured in the effort;* nor to fail to look where one is stepping; and this in the case of a blacksmith who walked in the daytime into a large hatchway easily to be seen, left open for mechanical purposes in the floor of a room where he had been employed for years. Many more cases† appear in the reports, of which, as the venerable Judge Gary recently remarked: "It is only because the appellant is a railroad that it can be pretended that the collision was without negligence on plaintiff's part which bars a recovery." ‡ It is very common, too, for the courts to express disapproval of the findings of the juries.§

It is impossible to read many of these opinions without wondering how the conscience of the court could, as judges, be satisfied with affirming judgments which obviously did not commend themselves to them as men. Responsibility for affirmance in the end, is laid upon the trial court and the jury. The trial judge, on the other hand, smothers his feelings about the judgment with the reflection that error on his part will be corrected in the upper court. Thus the vicious circle is complete, and judgments disapproved by every judge who has considered a case, are affirmed, because no court will exercise its discretion and say it is wrong.

Such decisions as those cited mark, not the reign of law, but the abdication of the courts. For fixed rules of property they substitute the personal wishes of men selected by chance, or worse. To all comers they hold open the vault doors of every industry in the country, and make property the prize of adventure. Here is the beginning of bribery. If the vault doors are open some one will enter. If fortunes are easily made by pillage, there will be many pillagers; and when the sense of injury grows deep enough with the losers, when the total absence of legal protection is fully understood,

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* West Chicago Street Railroad Company *v.* Lups, 74 Ill. App. 420.

† Pullman's Car Company *v.* Connell, 74 Ill. App. 447.

‡ West Chicago Street Railroad Company *v.* Boeker, 70 Ill. App. 67.

§ Illinois Steel Company *v.* Sztenbach, 64 Ill. App. 644; Frazer *v.* Collier, 75 Ill. App. 194; Wells *v.* Novak, 73 Ill. App. 401.

there will be some who will protect themselves as best they can. When courts fail to protect the public, Judge Lynch and the Vigilance Committee appear in their stead. When courts refuse to protect the individual, there will be private violence or other remedy outside the law, and this condition will continue until advancing civilization assures adequate peaceful redress, or growing despotism precludes remedy.

It is of vital importance that bribery in the courts should be stopped. It should be very widely understood, however, that lasting reform can be made only by removing the conditions which have brought about the present situation. In the language of Sir Thomas More, "If you do not remedy the evils which produce thieves, the rigorous execution of the law in punishing thieves will be in vain." Men must be selected as judges who have the strength of their convictions. Public opinion must be educated so that justice can be administered unshackled by a tendency to "loot," and the reform must be thorough. A profitable evil by which many persons gain cannot be ended without strong, persistent, and lasting effort.

E. Parmalee Prentice.

Chicago.

GOD'S IN HIS WORLD.

They said "God lives." Long years I searched in vain—
Long years of weariness they were, and pain.
"Where doth God dwell?" I asked both fools and wise:
None knew—and now I find him in thine eyes.

Harry Douglas Robins.

THE DEPARTMENT STORE IN THE WEST.

I. THE STRUGGLE IN CHICAGO.

IN no other city has the department store gained the same hold on the people as it has in Chicago. While no statistics are to be had on this point, it is claimed that the Chicago department stores are larger, more numerous, and transact more business than do those of any of the eastern cities. The largest of the New York stores is an offshoot of a Chicago concern and is run on Chicago ideas, which differ materially from those in use in other cities. There are seven department stores in this city that have regularly a full-page advertisement in each Sunday issue of The Tribune, while they often occupy as great a space in the other Sunday newspapers, occasionally employing a double page to announce their wares. An evening newspaper prints twenty pages each Thursday, in order to accommodate the pressure of advertisements of "Friday bargains." During 1898 one of the department stores paid $79,000 to the Daily News, about $65,000 to the Tribune, and divided about $110,000 among the other five newspapers. This is a total expenditure of over $250,000 by one store, but it was nearly equalled by another large concern. A few others probably spent half as much each, to say nothing of the amount spent by a dozen smaller establishments. This enormous expenditure for advertising is the most significant indication of the volume of business, profits, and methods that produce these results. The advertisements of cheap prices, of "leaders," and of "special sales" keep these gigantic establishments thronged from morning until night. Including the big "dry goods store" of Marshall Field as a department store, Chicago women certainly do most of their shopping in these stores. Of course there are women who shop elsewhere; but these cases are few. M. W. Diffley, president of the Cook County Retail Dealers' Association, asserts that if the lines of house-furnishing goods,

groceries, and tobacco are excepted, eight department stores on State street transact ninety per cent. of the retail business of the city.

The first department store to be established in Chicago was "The Fair," and the brief story of its evolution embraces that of the others. In 1875, E. J. Lehman rented, near the corner of Adams and State streets, a storeroom occupying a lot sixteen by eighty feet. He had a capital of less than one thousand dollars, which he invested in a stock of cheap jewelry, notions, pictures, china, and hardware. He was the first man to sell goods at odd prices, and he claimed that this was necessary as he sold at a uniform profit, although he afterwards used "leaders." After the panic of 1873 there was a great demand for cheap goods at small prices. The Fair supplied this demand, and it continued to expand its business until to-day its eight-story building occupies a half-block of real estate valued at $4,000,000. The store has six miles of counters and 650 feet of glass show-windows. It has 3,000 employees, 200 horses and 50 delivery wagons constantly in use. This establishment is cited merely as an evidence of growth. Following it, others have sprung up. Siegel, Cooper & Co's. store is as large as The Fair, if not larger, and A. M. Rothschild & Co's place is close to the two leaders, while the others of the group are not far behind in successive steps. On the outskirts of the city there are smaller department stores grouped at each center of traffic; and these, though on a much smaller scale in their methods, approach very nearly the great department stores.

The retail dealers have become alarmed at this growth,—needlessly, as the department store managers claim. However that may be, the small dealers believe they are being driven into bankruptcy, and they have been waging an, as yet, ineffectual war against their enormous competitors. The Cook County Retail Dealers' Association, now has 20,000 members; and C. F. Gillmann, the secretary, expects to have 50,000 members enrolled before the close of 1899. The preamble of this association is as follows:—

Recognizing the deplorable condition of the retail business of Cook County and the great depreciation of real estate values, we, the retail dealers and property owners of said county, hereby organize ourselves into an association and propose to use all honorable methods to correct the abuses which exist. We condemn the employment of child labor in any retail business. We are heartily opposed to fraudulent and misleading advertising, and shall use our combined influence and trade connections to correct these and other existing evils that may affect the business of the retail dealer. It is the sense of this association that individually the members are not powerful enough to meet and to better existing conditions, but that together we can consider and bring such combined influence to bear as will make our cause a matter of vital importance to the welfare of those who profit by our business, indorsement, or patronage.

The association has sought by public agitation to persuade the people of Chicago not to patronize the department stores. They have not been successful in their appeals, although their meetings have been fully reported in the newspapers. Accordingly they propose to concentrate their efforts on securing legislation to abolish the department stores. An effort was made in 1897 to secure the passage of a law with this end in view. The bill was entitled "An Act regulating trade and commerce in the State of Illinois." The measure was to apply to all cities of not less than 10,000 inhabitants. All articles were divided into seventy-three classes; and the original intention was to regulate the sale of these by means of license. As finally presented the bill absolutely forbade anyone's engaging in the sale of any but certain groups, or classes, of merchandise. These were classified as dry goods, clothing, jewelry, grocery, meat market, wines and spirits, furniture, crockery, hardware, books and stationery, and optical goods. Shops were to be permitted to sell the following combinations: (1) Clothing, hats and caps; (2) Groceries, meats, and vegetables; (4) Groceries and wines; (4) Furniture and carpets; (5) Hardware and crockery; (6) Bicycles and vehicles; (7) Paints and drugs; (8) Athletic and opticians' goods. The sale of more than one of the latter combinations of goods was made an offense against the law of the state. The bill passed the state senate, but was defeated in the

house. Otto Young of The Fair, and F. H. Cooper of Siegel, Cooper & Co., were on the ground fighting the bill, while the retail dealers were represented by a large and influential delegation. Mr. Gillmann says the measure did not particularly interest the members of the legislature, "for nearly one half of the legislators were lawyers and the other half farmers." Accordingly the retailers are making an effort to elect business men to the legislature.

At the same session as that mentioned above a law was passed of which the retail merchants had great expectations. The retailers charge that the department stores resort to fraudulent advertising, publishing announcements of their goods as being purchases from fire and sheriffs' sales when they are not. So a law was passed, which went into effect June 1, 1897, and which provided that no goods should be fraudulently represented or advertised as bankrupt or insolvent stocks or as closing out or sacrifice sales, and that no goods should be fraudulently offered as of greater worth or value than they are actually worth. The penalty is $25 for the first offense, $50 for the second, and not less than $100 for each subsequent offense. Although this law has been on the statute books for more than a year, no one has been punished under it. It is practically a dead letter. The owners of department stores say this is so because it has not been violated. President Diffley of the retailers' association says it is because the association cannot afford the expense of prosecution. He insists that state officials — censors — should be specially appointed, charged with the enforcement of the law.

An ordinance was passed last year by the city council prohibiting the sale of wines and liquors in stores where dry goods, clothing, and jewelry are sold. This was largely due to the efforts of the temperance people, who were alarmed at the possible effects of affording to women and children facilities for the purchase of intoxicants. Despite this ordinance there are department stores where women and children may buy liquor. Another ordinance was passed prohibiting the

selling of meat, groceries, butter or cheese where dry goods are sold. These ordinances were carried to the superior court and declared unconstitutional, and are now pending before the supreme court on appeal. It is intended to test the power of the city to regulate department stores. If the city does not possess that power the retail dealers will again appeal to the legislature. When the bill mentioned was before the legislature, it was rejected on the ground that the city council had full jurisdiction in the matter. Such legislation could be easily secured in the city owing to the fact that an important plank in the platform of the local organization of the dominant party declares its opposition to department stores. It is very possible that in adopting this plank the politicians did not expect to be taken seriously.

The profits reaped by the successful stores are enormous. Under the new tax law now in force in Chicago, Marshall Field, as an individual, and as a member of the firm of Marshall Field & Co., will pay more than $250,000 in taxes this year. The assessors fixed the value of his and the firm's personal property at $6,250,000, and to this valuation no objection was raised. For real estate $20,000,000 was added. The Fair and Siegel, Cooper & Co., according to report, earn in profits a million dollars a year. The more important department stores are directly or indirectly interested in the banks where they carry their large balances, and with the prosperity of the stores has come the concentration of deposits among the larger banks, which has been a notable feature of Chicago finance during recent years. They do not engage in manufacturing, but confine themselves to the sale of goods.

"The department store as conducted in Chicago stands as a leader among public benefactors," says Mr. Otto Young, manager of The Fair. "It is beneficent to the public, its employees, and the city itself." As to the effect of the system on the consumer, Mr. Young insists the success of the department store has been due not only to the convenience of having everything under one roof, but also to the cheapness of the goods. "The housewife with limited means can

save enough money by purchasing at a department store, rather than at a smaller establishment, to pay the house rent," asserts Mr. Young, "and sometimes much more than that." The goods sold in a department store at a certain price are always as good as the same goods sold elsewhere at a higher price, and nine times out of ten the department store goods are superior to the goods at the high price. If time is money, the time saved in shopping must also appeal to the thrifty."

The assertions of the department store managers are borne out by the testimony of a majority of the women of Chicago. A glance at the advertisements,—which in the case of the more important stores are always truthful, and even in those of the lower grade are seldom false,—confirm this testimony.

Many of the bookstores in Chicago allow twenty per cent. discount on books, making $1 the price of a $1.25 book, but the department store sells it for ninety-eight cents, fixing a still lower price,—perhaps as low as sixty-nine cents,—if the book is in great demand. The books of the day are sometimes sold for prices which are less than the bookseller pays for them,—prices made possible by special discounts secured from the publishers on large lots, with the additional advantage of the cash discount,—for the department store generally discounts its bills. Many books for which there is only occasional demand, are carried by the booksellers, but the department store sells no books for which the demand is not steady and sure. They also buy in a large way at trade sales remainders of editions, or even entire editions, and sell them at very low prices.

President Diffley, of the retailers' association, who is a cigar dealer, says that on the whole, the prices in department stores are not lower. He insists there are usually "leaders,"—that is to say the prices of certain standard articles are cut sometimes below cost, and the buyer is thus hypnotized into a belief that the prices of other articles are correspondingly reduced. But the loss of profit on the standard articles is

made up on those articles with the prices of which the customer is not familiar. Mr. Diffley says certain heads of department stores have admitted to him that the average department store prices are higher than those of the small dealers. He also asserts fraud is frequent, declaring as a specific instance, that one of the department stores — the name of which he gave — imitated the label and style of a cigar that sold regularly for $4.50 a box and advertised it as "Regular price $4.50, our price $2.50." Mr. Diffley says he himself was fooled at first by the labels. Another department store, he says, imitated a certain well-known brand of whiskey and sold it with counterfeited labels. The whiskey manufacturer, a Canadian firm, then plastered the city with posters announcing the fraud. Mr. Diffley asserts further the department stores have grades of inferior goods especially manufactured to resemble superior goods. For instance, he says, a department store will order of a packer canned tomatoes in lots of one hundred cases, the tomatoes being especially packed with only sixty per cent. of solid matter; and these, of course, can be sold for a lower price than that of the retailer, whose canned tomatoes contain ninety per cent. of solid matter.

Mr. Gillmann, secretary of the retailers' association, who, besides his retail jewelry store, has a factory for the manufacture of certain classes of goods, says that when he began to sell goods to the department stores he first sold at his own prices, then at a discount, and later at whatever prices the department stores dictated. This at last led to a reduction in the wages of factory employees—every man, woman, and child. Next the department store demanded still lower rates and cheaper classes of goods in order to get the rates. "Nickle-plated" alarm clocks had to be made with tin cases instead of nickle-plated brass, and the department store buyers insisted they did not care what sort of works the clocks had, if they but ran a little while. Speaking as a manufacturer, Mr. Gillmann says that ninety-five per cent. of the value of commodities represent labor; consequently a reduc-

tion of price means a reduction of wages, and department stores by destroying the commercial value of goods they advertise, depress wages.

It is not possible to obtain trustworthy statistics as to the wages paid in department stores. Mr. Otto Young and Mr. Keim give practically the same figures, but they are so vague that they are of little statistical value. Entirely different figures are given by the small merchants. Those who have had experience in statistical work know that a man's or woman's own statement as to his or her earnings is not to be accepted. Mr. Young's statement to the writer is: "The department stores pay larger wages than do the smaller stores, and the average hours of work are much shorter. The great stores are closed at six o'clock, excepting for a few days about Christmas time. The salaries paid run from $3 a week, the minimum paid to some of the little cash girls, to $35,000 a year, which some of the heads of departments earn."

Secretary Gillmann says that in the department stores the wages of women run from $2 to $4 per week, a wage upon which she cannot support herself. He says that in retail stores the same woman would get $6 per week. According to Mr. Gillmann, men in department stores receive from $5 to $10, while in retail stores they never get less than $10. The writer's own idea is that Mr. Gillmann's figures are too small in one case and too large in the other. Mr. Gillmann states that there are 12,000 people employed in the Chicago department stores. In the small stores there are 75,000 clerks and 50,000 retail dealers, each one of the latter owning or renting a store.

The longer hours in the retail stores are admitted by President Diffley, but he says that in the department stores, employees receive no pay for overtime, and are fined if late. The department store hours are from 7.30 to 6, with half an hour for luncheon. He admits the hours of the single line merchant's employees may be longer, but he avers that the work is easier, and that there is more freedom. Aside from this the employee in the smaller shop is said to have more opportunity of owning a shop of his own.

In most of the stores there are ample lavatories and dressing rooms for the employees, although in several of them the facilities are wretched, being in dirty, ill-lighted, badly ventilated basements that can be used for no other purpose. Certain stores provide seats for their employees, but most of them do not. There can be no generalization on these points. The range is from kind treatment of employees to the most heartless and inhuman. In recent years there has been some improvement in the condition of the children employed. Mrs. Florence Kelley in 1895, being then state factory inspector, estimated that 1,500 children were employed in retail stores. In the report in which this estimate was given — the only official statement that we have on any phase of the department store question — she said: "The long hours of her occupation inflict serious injury [on the cash girl]. So seriously are the little cash girls hurt by the standing and running demanded of them throughout long hours, that physicians find many of them suffering from diseases rare in childhood, but common to overworked women." Even at that time Mrs. Kelley noticed that the number of cash girls was decreased by the use of pneumatic tubes, and this decrease has continued. But another evil which she pointed out, is still evident to any visitor to certain department stores where small girls are employed in selling some of the cheapest articles. "As these are nearly always in the basement of the store, the child is injured, not only by standing all day, but also by the strain upon the eyes from electric lights and by heated, heavy air." Mrs. Kelley asked for a law to regulate the employment of child labor by merchants, but failed to secure its passage.* As with every other class of employees children are treated much better in some stores than in others. Several department stores — The Fair was the originator of the idea — have schools for the cash girls. There is a large daily attendance, and Mr. Young asserts that

* An expression of Mrs. Kelley's present attitude toward the department stores is quoted in an editorial paragraph in the August Arena. While she now regards the department store as "an immense step forward," she still holds "they need legislation in behalf of the employees." — ED. ARENA.

educational results are obtained which will compare favorably with those of any large school.

One of the most frequent charges made against the department stores by their opponents is that they are nurseries of immorality.

The same difficulties that arise in the obtaining of accurate statistics on other points are encountered in any attempt to gauge the effect of their competition on the smaller stores. No estimate can be made of the number of small businesses that have been closed by the competition of the larger establishments. Mr. Diffley says there are now 8,200 empty stores that three years ago were occupied by small dealers. With an average of two employees this means 16,400 working people thrown out of employment, or 24,600 including the employers. What has become of them? Mr. Diffley says that a large number of them are starving, many have become tramps, a few are working for the big stores, and several have committed suicide. As to the effect of the department stores on the small businesses he cites the case of The Fair, which he says does the largest grocery business in Chicago,—a business equal to that of one-hundred ordinary grocers doing an average business of $75 per day. Mr. Diffley tells of a grocer on the west side who had allowed a bill of $22 to be incurred by a family in distress. The wife borrowed $6 from the grocer, and that evening the kind-hearted grocer saw one of The Fair's wagons drive up to the building and deliver the groceries she had bought with the borrowed money.

On the other hand, the managers of the department stores make the sweeping assertion that their competition does not hurt the small merchants. "All the talk about the department store driving the small concerns out of business is rubbish," says Mr. Keim. "Great stores, selling everything from a slate pencil to a harvesting machine, have existed in Germany, France, and England for more years than living man can remember. The small stores still exist in those countries and are thriving now as ever they were. When a

small store fails, the proprietor attributes it to the competition of the big store, when the real reason for the failure is the small merchant's lack of business ability. He would have failed if there had not been a department store in the world. There are scores of examples of small shops in Chicago handling only one line of goods, which are doing a lucrative and prosperous business. Their success is wholly due to the business ability of their proprietors."

"The tendency of the age," says Mr. Otto Young, "is to some extent toward a concentration in business but it is the height of folly to say that the small retail store has been, or is to be killed off by the rivalry of its bigger brother. There will always be room for the small store. It is a necessity and a convenience. But the department store exists because it supplies another need, and it will continue to exist because it is founded on the rock of public good."

WILLIAM MATTHEWS HANDY.

Chicago.

II. "AMERICA'S GRANDEST" IN CALIFORNIA.

THAT form of concentration in business known generically as the department store, has, in California, no novel features as to the corporate form itself, but its rise and growth in an isolated community that has a thousand miles of frowning mountains and forbidding deserts between it and its political partners on one side, and is the open gateway to the antipodes on the other, presents some peculiar features.

There are but half a dozen, perhaps, such establishments in the entire state. In the metropolis, the institution seems to have come at a late day, and to have gathered in the fragments of a number of somewhat unsuccessful businesses. There is but one department store of any considerable size in San Francisco, though, among all the stores dealing in dry-

goods or notions, there is a constant reaching out for other lines of trade in which an opportunity for further profit is seen. In this respect, the method of procedure is but a repetition of similar initiative movements in eastern cities.

The pioneer department store of the state did not begin business in San Francisco, but in the capital city, Sacramento. The opening of a continuous iron track from Sacramento to New York in 1869, was recognized and celebrated as one of the great events of the Pacific region. This was soon followed by the completion of the road from Sacramento to Oakland, a city lying on the eastern side of the bay and opposite San Francisco. Serious disturbances were caused in various branches of business in the change of transportation from steamer to rail. Much of the freight between New York and the interior of the state ceased to pass through San Francisco, and it was believed that some town on the northern or eastern shore of the bay must be the main terminus of the railways of the Pacific slope. So passed five years, till, in 1874, the depression of business on the Atlantic slope, the favorable condition of agriculture in California, and the marvelous production of the silver treasure of the Comstock lode attracted over one hundred thousand immigrants here from the east. There was plenty of rain that year, the harvests were good, and one hundred and forty miles of railroad were built into districts of fertile soil previously inaccessible. The necessities of the surrounding country caused the establishment of flouring-mills and of factories for agricultural implements at Sacramento, where were located the car-shops of the railroad company.

That year saw in Sacramento the opening of the first "Mechanics' Store," there being now four such, with a stock of overalls, shoes and workingmen's supplies in general. The sign attached to its front bore flaming advertisements, "Down with the Grabbers," "One Price," etc; and pictures of a brawny arm whose hand grasped a hammer, and other like devices were used. The original firm developed a large country-order trade by means of the central location of Sac-

ramento, combined with water-way transportation facilities. They have kept step with every "progressive" method of the commercial world during the last twenty-five years; they have been conservative, yet bold; they have branched out in all innovations that were safe; they have continually adopted new features to add to the attractiveness of the store, and they have inaugurated and established special sales, bargain counters, the practice of "breaking prices" on some line of goods carried by a near-by single-line neighbor, running of excursions from country towns, a school at the store for their child employees, "souvenir days" for buyers, and entertainments for employees of the store.

About two years ago an organized campaign was made by the seven hundred merchants of Sacramento to secure the sympathy of buyers for small tradesmen, and an attempt made to secure municipal legislation in the way of licensing such stores, but nothing definite was accomplished. The shoe still seems to pinch pretty hard. It is affirmed that the department stores lower rents, depreciate property,— in some parts of the city fully fifty per cent.,— subject smaller merchants and shopkeepers to great loss, concentrate the retail trade and commerce of the city into the control of a very few persons, reduce wages, thrive on child-labor, crush the very life out of the city; and it is declared this will continue until the city will soon be reduced "to the Southern Pacific depot, an almshouse, three department stores, and a jail."

The proprietors of the department stores reply: the question of the department store must be viewed from the broad standpoint of the benefit it confers upon the general public; the institution is merely one of the natural developments of the present age of combination and concentration; it tends to diminish tribute to middlemen paid by the consumer; it illustrates anew "the survival of the fittest"; with its democratic manners and its close-shaven prices, it gets near the heart of the economical consumer, and that is its excuse for being — and thus the matter stands in the only city in California, outside San Francisco, where the department store

has gained any headway. There has been one effort at state legislation on the subject; in February of this year a bill was introduced "To prevent the sale of more than one line of merchandise under one roof, known as department stores, in any municipal corporation." It did not pass. The view was expressed by at least one prominent department store proprietor that the bill was designed simply as a scheme to levy blackmail. Possibly, movements of trade, such as are evidenced in the gradual accretion of many details into a large business, are of a class of phenomena that lie rather beyond the scope of legislation; but there are crying features in such stores that should be exploited to their correction.

Public opinion has not yet been roused enough to bring any force to bear upon the management of the stores in San Francisco. A paper known as The Penny Press set forth the drawbacks and evils of the department store during a period of several months, about the time of the inception of the department store in the metropolis, but its efforts were not more effectual than were those of Dame Partington with her broom against the ocean tides. There is no Consumers' League here to compel stores to treat employees equitably, to give vacations with pay, to recompense for overtime, to give adequate time for lunch, to provide seats for employees, etc.

In so far as the department store is of recent date in San Francisco, the conditions are correspondingly better for the employees than in eastern cities; there is a higher grade of service and of employees; there are better sanitary arrangements; the toil is not so grindingly hard, but there are constant infringements on the conditions which characterize a "Fair House" according to the demands, noted above, of the Consumers' League.* A prostitute was asked by a social purity worker in San Francisco, what, in her opinion, was the best way to reach her class. Her reply was that a small increase in working-girls' wages would save more girls than a million workers could redeem. What an ugly revealment is this of the seamy and ragged underside of the splendid crimson em-

* For detailed information concerning the League and its work see "General Storekeeping In New York," The Arena, August, 1899, p. 176. — Ed. Arena.

broidery that adorns the robe of our present day civilization! It is to be hoped the members of the California Club, a recently organized body of earnest women in San Francisco, who are already reaching out toward civic power, or rather civic helpfulness,— it is to be hoped these women will make a sympathetic study of the actual conditions of a system which bears heavily upon women and children, and which calls for betterment by the exercise of intelligence, skill, and justice on the part of those who have knowledge and love right, and through the mutual sympathy and helpfulness of all.

The department store on the coast exhibits a most sinister phase of the labor problem, the employment of children. The law permits a child of ten years of age to labor ten hours a day. There are no restrictions as to the kind of labor, the conditions under which it is to be performed, or the rate of wage to be paid. The consent of the parents is an easy matter when ignorant avarice or grinding poverty makes the weekly pittance assume large proportions. In a store in a San Francisco suburb, an imitation department store or bazaar, a child of seven was employed last winter as cash girl under arduous conditions; and it was the blessed Christmas time, too!

Reference has been made to the small number of department stores in California. A company in Los Angeles has recently been incorporated for the purpose of establishing there "the largest department store in the west." It is interesting to note this company is chartered under the laws of Arizona. As yet, no line has been drawn in this state on corporations seeking to do business here under foreign charters obtained in states the requirements of which as to corporations are more favorable than they are in California.

The only department store in San Francisco, genuinely entitled to be called such, claims to be "California's largest, America's grandest store." This is nothing if not superlative. The building — in this day of great buildings — is said to be the greatest of its kind on earth, its special claims resting

upon features of area, architecture, magnificence of equipment and decoration, and completeness of arrangement. Outwardly, its wide imposing face of stone, its simple dignity of style, its big rounded columns and its beautiful entrance are singularly impressive. Within, the dominating ideas of openness, size, and dignity are repeated in the wide whiteness of overhead space, the long reaches of aisles, the picturesque combination of sunlight and flowers giving added grace to the six acres of selling space where the goods are placed with a sense of the sympathy of trade. But especially imposing is the aisle of marble leading from the entrance for two "blocks" through the center of the main floor to the grand stand, around which it sweeps on both sides, under marble balconies which overhang the central rotunda, capped by a noble dome giving amplitude of light and air.

The store draws heavily upon country trade in the rich valleys about the bay, and from localities contiguous, from which access to the city is made easy by more than thirty cable and electric roads. The country patrons find every comfort and convenience, together with a vast accumulation of the things that civilization has turned into desires, at,— in some instances at least,— lower prices than elsewhere. Here are some of its exclusive features at the service of its patrons : a parlor with papers, periodicals, and writing materials ; a children's nursery ; an emergency hospital, with a trained nurse in attendance ; a Post Office station ; a Western Union telegraph office ; a theater-ticket office ; a manicuring and hair-dressing parlor and a barber shop ; public telephones ; a lunch room ; an information bureau ; always some free exhibition in the art rooms,— all of these under one roof, and most of them free.

The original "Emporium" idea in San Francisco was not, strictly speaking, in the nature of a department store. It consisted rather of some sixty-one separate stores in one building, arranged with every convenience and equipped with all conceivable appliances. It was a novel idea and its business ethics were upon a plane superior to that ordinarily

adopted. To establish it involved the employment of an army of workmen for two years, and the expenditure of over seven millions of dollars. When its doors were opened for business the first person to enter was a San Francisco newsboy, a ten-year-old street Arab, quick-eyed, quick-footed, quick-witted, electric with vitality, typical of his kind. He was seized upon as an omen of good luck by the management, rigged out in new apparel complete to every detail, submitted to a hair-cut, given a purse containing a new silver dollar, and then escorted to the place he called home by three ladies in a carriage — all of which he accepted philosophically, with the remark, "Everything goes."

In spite of the good omen, and whatever the cause, the original idea of the Emporium was abandoned, and the present company directly controls and operates the vast establishment, the proprietors having incorporated with it their former business of long standing. One of them says frankly that he has never been in favor of department stores, and the only way in which he could reconcile his aversion to them was to become the proprietor of the largest one in the state; and he supplemented his remark by the statement that there is room for only one such enterprise in San Francisco.

Even the different businesses involved in a department store, are, by the very nature of the institution in which they are gathered, in definite competition among themselves. Constant rivalry exists between them as a result of the effort of each department to aggrandize itself, if necessary, at the expense of the others. This is the spirit that characterizes the present age; and over against it one sets another spirit — that to which the future must look to redeem the errors of the present — that spirit that could sing: —

"A great city is not the place of stretch'd wharves, docks, manufactures, deposits of produce merely.
Nor the place of the tallest and costliest buildings, of shops selling goods from the rest of the earth.
A great city is that which has the greatest men and women."

Eva V. Carlin.

Berkeley, Cal.

III. CHANGES FOR THE BETTER IN DENVER.

TEN years ago Denver was enjoying the doubtful blessing known as a "boom." Times were good and people were prosperous. Then, if ever, merchants could afford to pay good wages, keep fair hours, abstain from hiring child-labor, give a fair remuneration for piece-work, and furnish convenient and sufficient sanitary appliances and lunch rooms.

Truthfulness compels the admission that employers, except in rare, individual cases, did not feel called upon to do any of these things. Maintained by one of the oldest, if not one of the most fashionable firms, a sweatshop was discovered in full operation. The low, hot, unclean room was crowded with women making shirts at less than starvation wages. Another large store furnished no retiring room of any description. The law against the employment of child labor was violated on every hand. The law compelling employers to furnish seats for employees was a dead letter, the weekly half-holiday was unknown, and many of the stores were kept open in the evenings, especially Saturday evening. In many instances wages were below the living standard, and young women,— obliged to support themselves entirely, — when they protested at the pitiful sums offered them, met with insult. It is estimated there are about two thousand women clerks in Denver. About one half of this number are entirely self-supporting, the other half living at home with their parents. Their wages range from $5 to $12 a week.

While the tragedy of underpaid womanhood goes on in much the same way the world over, the situation of the saleswomen of Denver, although still far from ideal, has been immensely bettered within the last few years. And this is true notwithstanding the fact that the merchants of Denver are under the same iron law of competition as are merchants in other cities; while they bear the additional burden of extortionate freight rates, and must pay heavy interest on indebtedness incurred during the panic year.

The Woman's Club of Denver, at the instance of Mrs.

Helen Campbell, has recently taken up in that city the work of the Consumers' League. At the conclusion of a lecture delivered by her before the club, a committee was appointed to investigate the condition of the women and children employed in the Denver stores. The committee prepared a list of questions to be asked heads of department stores, and of employers of women and children, in order to ascertain in each case whether or not equal wages are paid for work of equal value irrespective of sex; what are the minimum and average wages paid to saleswomen, to stock girls, and to cash girls; the practice as to imposition of fines and their disposition; deductions from wages for time lost from tardiness or absence; the hours constituting a day's work; overtime; observance of Saturday half-holidays; time allowed for luncheon; what vacations with pay are allowed, or compelled without pay during dull seasons; what provision is made as to seats in proportion to the number of saleswomen employed; use of the elevators by employees, and provision of ice water in summer for employees. Permission was requested to allow the committee to inspect the lunch and toilet rooms.

The members of the committee visited the principal stores of the city, and, after a month's investigation, reported:

> The school for employees at Daniels & Fisher's should prove of great benefit.
>
> A. T. Lewis & Son allow each woman and girl in their employ to choose two days each month for a vacation.
>
> The light, airy store of the Denver Dry Goods Company, with its well-ventilated and bright lunch room and its retiring room for clerks, certainly conduces to health.

It must not be supposed that the vague amiability of this roseate report indicates nothing more than the inexperience of the Woman's Club in sociological investigation. The intentional omissions in the report are probably understood in Denver and are sufficiently eloquent.

Three large stores, the Colorado Dry Goods Company, "The Fair," and "The Golden Eagle" are not even mentioned, while the compliance of the remaining firms with the League "requirements of a fair house" as to hours, wages,

and resting are not among the features the committee is glad to commend.

In addition to those above indicated, there have been other innovations undertaken, especially by the firm of Daniels & Fisher. Mr. W. C. Daniels is now sole proprietor of this house. In a recent article appearing in George's Weekly, the editor takes occasion to say:

> One of the best socialists we know in this town is William Cooke Daniels. This young man has spent twelve years traveling about the world. He has lived in every sort of civilization and under every form of government. He knows what it is that prods an Englishman on to commercialism at the expense of soul. He can feel what Frenchmen feel. He knows what the poor Egyptian feels who is forced to work in the field under the lash of the usurer. He has lived in India. He knows what the man is thinking of who lives on a cup of rice per day. He has touched flesh with the Australian. He knows what the poor devil of a Chinaman is trying to do, and he realizes the political, social, and spiritual conditions that surround the Jap. This young man returns to Denver, takes charge of the millions he inherits, remodels the great store, makes it the finest in the west, and begins at once to introduce his kind of socialism.

This store maintains a savings bank for the benefit of its employees, allowing on deposits a larger rate of interest than is paid by banking institutions. A mutual benefit and sick fund has been created, and an employee who falls ill is properly taken care of and given a chance to recover. The school for cashboys and cashgirls is open from 8.30 to 10.30 o'clock every morning, and is conducted by a young woman employed for that purpose. The children are taught "the three R's," spelling, and history. There is a Y. M. C. A. class among the boys. It has been started only recently, but already the boys are enthusiastic. Each week they receive instruction in arithmetic two nights and in gymnastics two nights. Half the expense of purchasing the tickets of membership in the association is borne by Major Daniels. It is also worthy of note that this store was the first to inaugurate the system of half-holidays on Saturdays during the summer, and that each year it has increased the length of the season during which these are given. At the present time Major

Daniels is endeavoring to secure an agreement on the part of the principal stores to close at one o'clock in the afternoon on Saturdays the year round.

There have been several reasons for this marked improvement in the condition of, and the care for employees. The chief ones undoubtedly have been the prevalence of hard times and the granting of equal suffrage. On the one hand, the panic of 1893 necessitated the discharge of many children most of whom have been sent to school, — there being no other place to send them. On the other hand, the installation of various cash and package carrying appliances has so lessened the number of children available for employment, that one under the legal age is rarely found at work in a department store.

There are stores which, throughout the year, keep open on Saturdays until late in the evening. As to this fact it must be said the blame rests with those working-people who inveigh against long hours, and yet impose them upon other working-people. These stores are the "cheap" ones where the wives of men whose overalls bear the union label go to purchase garments from eastern sweatshops. Hood, in his day, prayed that the dolorous voice of the poor might ascend until it reached the ears of the rich, but today the poor, or relatively speaking, those in straitened circumstances, are the best patrons of the bargain counter. In nothing is the poverty of the poor more clearly their destruction, than in the hard necessity which compels them to buy where they can buy cheapest, even when by so doing they lessen their own chances of existence. When through trades assemblies or labor unions, — or through any other agency or agencies, — it is possible to reach those who buy, it will be a simple thing to persuade the owners of stores unpatronized after 6 o'clock in the evening to close them at that hour. One reason why reforms so frequently fail is that they seek to deal with effects rather than with causes. He who buys is no less guilty than he who sells, whether it be shirt-waists at thirty-nine cents, cheap whisky, or aldermanic votes.

The bearing of equal suffrage on this question is plain and direct. It is undeniable that the addition of power does not lessen respect. When a woman has a voice in the government which has ordered her employer to provide her with a chair, he is more ready to acknowledge the legal connection between the woman and the seat, and in moments unoccupied in selling goods or in arranging stock, she is permitted to "crook the pregnant hinges of the knee." Every now and then some one is found who professes to believe that all voting women universally stand in street cars and elsewhere. In Denver, it may be replied, it was not until all women in Colorado had the right to vote that saleswomen were permitted to sit down at all. Another and more potent influence is to be found in the greater familiarity of women with laws made for their protection, with social conditions, and with the needs of women and children. The work of the Woman's Club in Denver, has been largely educative along lines of social reform. While much of its work has been theoretical rather than practical, it has drawn attention to existing abuses; and in some cases women have learned that the laws so much desired by them were already in existence, but were unenforced.

ELLIS MEREDITH.

Denver.

IF LIPS CANNOT TELL.

IF lips cannot tell the love hearts contain,
That sweetens all life till muteness is pain,
Can strong souls command in silence of thought,
And mastery win where bondage was sought?

ROSALIE ISABEL STUART.

Evansville, Ind.

THE WOMAN'S CONGRESS OF 1899.

ANOTHER great meeting of women has been held — in London this time, — where an International Congress was in session from June 26 to July 5. The opinions passed upon it are various and amusing, and a source of mild mirth to the careful thinker. It is hard to say what apocalyptic visions of perfection the observers must have had in mind to justify their criticism. Here was a meeting of the International Council of Women, their second quinquennial, celebrated by this vast congress.

The congress was composed of delegates to the council, members of the congress, and invited speakers. It is estimated about three thousand women were present. The meetings lasted over a week, and were held sometimes five at once; in all, fifty-seven regularly announced meetings, and many others of a more or less correlated nature. Speakers from all quarters of the globe were brought before the congress, and many of the leading movements of the day were discussed. The five main sections of the congress work were the educational, professional, legislative and industrial, political, and social. Under these heads many subsections were grouped, with numerous papers on different topics for each subsection.

In the educational section, for instance, were treated in one day, "The Child, Life and Training": (a) "Psychology of Childhood," (b) "Parental Responsibility," (c) "Education as a Preparation for Life," (d) "Connection Between Home and School Life," (e) "The Kindergarten," (f) "Teaching of Mentally and Physically Defective Children." Under these heads were given sixteen papers, and much discussion *viva voce*. The program was long and varied, treated with much care, and representing the views of leading men and women in these lines, as far as they could be brought together. Day after day the halls were filled with eager listeners. Every

seat was filled at every session, and standing room was always occupied. Many were turned away, or overflow meetings were held for them. The newspapers were in the main respectful and gave full reports of the proceedings and of the discussions.

Among noted personalities from America as speakers, were Susan B. Anthony, hailed with enthusiasm wherever she went; Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, Mrs. Stanton Blatch, Mrs. May Wright Sewall, Mrs. Annie Jenness Miller, Mrs. Maria Purdy Peck, Mrs. Felix Adler, Miss Sadie American, Dean Louise Brownell — but catalogues of names are tedious reading, and this is but a beginning. Professor Patrick Geddes was there — he who is the author, with Arthur Thompson, of that interesting and valuable work, "The Evolution of Sex" — and who is trying to preserve the beauty of "the Auld Toon" in Edinburgh from The Castle to Holyrood.

Mme. Antoinette Sterling was there, our wonderful contralto, whom England has loved so long; the first Doctor of Laws from Germany, Anita Augsperg; the first woman physician from Holland, Dr. Aletta Jacobs, of Grönigen; fascinating Mme. Shen, of the Chinese legation; Flora Annie Steele, author of "On the Face of the Waters," — and this, too, is getting to be a schedule of names. There were present women of international distinction, and women known only in their own lines of work, but most honorably distinguished therein.

One of the splendid truths brought out by these great congresses is, the beautiful fruit of honest work in any line. Here is a woman from far-away New Zealand, Mrs. Neill, another from Cape Colony, Miss M. H. Watkins; another from our own country, Miss Lavinia Dock; all on "The Professional Training and Status of Nurses"; by virtue of their experience in that one line they meet here and touch elbows, or shake hands if they please, with other women distinguished in science, in art, in the drama, in horticulture, or what not; and all by virtue of their work are invited to great houses and entertained by great ladies, even asked to Windsor by the Queen!

Here is something from which to take courage. Women, just plain women from anywhere, by virtue of doing something, and by reason of organization, become the guests of countesses and duchesses — if they wish; and meet with their own peers from all across the world. Some complained of lack of cordiality, said they did not find themselves met and greeted as they would have liked. That depends largely upon the individual. Do not wait to be greeted — greet! Go, enjoying, approving, welcoming; and if you do not meet the same spirit, at least you do not notice it. Here were all these noted women from everywhere, and all, as members of a common work, were privileged to speak.

One could seize upon Dorothea Klumpke of San Francisco, first woman to win the degree of Doctor of Science at the Académie des Sciences in Paris, head of a department in the Observatoire, one who is a credit to her country and her sex in these lines, — one could go right up to her and tell her so, if one chose; or to any one else whose name was familiar and honored.

It was not only at the sessions that we met. All London opened its doors to us. Receptions, luncheons, garden parties, teas, entertainments, official, semi-official and unofficial, public and private, were profusely offered. Those who disputed in the morning over some moot point upon the platform, could agree in the evening over the beauty and grace of the Duchess of Sutherland, or the kindness and amiability of the Countess of Aberdeen. The Bishop of London and Mrs. Creighton (would that some title might be given to a bishop's wife, or that he kept his name — she always seems such an unaccountable companion, as if one said, "The Duke of Pyecroft and Mrs. Jones") — the Bishop and his wife gave a garden party for us at Fulham Palace, and another and more sumptuous one was given by the Baroness de Rothschild and Mrs. Leopold Rothschild at Gunnersbury Park. This was of a truly oriental magnificence, reminding one of fairy-tales in its profuse splendor. The Duchess of Sutherland gave a reception at Stafford House, — the finest private

house in London,—Lord and Lady Battersea another, and the Countess of Aberdeen received and co-received and lunched and otherwise entertained the Congress, beside her constant presiding, till one marveled at her steady sweetness.

It was a great week — a week of stir and bustle and weariness, a week of accumulated impressions to last a lifetime. Men came, the captious, and criticized it. They said it was "mismanaged" — will some one kindly write a handbook on "The Management of Women's Congresses, or How to Please Three Thousand Persons?"

What do they mean by "*mis*" managed? Does any one imagine that it would be humanly possible to meet all the personal requirements of these innumerable critics? Look at the amount of work that was done; the careful thought taken; the wonderfully full and accurate "Handbook," the "Who's Who at The Congress," with its portraits and biographical notes; the immense amount of printed material, giving lists of hotels and boarding-houses or lodgings, and an endless body of information; the carefully-filled-out directions as to the name, time, etc., of each paper; and that other with the address of one's "entertainer" and exact time of entertainment. Consider what *was* done, how much and how well — do not call a thing mismanaged because latecomers were not seated; or because certain speakers were not as good as others. Many complained of the different halls in which the meetings were held — of having to go from one place to another. That was London's fault, not that of the congress. The congress could not build a place suitable to the occasion, nor hire what was not to be had! London is in many ways an old-fashioned city, and her public buildings were erected before the day of women's congresses.

"There was too much undertaken," say the carpers. Too much for what? Who shall decide what a congress shall undertake? A congress is a representative body. If in trying to bring together representative women from all over the world and to put before the public their best thought, it came about that there was a tumultuous body of eager

workers along many lines, all equally desirous of being heard, should the congress therefore cut them down in order to provide a neat and concise program to please the audience?

"The Public" are used to being entertained, and to having their entertainers cower before them and eagerly follow their whims. An international congress of women is not a form of entertainment, but a form of instruction. It seeks to show what the women of different countries are thinking and doing; and if in their present stage of advance they are thinking and doing many things partially, instead of a few things thoroughly, why the congress can but bring forth that fact. It is a record of the progress of women, and is most honest and most accurate when it shows them as they are. "The papers were so poor!" cries the critic — one accustomed, perhaps, to the work of the world's leading experts on these lines.

The papers were not poor. Some of them were very fine, many good, a few rather trivial. The reading was poor, I grant, in many cases. But public speaking, by either sex, is not made a fine art; and there is no reason why a leader in astronomy, or architecture, or nursing, should also be an expert orator. Still, with all wish to be just and considerate, there is room here for honest criticism. Even without experience or natural gift, a woman who is addressing several hundred people should at least try to reach them. They would be more sympathetic if she tried.

And one thing there was in this congress, as in any other I have ever attended, that does call for blame, severe and unmitigated. That is the refusal of a speaker to stop when the time allotted has expired. A weak voice is forgivable, an embarrassed manner is natural to many; but when the audience has watched and waited patiently for the full time, why should she of the weak voice and the embarrassed manner insist upon further taxing their patience? Time was allotted beforehand. Each speaker knew that she had twenty minutes at most, or fifteen, or ten, as the case might be;

and even if she had not the skill to cut her paper to these limits, she should, when the bell rung, have been sorry she could not condense better — and have sat down! But almost without exception the speaker was aggrieved and persistent, wrestling with the chairwoman for more time, and, when forced to retire, grumbling copiously. Can they not count? Is not the program before them? So many papers in so much time, so many minutes to each, everyone wanting to get through promptly and have time to eat! For every speaker that runs over someone else must be cut shorter, or the audience kept overtime. What gross selfishness, what discourtesy, or, at the very least, what thoughtlessness, to imagine that one's own particular paper is so much more worthy than all the others. Of course every enthusiastic speaker does think her subject of the first importance, and may think her treatment of it of superior value; but that should not weigh against common courtesy.

One of the best fruits of the increasing mobilization of women, and their freer speech, is the teaching of such large virtues as their home life has evidently failed to bring forth.

"And what, as a whole, has this congress done?" is naturally asked. "What is the good of it?" What did the critic expect? A meeting like this does not result in a series of legal enactments. It does not erect or endow or install. It teaches — teaches in a thousand ways, and starts great waves of impulse in a thousand hearts. The effects filter slowly through the lives of the people, impossible to follow and define.

Let us take one paper, and try to estimate some of its possible results; the paper on "Co-education," by Dean Louise Brownell, of Cornell University.

On its quiet simplicity, directness, clearness, easy mastery of the subject, and satisfying presentation of it, the paper itself and its perfect delivery constituted a good argument for "the higher education for women." Its claims for co-education, based on practical observation and experience, were so well established as to carry conviction to every unprejudiced

hearer. Now to measure what follows. Let us allow, in that audience, some one person as finally convinced by that paper, and that one person as having a governing influence on the future management of some institution, and introducing co-education therein. Or let us suppose several persons in the audience so influenced as to send their sons and daughters to co-educational institutes. In either case—and both are probable—the good effects of co-education are spread and multiplied among us, with a slow, unmeasured increase of good.

To put it even more loosely — the whole weight of that meeting was in favor of co-education, and must have acted, to some extent, on the prejudices of those present. It constituted one of the series of efforts by which advanced methods are slowly incorporated in our general life.

The world moves by means of some people's seeing farther than others and gradually inculcating their ideas in the minds of the others.

Every means by which these advanced ideas can be more swiftly and generally distributed is a help. These congresses are such a means and an enormous help. Now that the best thought of the world points to a fuller internationalism as our racial line of progress, everything is of service that establishes community of interest and feeling among members of different races. Women, the home-centered, the conservative, the all too narrow and personal class, — these most need to know each other. All organizations of women tend to lift the world, and this is especially true of international organizations. Human progress is not to be measured by a series of clearly defined, separate achievements, clear-cut water marks by which we can say, "in this period we rose so far" — but by the increase among us of those measures which we have proven to be beneficial, however far removed into the future, and however faint may seem their benefits.

When English piety and conservatism grapple with such a subject as the social necessity of an equal moral standard for men and women, the hopeful thing is that they are studying it at all, in spite of the possible errors in method.

When the session on temperance gives half its time to "General Principles," and the other half to "Public Control of the Liquor Traffic," it speaks more hopefully for that cause than if it were still at the crusading stage; and the fact that one session was devoted to "Protection of Bird and Animal Life" promises some good along this line, even though aigrettes "are sold more than ever"!

It is what the women of the world are *trying* to do that counts. The direction of their efforts, the improvement of their methods—these are the important facts; and the fact that their efforts may be mistaken and their methods imperfect is but the natural condition of life.

The progress marked by this great congress is extensive and valuable; and the amount and quality of executive ability brought to bear upon it, most gratifying. Twenty-seven countries were represented in the council, besides eight international societies — for peace, for abolition, for temperance, and the international union of press clubs, of "the Friends of Young Girls," the world's "Y. W. C. A.," the International Order of King's Daughters, and The General Federation of Women's Clubs.

A splendid showing was made of the specific advance of women in the arts, crafts, trades, and professions. Hot discussions were held on various questions specially prominent today in England, notably on the subject of "Special Labor Legislation for Women." The servant question presented its usual amorphous front—showing every sign of difficulty and decay, yet bolstered up by sentiment and tradition in full force. (*Why* are women so convinced that certain trades are better practised by amateurs than by professionals?)

An immense suffrage meeting was held in Queen's Hall during the congress, well attended, well managed, and well addressed. Our dear Miss Anthony was the great attraction here, as everywhere else she showed her grand white head. And what endears Miss Anthony to all hearts, quite in addition to the splendid qualities we all know in her, and what constantly surprises those who do not know her personally, is her cleverness, grace, and tact.

And Miss Anthony went to see the Queen — standing waiting in the hot sun till the royal carriage appeared and drove slowly down the line of waiting delegates. She wanted to see the woman whose reign has meant so much to England; and it is to be hoped that that much-honored lady felt how much these uncrowned heads and noble hearts were doing for the world.

Of congresses of women, the more the better — of internationalism the more the better. There is good hope for our dear world when its mother wakes up.

CHARLOTTE PERKINS STETSON.

London.

THE BEGINNING OF LIBERATION.

AS this most fateful, most fruitful of all the centuries since time began, passes on toward the dawn of the twentieth century, which, for all mankind, seems to loom up as the beginning of better life, the natural instinct is to summarize, not alone positive results, but also significant movements; and these are for the most part, of this generation. In the domain of science and in all the arts and industries, new light has been shed on every phase of their handling. Science has entered the realm of dreams. Its suggestions three hundred years ago would have meant a wholesale *auto da fé*. Now-a-days every morning paper is a Book of Revelation and fairy tales work themselves out before our very eyes.

This is on the practical side, or what we have chosen to call the practical side, of life. Take the professional and the trend is less marked, but still well defined. In theology the higher criticism is doing its own work of destruction and reconstruction. In medicine — so hidebound by conservatism, — common sense embodied in the practical sanitarian and hygienist, and by the "new thought" in all its lines,

has laid hands upon all old methods of the profession, and the drugs of a former generation are vanishing into the limbo whence they came. Even in law there is hope, for that "wilderness of single instances and codeless myriad of precedent," is in a fair way to coherent codification. Last in the list comes education, affirmed by many to be best represented in the public school, the crowning glory of American institutions; but known alike by psychologists whose business it is to study the mind of man, and by alienists and neurologists concerned with his bodily health, to be one of the strongest impelling causes toward the nervous diseases of body and brain that are the overwhelming portion of this generation, since its high pressure, no less than its cast-iron methods, weigh upon all alike.

The American child is looked upon at home and abroad as the type of utmost freedom. In reality he is at the mercy of two conditions: too much lawlessness on the one hand, and too much method on the other; before both conditions the average parent stands helpless. Lawlessness is not freedom. It is a kind of slavery that carries with it ever-increasing degradation; and, in the matter of method, our system of education has so dwarfed perception, so killed out natural initiative, so benumbed natural faculty, that half our birthright is lost by the time we are "educated." Emancipation must come, and it is nearing. In time we are to have the real child, the genuine product of the best that America has for her children. Sane parents, however, are the first requisite, and it is for them,— and for the child who still stumbles on under the shackles of the old theories, or the half-knowledge of some of the new,— that this is written.

The educational system of today has developed along lines originating in the American passion for doing the utmost in the shortest space of time. This we have accomplished; and to this record we add another: that of steadily failing health in direct ratio to the advancing grade, till the high school turns out an appalling percentage of devitalized graduates. This and other facts to be found in our vital statistics, are

showing to even the most prejudiced advocate of the present system, the inherent weakness,— and often the utter falsity, — of many of its conclusions.

"There are two great things," says a brilliant writer, "that education should do for the individual — it should train his senses, and it should teach him how to think. Education, as we know it today, does not truly do either." Educators are accepting this conclusion, and are discussing what is to come next. "The root weakness," adds the same writer, "is constant impression without a corresponding expression." This is a natural result of our system. The public school often destroys the natural working power of the child's mind, which, in its first stages, is constantly analyzing. The child grasps unconsciously the truth that all law is universal and would use analogy in all fields; as witness his constant, "Well, if that's so, then this must be so." Instead of following this natural leading, the teacher is compelled to pour a mass of material into the child's mind, and this so continuously that the mental food can by no means be assimilated, but becomes a mass of undigested information. Any chance of its subsequent expression becomes buried under successive layers of impressions.

Against this tendency manual training has sought to make its way, but in large measure the emphasis on its purely utilitarian character made it well nigh as destructive as the thing it sought to abolish. For the most part each form of it from Slöd upward has declared itself the only gospel, and its technicalities the only salvation. Yet the soul of the movement, obscured as it has often been, has shown its real face to a few; and here and there has been found a man whose eyes have been opened and whose life has been given to the real work of education.

More than twenty years ago what is probably the most genuine and fruitful movement of the century in this direction, began in a city that has held the seed of many another great endeavor. In Philadelphia, in 1878, one of our most famous alienists, Dr. Thomas Kirkbride, physician-in-chief of

the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane, had seen the necessity — and had thought out some of the methods — of advanced educational manual training. He imparted his ideas to a young man then hardly more than a student, Mr. J. L. Tadd, an artist of that city, whose own impulse toward the work was inspired and quickened by the advice and instruction of Dr. Kirkbride, whose own children, as well as some of the patients in the asylum, were taught by this method.

The thought, like other things that have opened new paths of action, was already "in the air." Charles Godfrey Leland, well known as author and poet, a many-sided man who had long kicked against the pricks of public ignorance and obtuseness in all matters of art, established in 1880 a "Public School of Industrial Art," and selected as its chief instructor Mr. Tadd, who had been actively developing plans for the instruction of large numbers. Of this school Mr. Tadd took entire charge in 1884, and for nearly twenty years he has gone on developing his methods and proving his theories by the marvelous results accomplished for thousands of children. Extraordinary patience — a quality with which the artistic temperament is not usually credited, though in fact it is a characteristic of the genuine artist in all times — has marked the conduct of the work from the beginning. An artist in every fibre of his being, Mr. Tadd is also a philosopher and a humanitarian, a student of nature and of life. Naturally, this means also that he has taken time to study the child. And now, after studying him twenty years, he gives us one of the most significant books of the century,* since it holds a demonstration which not even the profoundest sceptic can deny, photography lending its aid, and showing in profuse illustration what has been done, from the work of the tiny four-year-old child up to that of the man and woman seeking to escape their early educational limitations.

It is a stately volume which holds this long record; a book

* New Methods in Education: Art, Real Manual Training, Nature Study: Explaining Processes whereby Hand, Eye, and Mind are Educated by Means that Conserve Vitality and Develop a Unity of Thought and Action. By J. Liberty Tadd. New York: Orange Judd Co.; London: Sampson Low & Co. Large quarto, 432 pp.

in which every genuine educator may rejoice. It suggests, to use the author's own words, "new methods of education, but only such as have stood the test of many years' searching investigation and practical experience. It aims to show by actual results that art instruction, real manual training and nature study, rightly conducted and properly correlated with other studies, should begin at a tender age and continue through the elementary and higher stages of education. It is not merely a technical manual of drawing and design, of modeling and carving, of construction in wood and metal, or of the fine arts, but is designed to demonstrate the remarkable educational power of these methods when rightly used, the economy of their universal application, and their beneficial effect in helping to qualify the individual to make the most of himself or herself. It also gives an insight into the *modus operandi* of these methods, to the end that they may be more generally practised by parents and teachers, and more fully comprehended by school authorities and people of affairs." The volume is divided into five books or sections, each giving a full and minute description of the method of which it treats, and each profusely illustrated from photographs of work and of workers. Nothing so vital as the seven chapters which make up the first division has until now been seen in print. The statements are born of long experience, are full of insight as of knowledge, and are reinforced at every hand by reference and quotation from the highest authorities in psychological study, all so simply stated that even the least gifted student of life and the work to be done in it can clearly understand the page before him.

The first division defines the work to be done,—the importance of contact with things instead of with the symbols of things. It is preceded by a chapter on the development of bent or disposition, and is followed by one on the distinction between the true and the false in manual training. In short, it lays the foundation for all that follows, and at every turn gives a common-sense reason for the theory applied. The second book is devoted to manual training

drawing, the third book to modeling, the fourth to wood-carving, and the fifth to an enumeration of the applications of the methods employed. Profuse illustration makes error impossible; and the book is a treasure-house of information and suggestion for any and all who deal with education, or who study social problems and the means of betterment for all sorts and conditions of men. From cover to cover it is a protest against present methods of education, which the author, in common with all advanced educators, regards as by far too dependent on books. "Nature and experience," he insists, "are the best teachers, and by immediate acquaintance with, and direct exercise upon, the myriad forms of life do we get the best training. Children are told too much. They do not work out truths for themselves. The love of nature is a universal instinct and should be cultivated sedulously." It may be added that it rewards cultivation no less than does the art-sense. The art-sense exists in embryo in even the most ignorant — witness the amazing success of loan exhibitions and picture lending in the social settlements. Experience has shown that it grows as the individual develops, and that it can, and does, strengthen and refine him with the passing of every year. If so much can be accomplished by the cultivation of art, what may not be accomplished by the culture of nature!

Fifty years ago Emerson wrote, "We must bend to the persuasion which is flowing to us from every object in nature, entreating us to be its tongue to the heart of man." This tongue must speak first to the heart of the child who assimilates the message, but who loses capacity for its expression with every month of educational error or neglect. Character changes as the child grows, and the strongest impressions are made upon its mind before it is ten years old. The child's natural and abounding love of action is brought into line by the training of hand and eye to obey the mind and execute its orders,— orders that fit both hand and head, heart and will, to cope with the problems of life.

"Heretofore," writes the author, "much of the best energy of the country has been devoted to trade activities, to material welfare; but in the process of evolution, of differentiation of institutions, other ideas in education must prevail, and science and art be more fully considered. Material purposes have progressed, so far, at the expense of art, and industrial supremacy threatens the sacrifice of those esthetic elements that do so much to make life worth living. Machinery has largely abolished handicraft. The artistic artisan is the rare exception, whereas he should be the rule. The cause of education has been injured by a narrow commercialism that sought immediate gains at the cost of permanent advantage. The tendency has been to degrade labor and to exalt wealth, to restrict the best development of the human organism among the masses, until the world is filled with millions incapacitated for its duties, blind to its joys, lacking the hopefulness of self-confident ability, feeble in purpose, and unresponsive to spiritual influence."

This is the argument that Ruskin, in his early manhood, taught, preached, and lived, carrying it with him into the Workingman's College, where, side by side, Charles Kingsley, Frederick Maurice, and a devoted group of co-workers, sought to open up to every workman they could reach the meaning and the mission of art for the people. William Morris, who later came under the same influence, made passionate protests of its need, and Walter Crane, with less powerful personality, but no less intensity of purpose, is following in their footsteps. For one and for all is the faith that marks every page of the volume before us,—that the child, at an age supposed to be impossible, can be taught to develop symmetrically every faculty of his nature. One of the noblest and wisest of educators, Dr. William Hailman, perhaps the best expounder among us of Froebel's philosophy and the real bearing of the kindergarten movement on the future of the American people, hails the quiet, untrumpeted work accomplished in these years of experiment as one of the best omens of our national future. In an address delivered at Philadelphia, at the graduating of the teachers' classes in manual training in 1895, the keynote of which was "The hand is the projected brain through which the directing thought achieves the heart purposes of man," he pronounced it the triumphant liberation of manual and art training from

the trammels of tradition and the snares of commercial dilettanteism, believing that the system which can be, and, in many cases, has been used in the remotest district school no less than in the great institute, is "clearing the way for the advent of a truly American art which, on the one hand, will add to our industries a growing regard for grace and beauty, and, on the other hand, will hasten the time when America shall be freed from the bane of mere imitation in matters of art, when she shall rejoice in an art of her own, which in architecture and sculpture, in painting and engraving, shall symbolize, and thereby crystallize, the ideals and aspirations of the American people."

Whoever has once observed the work as it goes on in the primary and other schools under the author's charge, and here and there in a kindergarten, receives a never-to-be-forgotten impression. Children four years old, standing before a blackboard, using simultaneously both hands, draw the most intricate designs, working them out from the simple forms it had memorized by a series of reproductions till the hand forms them automatically. The alienists who have pleaded ambidexterity as one means of equalizing nerve currents, and so lessening the tendency to nervous diseases, find here the first positive demonstration of how this is to be accomplished. There are here for the psychologist also, curious hints as to the different methods that appear to be instructive at different ages. But in all these children the discipline is found producing the same result, though with greater or less speed according to natural ability. In all cases rotation of work is a first principle, the pupil producing given forms in the four departments,—drawing, designing, clay-modeling and wood carving,— thus acquiring all possible physical coördinations. From the primary grade on to the teachers' classes the work of making form in clay reinforces the drawing, and carving in wood reinforces the modeling. Designing forms in clay and wood, as well as on paper, compels originality and invention, or the exercise of the creative faculty at every step of the work.

In the various schools where the system is now in use, the method of rotation varies. "In some the pupil changes from one branch to the other at each lesson; in others at every fourth lesson; in others, again, a piece of work in each branch is finished before the change is made." This method is stimulating to the pupils and shows especially what they are best suited for. Whatever capacity the pupil may have is inevitably discovered and developed. Some of them display remarkable power, and at once enter the different classes of art work. All, however, acquire sufficient skill to enter with credit the different minor industries."

This is one result and an invaluable one. It is of no less value that the hand has acquired the power of free expression of any thought that can be pictured, and the eye gained the power of seeing all things truly. "The hand is the instrument of instruments and the mind the form of forms." This was Aristotle's reason for demanding that both should be trained together. The discovery of the best method of bringing this about is the true child study, infinitely removed from the long series of trivial experiments in vogue with one school of present-day psychologists, misleading teachers and wasting precious time that, with a better understanding, might lead to real results. The ambidextrous work of the method under consideration has been objected to by artists here and there, who count it an absurdity. But this method is never applied to either sketching or painting. It is used only for its physiological and educational value, as a means of balancing forces, and is founded on the biological statement that the more the senses are coördinated to work in harmony in the individual the better it is for that individual's health and usefulness. Maudesly formulated this thought from long observation, and realizing the comparative torpor in which lie the nerves belonging to the left hemisphere of the brain wrote:

> Every impression of sense upon the brain, every current of molecular activity, from one to another part of the brain, every cerebral reaction which passes into muscular movement, leaves behind it some modifica-

tion of the nerve elements concerned in its function, some after-effect so to speak, some memory of itself in them, which renders its reproduction an easier matter than was the initial one. The easier does it become the oftener it is repeated, and it makes it impossible to say that, however trivial, it shall not under some circumstances recur. Let the excitation take place in one of two nerve cells lying side by side, between which there was no original specific difference, — there will be ever afterward a difference between them. This physiological process, whatever be its nature, is the physical basis of memory, and it is the foundation of the development of all our mental faculties."

There are recent and minute studies of the cerebrum which show intelligence to be associated with the union of brain cells one with another, and which demonstrate the fact, that the more experience we gain through the various senses the greater will be the structural union and complexity of the brain cells. In this union there is strength to an almost infinite degree.

To teach men to see, — this has been since time began the yearning endeavor of every real teacher. "To what heights might not their intelligence be trained" said Meissonnier, "by simply teaching them to see. I would have drawing made the basis of education in all schools. It is the only language that can express all things. An outline, even if ill-shaped, conveys a more exact idea of a thing than the most harmonious sentences in the world. Drawing is absolute truth, and the language of truth should be taught everywhere."

Time has shown that the children who draw every natural form presented to them, who not only draw it but model and carve it, weaving it as they go into designs where every exquisite line memorized, whether of leaf or shell, of bird or butterfly, finds its own place in schemes of which no two are ever the same, — these children have interests so absorbing that no place remains for vice, or for the inane, vague hold on life that characterizes the larger part of mankind. "How passing fair is wisdom!" has come to be their unconscious expression of existence, and as this is the secret of all happy life, it is plain that the child who has shared such training is free, in great part, from the disabilities that hamper his elders.

Here begins the real emancipation, the deliberate setting of the feet in a path which makes its unerring way toward perfecting, in its noblest sense, every power of man. For the child whose eyes are fixed on beauty the higher beauty can never be far distant. Evil falls away unrecognized and undesired. There are new pleasures keener and more satisfying than the old ones. Even for poverty, for the struggle for a living has come amelioration, since joy may once more be part of the day's work.

Long ago, so long ago it counts as centuries, departed from labor that joy in the work of one's hands that marked, and still marks, the period in which the great cathedrals grew, in which the carving, that might rest unseen forever in some hidden or obscure corner, bore as careful a finish, — a sure imprint of the happiness of its creator, — as the statue in the public square. It was not alone the conscience of the true workman everywhere; it was happiness no less; and when that passed away, the age of sordid ugliness came and abode with us. It is still here, and still its spell lies heavy upon the years. And yet there is hope, for out of such work as this book so clearly and lovingly portrays shall come a charm which shall prevail till there remains but the memory of the evil days. Then shall we enter into the full inheritance of the beauty everywhere about us, — waiting only for recognition, yet unseen by sealed eyes, — unfelt by hearts too deeply plunged in sordidness to even care that they be opened.

HELEN CAMPBELL.

Denver.

THE CRY OF THE FUTURE.

I HEAR the rain —
The universe shedding its tears of rain
Over the flowers and fields of grain —
Over my heart that will break with pain
I hear the rain.
From across the way
Through the mists of gray
Comes the cry of the child unborn:
O give me the light
Of my own birthright
On this dark, pre-natal morn!
Give me not anger and lust and tears —
Give me not bitterness old with fears —
Give me the crown of the saints and seers,
(I hear the rain.)
Give me the mind that is yours to give —
Give me the heart that can love and live,
God-like and loyal and positive.
(I hear the rain.)
And give me the best
From the mother-breast
In the form of her whitest thought;
And measure the length
Of the father-strength
In the life of the father wrought,
And give me a soul
That is large and whole —
A soul that can sob and sing;
For this is the light
Of my own birthright
And the will of my God and king!
I hear the rain —
The universe shedding its tears of rain
Over the flowers and fields of grain —
Over my heart that will break with pain
I hear the rain.

COLETTA RYAN.

Boston.

FROM THE SUNSET SHORE.

EDUCATION AND ECONOMICS.

WHEN ten thousand American teachers came up out of the sweltering desert, and took possession of orchard-belted Los Angeles, we of the Pacific slope did not flatter ourselves that they had made their pilgrimage hither in our honor, or with a view especially to our edification. Nevertheless, we listened attentively to catch from their lips any chance lessons bearing on the development of the common and social life in America, whether here or elsewhere, or everywhere in the national domain. We did not hearken in vain, for we heard many voices uttering words of significant sociological import.

Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler gave us a word of good cheer concerning the social temper of certain memorable books on the science of education, published during the last twelve months, books by Mr. Eliot, Mr. Gilman, Gen. Walker, William James, Thomas Davidson, Bishop Spaulding, Dr. Harris, and others of like fame. "Nowhere in these books," said Professor Butler, "is there a note of pessimism or despair; nowhere is sounded the trumpet of revolution; nowhere is waved the red flag of anarchy. Neither human nature nor democratic institutions are given up for lost. All, on the contrary, are creative, hopeful, and all see a future full of promise. They have faith and they impart it. I like to think that in this highly important respect they represent the best thought and the most wide-spread popular instincts of our time." This optimistic attitude of so many of our leading educators is certainly an encouraging sign. The teachers of the country are the champions and agents of an ever wider diffusion of knowledge and the general culture

and enlightenment of the people. If, as would appear, they generally regard this as compatible with the safety of society and the sound and normal progress of mankind, their opinion should offset the cynical warnings of the croaker and the reactionary.

We regard the Hawaiian Islands as, in some sense, an extension of the Pacific coast. It was, therefore, with peculiar interest that we listened to the voice of Henry S. Townsend, Inspector-General of Schools in Hawaii, when he declared that "our schools are in a special sense and most emphatically social institutions. The great art which our pupils of the various races must learn is the art of living together in peace and harmony. Their most important lessons are those of mutual respect and forbearance." This proved to be the key-thought of the convention as regards duty and opportunity in all the newly acquired island realms of the republic. With our army fighting the Filipinos across the sea, here on this hither shore of the Pacific was a peaceful army of American citizens planning an educational campaign to follow the military conquest. War, diplomacy, and commercial enterprise were not regarded as the final solvents of the problems of expansion. The schoolmaster must play a part—the major part. The convention seemed to be about equally divided as to the policy of expansion, utterances on either side of that question calling forth enthusiastic applause. But there was unanimity upon the proposition that free and impartial education must follow closely and promptly wherever the flag is unfurled, in token of American supremacy. It was a broad and liberal policy which Dr. William T. Harris advocated in an elaborate paper on this subject. Referring to Kipling's "White Man's Burden," he said: "We, the people of the United States, agree that it is our burden to take up the education of the people of our new possessions. We must bestow upon them the products of civilized letters, industry, and science. It is generally agreed that the school is to be the great feature of the American government of our colonies. All their inhabitants must be educated, and not

merely the few." It must be confessed that this sounded more humane than much of the talk which we have heard in America about our opportunities and prerogatives in the sea-islands. The prevalence of this beneficent purpose and generous temper in the counsels of the republic may yet work out an historic justification for the attempt which we are now making to force our civilization upon the "brown man."

Dr. Harris did not entirely evade the fact that this whole question of expansion is within the jurisdiction of conscience. "What right have we," he inquired, "to impose what we call our civilization on other nations? What infallible criterion have we by which to know that our civilization really is higher than another? Why is not the Chinese, Indian, or Filipino civilization just as good as ours? These are important questions, and must be answered." This was a recognition of ethical principle so far as it went. It did not seem sufficiently profound and radical for a man who is recognized as a philosopher, as is Dr. Harris. One felt like rising and asking the eminent speaker to prove first of all that a people who have established a higher civilization, and are certain of it, have indeed a right to impose their institutions upon others by the force of arms. But this mere fundamental inquiry was permitted to rest, while Dr. Harris indicated the criteria by which a civilization is to be ranked as high or low. A definition of a civilization was given: "A people is civilized when it has formed institutions for itself which will enable each individual to profit by the efforts of every other individual, and to be aided by the experience, the wisdom, and the thought of others. There must be an increasing rational self-activity which contributes through industry or through thought to the well-being of other men and of the world. The degree of advancement of a nation is indicated by these things." Setting forth from this definition, it was maintained that the nation is most highly civilized which has most completely subdued nature and gained command of her forces; which has the best facilities for intercommunication with the

world; which has railroads for transportation and steam engines to perform its drudgery; and which has the most printing-presses and the most books, and which most reads the best books.

All these are the common and familiar specifications of a civilized status, surface indications of human progress. But the chief interest attaches to a distinctly and radically democratic utterance of Dr. Harris indicating a more profound characteristic of a higher civilization. "Another criterion of civilization is its universality. Mastery of nature and knowledge of the achievements of the race may be far advanced in a country and yet be confined to the few, and not available for all. Such a country is lower in the scale of civilization than that which allows each citizen to participate in its blessings. The nation which allows self-government to the humblest is higher in the scale than that which confines government to the privileged few. The highest ideal of a civilization is, that it should be engaged in elevating the lower classes into a participation in a good and reasonable and increasing self-activity."

Well, if indeed we are destined to expand into the four quarters of the globe, may this be the type and style of the institutions which we shall plant everywhere beneath the stars and stripes.

One of the white man's burdens, and a heavy one, is that of enormous armies and prodigious navies, multiplying taxes and national debts, and diverting the attention of the people from the higher ideals of civilization. Herein, too, lies a new and formidable danger to democratic America. With the near spectacle of our neighboring state of Idaho under martial law, and civil processes suspended, we hoped to hear from the teachers of America some emphasized lesson upon this subject. It came early, during the opening address of President Lyte, in one of the strongest utterances of the session, and applauded to the echo, against militarism. There was no mistaking the sense of the association on this point, and Principal Lyte's words were none too vigorous for the ex-

pression of its temper. He said: "Our history has demonstrated that we have no need of a great standing army. It has demonstrated that in every state may be found an army ready at a moment's notice to defend our flag from every foe. And this army is not marshaled by military chieftains, but by educational chieftains. A strong nation is made not by barracks for troops, but by schoolhouses for children; not by rifled cannon and mauser bullets and war vessels, but by books and newspapers and churches. That nation is strong whose citizens obey the law without seeing a standing army behind the law. We may need an army to subjugate the Philippines, but the United States would be distinctly lowered in moral tone if it should ever become necessary to maintain permanently within the states themselves a great standing army, to secure to its inhabitants the blessings of peace."

We are preëminently practical on the Pacific Coast. Here nine men out of ten see nothing valuable in education unless it tends directly to develop and train a youth's dollar-making powers, or fit him for some industrial task. If the school has prepared the man with a hoe for his corn-row, and made him content beside it, well and good! So, also, if the railroad magnate can trace his success to the discipline of the schoolhouse; otherwise, "What is the use?" Now we had imagined that this demand for a direct utilitarian bearing of the school upon the work-a-day life, might be characteristic of only the western land, or the toiling and delving people of this sunset shore. But we heard the eastern educators telling us that "we have become more of an industrial and commercial nation than we were thirty years ago," and therefore "school education must take into consideration the adjustment into industrial conditions when framing courses of study, and must lay stress on adjustment to the practical demands of life." Accordingly, one of the important sections of the program of the association was that of business education; and the problem of commercial high-schools and mechanic-arts or trades high-schools, was urgently pressed upon the general sessions. Thus it would appear that everywhere in

America the ideal of culture is destined to give place in some large degree to the practical demands of utility. Furthermore there is a marked tendency to differentiate us into more strictly characteristic groups, both professional and industrial, separated by specialized faculty as developed and trained in the schools. What the ultimate sociological effect will be remains for the future to demonstrate.

Evidence of the decided and irresistible set of our times toward the practical, is to be found in the fact that while the National Educational Association was deliberating its high problems, the first regular meeting of the Southwestern Commercial Congress was in session in the same city. The attendance upon this congress was lost among the legions of educators, but the assembly represented New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, Nevada, and Southern California. The members were inclined to the usual enthusiastic praise of all this southwest section of the country, conceiving of it as on the threshold of a material prosperity and advancement equal to the most sanguine hopes, and as being more valuable to the country for industry and trade than all the Philippine islands. These things are here mentioned in order to put in the claim that upon this showing the southwestern portion of this country has an exceptional chance to become a great moral community. That is, if Prof. Byron C. Mathews, of Newark, N. J., is right. His paper before the Educational Association exalted the study of economics as the foremost of educational agencies "for producing ethical impressions." If this be so, does it not follow that distinctly industrial and commercial communities may be expected to exhibit exceptional moral traits? Or do we here once more fall on that old and fatal contrariety, the variance between the ideal right and the actual deeds of men?

EDWARD B. PAYNE.

San Francisco.

SAN FRANCISCO'S NEW CHARTER.

THE charter of the city and county of San Francisco is one of the newest and most radical of all the city charters yet adopted in this country. It has received very general attention from those interested in municipal government, and well deserves the notice of the mass of readers. It is a remarkable example of the revolutionary trend of modern thought as regards municipal affairs. It has successfully passed the legislature, and has received the assent of the governor. Next November elections will be held and officers chosen according to its provisions, if, in the meantime, it successfully runs the gantlet of the courts.

It is a curious instrument. Yet it has up to the present time provoked but little hostility from any quarter. The great corporations have not harassed it in its passage through the legislature, and the reformers have not displayed any great enthusiasm on its behalf. The only people bitterly antagonistic to it are the professional politicians of the baser sort. It is threatened at the present time by a combination of office-holders who will go out of office with the installation of officials elected under the provisions of the charter, and who will have enjoyed but twelve months' pay and place instead of the two years' position to which they consider themselves entitled.

The instrument bears upon its face the marks of the social and political struggle of the times. The rapid growth of collectivist sentiment alone prevents it from being considered radical. Five years ago it would have been reckoned almost revolutionary; today it is not regarded with alarm even by the conservative. It is a compromise, but a compromise which by no means settles the question. In this fact lies the reason of the toleration with which it is generally regarded. The reactionaries and the corporations, foreseeing the storm, consider that they have so far made a fortunate escape, and

put their trust in the courts should trouble arise. The forward party are rather flattered than discouraged by what they have gained. The radicals base their hopes upon its possibilities as a future weapon of offense.

The origin of the new charter is worth noting. At the very outset Mayor Phelan showed much acumen and political sagacity. He nominated a committee of one hundred persons chosen proportionately to the votes polled by their respective political parties at the preceding municipal election. Even the socialists, who had polled three per cent., were represented by three delegates. This committee then proceeded to make a draft of a charter. The municipal specialists put forward their pet proposals, sometimes to the almost comical dismay of the business men who knew little or nothing of the new ideas shaping themselves in the mind of the electorate. The result of the labors of this committee was the charter, practically in the shape afterwards adopted. The policy of the mayor was justified. The committee had produced an instrument fairly representative of the public sentiment. Whatever else may be said of the charter, it undoubtedly reflects public opinion. But public opinion is, after all, not very well educated in municipal affairs.

On December 27, 1897, a board of freeholders was elected, as provided for in the state constitution. This board was charged with the duty of preparing a charter for the city. The board thereupon divided itself into fifteen committees, each of which undertook some particular department of city administration, and in due time prepared a charter, chiefly from the draft above described. This charter was submitted for approval of the citizens at the succeeding municipal election, and was accepted. Thereafter it passed the state legislature, and was approved.

The charter consists of sixteen articles, named respectively Boundaries, Rights and Liabilities, Legislative Department, Finance and Taxation, Executive Department, Legal Department, Department of Public Works, Public Schools and Libraries, Police Department, Fire Department, Depart-

ment of Public Health, Department of Elections, Acquisition of Public Utilities, Civil Service, Park Commissioners, Bonds of Officials, Miscellaneous.

The board of supervisors is composed of eighteen members elected for two years, and drawing each a salary of $1,200 a year. Ex-mayors are allowed a voice in the deliberations of the board, but possess no vote.

The principle of the initiative is admitted with regard to ordinances, which before would have depended entirely upon the discretion of the board of supervisors. It is provided when a petition shall be presented to the board of election commissioners, signed by fifteen per cent. of the number of voters who went to the polls at the preceding municipal election, asking that an ordinance set forth in such a petition be submitted to a vote of the electors of the city, "The board of election commissioners must submit such proposed ordinance to the votes of the electors at the next election." The tickets used in such election shall contain the words, "For the ordinance" (stating the nature of proposed ordinance), and "Against the ordinance" (stating the nature of the proposed ordinance). If a majority of the votes favor the proposed ordinance it shall go into effect without any further interference on the part of the mayor or board of supervisors, upon the proclamation of the votes by the board of election commissioners within thirty days of the poll.

Such is the famous provision for the initiative. Its present value is small, particularly when the apathy of the great mass of the town population regarding municipal questions is taken into consideration. What its power might be when wielded by a determined revolutionary party, can only be answered after the event.

The maximum working day and the minimum wage are provided for in the matter of municipal employment. One of the duties of the board of supervisors is to "fix the hours of labor or service required of all laborers in the service of the city and county, and to fix their compensation, provided that eight hours shall be the maximum hours of labor in any

calendar day, and that the minimum wages of laborers shall be two dollars per day." The same conditions are laid down in the case of work contracted for by the city and county of San Francisco. This provision appears to be so framed as to avoid the evils arising from sub-contracting, for it states that "Every contract for work to be performed for the city and county must provide" that eight hours shall be the maximum and two dollars a day the minimum, and that "any contract for work to be performed by the city and county, which does not comply with the provisions of this section, shall be null and void, and any officer who shall sign the same shall be deemed guilty of misfeasance, and upon proof of such misfeasance, shall be removed from office." The statutory limitation of the hours of labor and the fixing of a minimum wage, always constitute so much actual gain, and in these respects the charter is deserving of much commendation, though of course the concessions can by no means be considered as constituting the limit of labor's demands in these respects.

Article XII. of the new charter is one of the most striking in the whole instrument. It begins with the statement: "It is hereby declared to be the purpose and intention of the people of the city and county that its public utilities should be gradually acquired and ultimately owned by the city and county." It is then provided that within one year from the time that the charter shall go into effect, and "at least every two years thereafter until the object expressed in this provision shall have been fully attained": i. e., the ownership by the city of the public utilities; the supervisors must procure through the city engineer plans and estimates of the cost of construction of public utilities such as the "supervisors or the people by petition may designate." The initiative in the direction of its ownership of a public utility may be taken as another matter by a petition signed by fifteen per cent. of total poll at the last election.

There is a brave air about this article, but one is still left with the impression that it will prove a poor soldier. The

whole question of public utilities — a very indefinite expression — bristles with legal difficulties and dangers, and corporations do not surrender easily, even to a popular vote.

The civil service provisions are worth noticing. Immediately upon the taking effect of the charter, the mayor is required to appoint "three persons known to be devoted to the principles of civil service reform." These shall constitute a civil service commission. They are to go out of office at the end of one, two, and three years respectively. Each year a commissioner shall be appointed by the mayor to fill the vacancy caused by the expiration of a term of office of a commissioner. Not more than one commissioner shall belong to the same political party at one time. It is the duty of these commissioners to classify the places of employment which are under civil service rule, and to provide for examinations for those positions. Such examinations shall be public, competitive, and free. In the case of laborers, priority of application shall alone govern their selection. Special provision is made that no question in the examinations shall refer to political or religious affiliations. It is enacted, also, that "no person or officer shall by himself or in coöperation with other persons, defeat, deceive, or obstruct any person in respect to his or her right of examination; or falsely mark, grade, estimate, or report upon the examination or proper standing of any person examined hereunder, or aid in so doing; or make any false representations concerning the same, or concerning the person examined, or furnish to any person any special or secret information for the purpose of either improving or injuring the prospects or chances of any person being appointed, employed, or promoted."

The school department is placed under the control of a board of education, consisting of four school directors appointed by the mayor and drawing a salary of $3,000 each. These directors are to devote their entire time to the duties of their office. This board has the power of issuing and revoking teachers' certificates, but it is expressly provided that no revocation shall be made except for "insubordination,

immoral, or unprofessional conduct, or evident unfitness for teaching." The board must also provide for the prompt payment not later than the fifth day of the month, of the salaries of teachers, and all other employees of the school department. For this purpose an amount not exceeding twenty-eight dollars for each pupil in average daily attendance during the preceding fiscal year, is to be put aside and left untouched until the end of the current fiscal year, except for the purpose of paying such salaries. On or before the first Monday in April an estimate of the amount required for such fund, within the limit of twenty-eight dollars per child, shall be made out and transmitted to the auditor by the board.

This method may perhaps put an end to the scandals which have occurred through the neglect of the payment of teachers' salaries.

The superintendent of education is *ex officio* a member of the board of education, but possesses no vote in that body. It is his duty to see that the regulations of the board of education are carried out, and that no religious or sectarian book or teachings are allowed in the schools. He, with the assistance of his four deputies, who are to be teachers of at least ten years' successful experience, must visit and examine the schools at least twice a year. He must report to the board in regard to course of study, text-books, etc. Every month he must make a report to the board upon the standing of the schools examined. He must examine candidates for teachers' certificates, and recommend the revocation of certificates, but only for the causes mentioned above.

This attempt to grapple with the public education question is bold and strong, and is, at the least, an honest effort to rid the schools of the curse of politics. It should secure a much more orderly system than has hitherto prevailed. Already its effects are apparent, even before the charter has actually gone into operation. This year an official examination was made of the grammar schools, which produced some startling results, startling at all events to those who have any great faith in present methods.

The power placed by the charter in the hands of the mayor ought to be noticed. It is another evidence of the tendency to increase the authority and responsibility of the mayoralty. Of course this is not only vicious from a democratic standpoint, but it is fraught with certain very real dangers.*

The mayor must observe the official conduct of public officers, inspect and see that all books and records of all departments are kept in legal and proper form, recommend to the heads of the various departments such measures as he considers to be called for, and see that the laws of the state and the ordinances of the city are observed. He must require that all contracts and agreements with the city and county are faithfully kept and properly performed. He must take steps to revoke, cancel, or annul all franchises that have been forfeited in whole or in part, or which are void and not binding upon the city. He may also postpone final action on any franchise. He has the power of appointment of all officers of the city and county, whose election or appointment is not otherwise provided for. When a vacancy occurs in an office and no provision is made by the charter or by law for filling it, the mayor has the power of appointment for the unexpired term. He is *ex officio* president of the board of supervisors, and may convene special meetings of the board for the discussion of particular subjects.

If the mayor should be temporarily unable to perform his duties, a member of the board, to be chosen as president of the board, shall act as mayor *pro tem.* Should a vacancy occur in the mayoralty the board of supervisors shall fill the office for the unexpired term.

It must strike the reader that the placing of such an accumulation of power in the hands of one individual is somewhat of a risky experiment. Yet it is only an example of the course which is being generally followed in all new charters.

* It is a suggestive fact that while the tendency of municipal development in the United States is in favor of strengthening the power of the executive, in Great Britain his powers are minimized. Those model municipalities, Birmingham and Glasgow, are governed by councils with full powers, the mayor or chairman being merely a presiding officer.—EDITOR OF THE ARENA.

The idea is to create an elected boss to fight the party bosses. The consolidation of power in the hands of the mayor can only be regarded with tolerance as a step in the direction of the elimination of the mayoralty. The abolition of the office and the placing of the entire control in the hands of the board, subject to an imperative mandate, would be safer and at least as effective, particularly when the initiative and referendum are in full operation.

It will be seen, even from this very slight sketch, that the charter possesses sufficient novelty to make its operation an object of interest.

AUSTIN LEWIS.

San Francisco.

WORKERS AT WORK.

VI.—JAMES A. HERNE IN "GRIFFITH DAVENPORT."

THAT spiritual quality commonly termed "the artistic instinct," may more broadly be regarded as a well-developed sense of the eternal fitness of things; it is this quality that stamps the work of a worker to whom the American stage owes a development as distinctive as that given to our plastic art by Eastman Johnson, to our fiction by Bret Harte, and to our verse by James Whitcomb Riley. Realist in the sense opposed to the artificial, James A. Herne long ago established his place as an interpreter of American life and character; a painter of things as he sees them —

For the God of things as they are.

His dramatic interpretations present life with all the power of reality to impress the mind and stir the emotions, yet he resists the temptation to squander his soul in those long

drawn-out agonies of analysis and painfully minute invoices of emotions to which the realistic school in fiction has accustomed us. The genius may succeed in giving an esthetic interest to the portrayal of processes; it is at least a question whether or not he is justified in such an expenditure — such a sacrifice. That game is not worth the candle. Avoiding, on the one hand, the extreme of the purpose play that defeats its purpose through excess of insistence on the moral it should only point, and, on the other, that exhibition of mere technique, in which substance is sunk in form, and the meaning of the matter is lost in the manner of its shaping, Mr. Herne's art deals with results rather than with processes. He obtains his effects without strain and in an entirely natural way — he has a story to tell and he tells it. "Shore Acres," despite Grossmith's musical burlesque, may not be "The Great American Drama," but its truth to nature in scene and situation, its strong local color, and, above all, the distinct and vital humanness of its character-painting, entitle it to high rank as a dramatic work, while its picture of American conditions and its revelation of possibilities of heroism in the homely and the humble, mark it as essentially American in more than a geographical sense.

"Griffith Davenport" is a natural development of "Shore Acres." The play is a dramatization of Helen Gardener's novel, "An Unofficial Patriot," a story of the south, in which the gathering of the storm, that broke in the war between the states, is finely shown from a peculiarly interesting, although neglected, side. The hero is a Virginian and a Methodist circuit rider, impelled by conscience, first to free his slaves, and finally to espouse the Union cause. He is, in consequence, ostracized and driven from home by his old friends and neighbors. Early in the great contest a crisis arises, in which the preacher is called on to prove his patriotism by serving as guide to the Federal forces advancing through the Valley of Virginia. A sharp mental struggle arises between loyalty to his native state, emphasized by his wife's passionate pleading, and his sense of duty to the right. It is, of course, a

struggle whose outcome is foreseen in the very character of the man. From Mr. Herne's entrance in the first act, until the curtain falls on the last, the audience is moved in constantly increasing degree by the great underlying thought of the character he interprets, and of the play as a whole. Beginning as a mere spark faintly discerned amid the ashes on the hearth, this thought mounts higher and higher as the play proceeds, until at last one's soul is filled by its warmth and illumination. The thought that shines thus through the actor's presentation of the character of Griffith Davenport is that of the old Greek's splendid saying, *Character is Destiny.*

The story itself is a good one, and well worth reading. It owes much of its *vraisemblance*, no doubt, to the fact that in the novel the author but thinly disguises an actual history, "all of which she saw and part of which she was," — the experiences of the fictitious Griffith Davenport being in reality those of her own father.

In adapting the story, Mr. Herne, freed from the limitations of "fiction founded on fact," has made excellent use of both material and motif, while boldly changing and molding scenes, incidents, action, and even characters to meet the exigencies of dramatic harmony. The result is a play presenting a thoroughly artistic picture of American life in one of its most interesting phases, and at a critical epoch in our national evolution. So perfect a dramatization of so intensely interesting a theme, is not, perhaps, calculated to catch the ears of the groundlings at once, but it will hold the boards long after most of the "war dramas," that now make meretricious appeal to the morbid militarism of the moment, are forgotten. Somewhat significant is the fact that the play scored an instant success in that most American of American cities, Washington, where the faithfulness of its depiction of antebellum southern life and character was quickly recognized by audiences in large part contemporary with the time and familiar with the setting of the play, and that it appealed with almost equal force to the audiences that filled the house at every performance in Boston, while in New York it almost

fell flat. It could hardly expect a hearing amid the libidinous orgie to which metropolitan playhouses, are, at this time, so largely given over — a dissipation which the French politely attribute to *fin de siècle décadence*, but which is merely one of many appearances of "the mark of the beast" that stamps materialism in its rankest jungle growth. The incident fitly illustrates the paralyzing influence of the dominant commercialism on all that makes for the higher beauty and grace of life. At the same time, we may be encouraged to hope that so extreme a development, indicates a turning point in the disease, and that when the fever has been exhausted, the robust wholesomeness of latent spiritual forces will assert itself. Happily, New York is not America as Paris is France. We may be still, to some extent, under the influence of the old conventions established when there was reason for deference to metropolitan standards, and which made it well-nigh impossible to put a play "on the road" until it had received the seal of New York's approval. But this prestige seems likely to pass with the surrender of New York's sovereignty in things spiritual, for sovereignty in things temporal. A production which had a year's run at a Broadway house, attended nightly by Gotham's "best people," was recently received with a white frost in San Francisco and within a week was suppressed by the police there as "an indecent performance." If matters keep on in this way, it will not be long before a New York success will discredit, rather than commend, a play to lovers of good plays and good acting in "the provinces." In the case of "Griffith Davenport," New York's neglect is certainly to be counted in favor of the play.

Buffon's saying, "The style is the man," true in every field of expression, is particularly true in the art of acting. At first sight it seems a far cry from the New England lighthouse keeper in "Shore Acres" to the Virginia patriot-preacher in "Griffith Davenport." In every outer indication, one character is the very antithesis of the other. It is, therefore, no small proof of Mr. Herne's versatility, that he is as much at home in the soft cadences of the idiom and

accent peculiar to the Old Dominion, as in the nasal twang and insistent upper register of Yankeedom. But under all these differences, which receive at his hands a treatment that extends artistic intention and attention even to the most delicate shading, there is a deep and vital unity — a unity which, after all, is the largest and realest thing in the American character, and one certain sense of which is communicated in the subtle suggestion of Mr. Herne's acting.

Mr. Herne is particularly fortunate in his support. The part of Katherine Davenport, the wife, being admirably filled by Mrs. Herne, while their daughters, Chrystal and Julie, in the ingenue parts, contribute largely to the color and feeling with which quaint, homely, and hospitable old Virginia is brought upon the boards.

The psychology of his art reveals the man under the actor, the living soul experiencing in himself the human revolt against unjust conditions, the human aspirations toward better things, the chastening and the cheer of the vision of love that looms large and real before the man who yields himself with true insight and steady faith to its leading. We understand why Mr. Herne should be almost as well known as a radical social reformer as he is as an actor. More and more the artist blends in the humanitarian, in the great social movement of the day, which owes so much to the leading of such artists as Ruskin and Morris, Walter Crane and Bernard Shaw.

I thought of this when we shook hands and talked face to face for a moment behind the scenes, the first night of "Griffith Davenport" at the Boston Theater. It was a warm night and Mr. Herne had pulled off Griffith's gray wig, although he still wore the long, clerical, black coat, dust covered, as after a hard day's riding. His closely clipped hair reveals a skull of rarely symmetrical outline, while the finely sensitive nose and mouth are well balanced by the decided frontal development which physiognomists associate with the perceptive faculty. Modest almost to shyness, he is open as the day in manner and expression. And this openness is emphasized

by the lighting up of his eyes and the warmth of his hand-clasp, as by the sympathetic tones in which he himself flows out freely in friendly converse and invites the same frankness and freedom in his listener. In response to my request for his opinion as to "Griffith Davenport" compared with "Shore Acres," he said frankly:

"From the artistic point of view, 'Griffith Davenport' is a distinct advance over 'Shore Acres.' It is complex where 'Shore Acres' is simple, picturing human conditions rather than human nature. Of course, at bottom, it is human nature that is mirrored in both plays. What I mean is, that in 'Griffith Davenport' the workings of this wonderful human nature are displayed as modified by certain distinct and peculiar social conditions, of intense interest, perhaps, yet requiring to be understood before the resulting emotions, ideals, struggles, sacrifices, and conquests are appreciated and enjoyed. The social conditions pictured in 'Shore Acres,' while, of course, having sufficient local color to give them concrete verity, closely resemble the conditions with which we are all fairly familiar from actual personal contact in our own day. In 'Griffith Davenport,' on the contrary, the conditions are peculiar to a time and place now unfamiliar, and these in themselves so largely affect the psychological development of the characters, that a clear grasp of them is essential. This, I fear, is against the present popularity of the play. The average theatergoer comes to a play to be entertained, and is too weary to coöperate in the process. He refuses to think. Hasn't he paid for his seat at the box-office, and so paid other people to think for him? He is like the Shah of Persia who, when invited at the court ball in London to dance, replied that he was rich enough to hire girls to dance for him. People who really want to enjoy such a play as 'Griffith Davenport' must bring their brains as well as their pocket-books to the theater. So, while I have been more than gratified by the congratulations that have poured in on me from genuine critics and lovers of the drama, I hardly look for a popular success for the play in the present state of the public taste in things theatrical."

It says much for Mr. Herne's unselfish devotion to his art that, foreseeing from the first the unlikelihood of scoring a financial success with the new play, he still felt warranted in the sacrifice of time, money, and energy involved in its production this season. This truly is "work for the work's sake," and the world will be better when we have more of it. For my own part, I cannot help feeling that Mr. Herne is over-pessimistic, both as to the possibilities of popular appreciation of genuine art and as to the demands of "Griffith Davenport" on intellectual activity. As Mr. Herne himself has pointed out in his essays on the mission of the stage, in The Arena and elsewhere, love of the beautiful is inborn in the soul of man and his response to it is unerring if only he is brought under its influence sufficiently to call out the latent faculties of discrimination and enjoyment. The only remedy for the abuses of liberty is more liberty, as Burke has finely said. So the only remedy for public failure to appreciate art is more art. As William Morris has told us, we shall never have a national art worthy of the name until art becomes the possession of the common people and is part of the common life. Under the present system of production for private profit this is, of course, impossible. How it may be brought about is perhaps suggested by the success of the state-supported theater in Germany. But this is a digression.

Curious reflections as to the rapidity with which we live now are suggested by the fact that, although Mr. Herne would not be called an old man, the conditions depicted in his new play, and actually contemporaneous with his first appearance on the stage forty years ago, seemed to me — and, I assume, to the majority of his audience — almost as remote as those of a play of Shakespeare's. We of the present generation are too close in time to the slavery struggle to get its perspective — too far from it in thought and ideals to realize it at once with clearness. Its appeal to us is purely historical and philosophical. "Uncle Tom's Cabin," if brought out now for the first time, either as a story or a play, would fall flat. Its success was due entirely to its appearance at

an hour when popular feeling regarding slavery was at white heat. "Griffith Davenport" on the artistic side is immensely superior to "Uncle Tom's Cabin," and its interest will, therefore, be more lasting. This suggests the one important criticism on the play in its present form. It is lacking in regard for the standpoint of the audience, disregards almost wholly the change in point of view that we have undergone in the last twenty years. The fault is not merely a negative one; a great play is not for an age, but for all time; but, curiously enough, in certain important features "Griffith Davenport" does appeal directly and indirectly to the audience of forty years ago. One is struck, also, by certain excesses in which the artistic instinct of the playwright seems to have been overborne by the unthinking enterprise of the business manager. Such, for instance, is the inartistic obtrusion of the negro chorus in season and out of season. They are entirely too much in evidence, clouding and confusing the effects of the finer psychological study presented by the play in the main, and lowering its dignity. The cruel slave-owner might also, with advantage, be toned down a bit, and if he must shoot his escaping victim, the audience might be made aware of the fact otherwise than by the victim's dying on the stage. These, of course, are minor points, but trifles in execution sometimes mar the most meritorious conceptions. "Hearts of Oak," "Shore Acres," and "Griffith Davenport" present a progressive trilogy of plays vital with the genuine American spirit. The last is the greatest, and in its faults, as in its qualities, is earnest that greater triumphs are still in store for their author and interpreter.

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GOETHE'S RELIGION.

WHEN Esajas Tegnér, the noble Swedish bishop and poet, crowned with laurels the head of Adam Oehlenschläger, pronouncing him the poet-king of the Scandinavian North, he concluded his impressive versified oration by stating, "The crown belongs to Goethe." The sentiment of these words seems still to constitute the general opinion of Goethe's transcendent genius, yet this poet's alleged adversity to religion, Christianity, and Christian ethics, is so frequently commented upon, and so often has his sarcastic remark, "I am a heathen," been repeated, that the tendency to tear from his head the crown which he himself can defend, in our day, only indirectly, appears to be popular, even with the most successful critics and commentators. But apart from the question of defending his position as an interpreter of human ideals, the problem of Goethe's relations to the religious movements of his time and of former ages, is not devoid of interest, although — shall we say unfortunately? — of no cogent import to our appreciation of the man as poet and teacher.

Poets may, or may not, exercise their talents to the benefit of the world at large without supporting a positive religion; but if inspired with faith, and if possessing the Tennysonian gift of infusing it into their creations, these may gain in positiveness what they would otherwise lack.

Positiveness is craved more or less by all persons whose minds crave poesy — and there are many more who crave it than is generally supposed. Hence, whenever a great man leaves us, the question of his religious views is generally advanced. The faith of Gladstone, Huxley, Schiller, or Goethe, is no immaterial matter, though these men cannot even save their own souls, much less those of other men. And why? Because the men whose thoughts have been instrumental in moving the world, may also be supposed to

have plunged more deeply into life's depths, and to be in better position, for that reason, to reveal the direction of the mysterious undercurrents, than we, who move about the surface.

An unbeliever, a pantheist, a heathen ;— to Goethe's name all these appellatives have been added by those to whose religious views Goethe failed to conform.

The poet himself tells how a pious spirit reigned in the Frankfort home, and how the children received a religious education outwardly satisfactory in all respects. "But," he adds, their Protestantism, in its doctrinal aspect, "consisted essentially in a sort of dry moral that edified neither hearts nor souls." Wolfgang heard a great deal of the numerous sects, one more purely "Christian" than the other, that vied with one another in approaching God. He became thoroughly familiar with the scriptures, and learned "all that is essential to become a Christian"; but the application of this training to the needs of his own development was never made, and all that he gained was "an impression." Grimm, in his "Life and Times of Goethe," tells eloquently of the church movements at the time of Goethe's youth, mentioning the fact that a theological education was often considered equivalent to Christian training, and forgetting that church members were, as a rule, so far as Protestantism is concerned, very little concerned in Christian worship. Instead of experiencing an uplifting of the heart towards Christ, each man commonly had on hand a stock of private doctrinal speculations. Many congregations were, therefore, more dead than alive, although churchgoers never became scarce.

Goethe was, he declares, a faithful believer in the first article, until, in 1755, Lisbon was swallowed by a fearful earthquake. He asked himself how God, the creator of this great universe, could permit such devastation. He became puzzled and skeptical. In this period "a gentle spiritual rendering of the truths of Christianity, not the ossified thing of standing formulas and propositions," would have lifted these doubts from the keen young mind; but instead, Dr. Fresenius,

who prepared the boy for confirmation, taught him theology, never doubting the sufficiency of doctrine and dogma to create in his pupil's mind a higher life, and never observing the necessity of interpenetrating with the word of Life the young soul intrusted to his care.

The children, who learned several languages, preëminently the classic ones, once devised a novel to be written by them conjointly. It was so arranged that their school exercises should form chapters of this work, which would be composed partly as *Dichtung*, partly as *Wahrheit*. As Jew-German occurred sporadically in these treatises, Wolfgang felt the necessity of studying Hebrew. Soon he was deeply immersed in the Old Testament, but the text attracted his attention before the language itself. Now he became aware of such problems as the stopping of the sun, Cain's wives, etc., perusing voluminous commentaries that would never suffice to relieve him of his great doubts. Any and all touchstones to which he might have turned were hidden from view, and all he gained from these Biblical studies was a certain "*sittliche Bildung*."

Yet, his mind being young and receptive, he craved a richer spiritual life; was possessed, in fact, of an ardent longing toward great spiritual revelations — a longing that followed him to the end, as he describes it in "Faust":

> But, ah! I feel though will thereto be stronger
> Contentment flows from out my breast no longer.
> Why must the stream so soon run dry and fail us?
> Therein I've borne so much probation!
> And yet, this want may be supplied us;
> We call the supernatural to guide us;
> We pine and thirst for revelation —

These occupations were discontinued, however, when he left home for Leipsic, and was thrown into a sphere of life from which he extricated himself, ultimately, with a wounded heart, and in which he dwelled long enough to be "scared back on himself," awakening with a burning desire for —

> — the highest life for which I'm panting.

Goethe's university years passed without manifestations of a positive belief. On the seventh day of December, 1768, while staying at home, he was taken sick suddenly and violently, and his mother, of whose piety we have abundant testimony, opened the Bible at random, trying to gather in this manner, certain advice. Her eyes rested upon Jeremiah xxxi. 5: "Thou shalt yet plant vines upon the mountains of Samaria." She lived to witness the fulfilment of the prophecy.

After his recovery from this illness Goethe remained at home for some time, engrossed by religious and alchemistic studies. Only "as a matter of form" did he partake of the Lord's Supper. He was an enthusiastic advocate of spiritual freedom; but the dark and mysterious subjects to which he had turned his attention, gave to his religion, nevertheless, a pietistic turn, so he did not feel the freedom of which he speaks at a later period of his life — that of a truly pious opening of his heart to divine truths and divine love. His relations to Fräulein von Klettenberg, a lady of true Christian convictions, — Lavater mentions her as "the Sabbath of my journey," — did not work out according to her wishes, yet she always anticipated a happy termination of his struggles.

After his arrival in Strasburg, in 1770, he declared, "The heavenly Physician has renewed the flame of life in my body, and I have joy and courage again." To a friend he wrote: "I am changed, greatly changed, for which I thank my Savior. I thank him, too, that I am not what I might be." Luther says: "I dread my good works more than my sins." And while young, one is complete in no respect. This is one of the very few written passages where Goethe mentions Christ, *his* Savior.

Still, before 1772, when he started for the town of Wetzlar, a change seems to have taken place in him. Kestner thus describes this period:

> He [Goethe] is not what is termed orthodox; still this is not from pride, or caprice, or desire to play a part. And on certain great subjects he will open his mind only to a few; would fain avoid to disturb others

in their tranquil beliefs. Indeed, he hates *scepticismum;* seeks truth and conviction on certain great subjects; thinks, too, that he is already convinced as to the weightest; so far, however, as I have observed, is not as yet. He goes neither to church nor to the Lord's Supper, and rarely prays; for, he says, "I am not hypocrite enough for that." At times he is tranquil as to certain matters, at times anything but tranquil. He reveres the Christian religion, but not in the form in which our theologians present it.

If the Savior of whom he formerly wrote is yet *his* Savior, we cannot learn here. But, he writes, "I thank God, and often his son (!), when I can." Indeed, there is no evidence in favor of Goethe having ever since denied the divinity of Christ.

By this time his poetical genius began to lift its wings from amidst vague impressions and varied studies. The Faust career was inaugurated with a yearning greater than — and yet akin to — that of any other human being that is conscious of a world beyond that of his own. Goethe expressed it thus:

> That I may detect the inmost force
> Which binds the world, and guides its course;
> Its germs, productive powers explore,
> And rummage in empty words no more.

Once more a thrust at "empty words"!

In 1774 Goethe was attracted by the teaching of Spinoza, yet this philosopher did not exercise so much influence upon him as some appear to think he did. Spinoza was a cool, strictly scientific observer; an inductive investigator, calm, composed, and seclusive. Goethe was a warm-blooded man, his spirit expansive, his aspirations manifold. His poetic life could not develop in seclusion,— as the first part of "Faust" abundantly proves.

So far as can be seen or traced, Goethe had not yet summed up power enough to discover behind the struggle and strife of opposing ecclesiastical parties the truth which conflicts have shrouded before men even greater than himself. Hence the contempt of mere phrases and words. Indeed, he never became a Christian, as Dr. Ernst says, "in the trivial sense

of this word." He cannot doubt that a poet of his class would fail to conceive certain ideas, or accept certain views. His work testifies throughout that in his estimation no problem was too deep for investigation, no source of light too remote. His spirit craved extraordinary revelations to be convinced of eternal truths. And thus we cannot doubt that somewhere — as Princess Galitzin once remarked — it has been "lifted from the Old into the New Testament."

The moment never arrived when Goethe was able to frame his faith in words. Nor would language express his thoughts of divine things. Never could he tell any one how he felt within himself the presence of God; never was he able to explain in full the unity of his own existence and that of Nature.

> Theologians (he states), are wonderful persons. They pretend impossibilities. To bring the Christian religion into the frame of a confession,— oh, ye good people! Peter already meant that Paul's letters were difficult to comprehend, and yet Peter was a different man from our bishops. But he was right: Paul did write things that the entire Christian church *in corpore* does not understand.

Yet he lived, as we all do, under the law before which all the world bows down. His limitations were those of mankind in general. And so he prayed to God, as best he could, feeling the presence of the Creator in all things great and lovable. But his very soul revolted against confiding in the alleged divine properties of the fragment of a saint's garb, or the thumb-nail of one of the apostles. He did not attempt to understand things incomprehensible, or to say what is unutterable, but confessed that faith was feeling all-in-all, — meaning, of course, not a feeling akin to that of passing human love, or desire, or hope, but a tentative appreciation of what shall be part of our nature, when our faith is as firm as the rock. Those who may yet consider Goethe a heathen— as many do, indeed,— might change their view on reading the following simple utterance dated in 1821:

> God gave to mortals birth
> In his own image too;
> Then came himself to earth,
> A mortal, kind and true.

The poet never ceased to watch for a positive, adequate expression from those who might be expected to tell of their great feeling — that of God's presence. After the famous Italian journey, in 1786, he spoke of the Pope, who presented himself, on All Souls' Day, at Saint Peter's, as "the most beautiful, noble man." Yet "I was possessed of a great desire that he, the chief of the church, should open his lips and, speaking of the ineffable prosperity of the redeemed soul, create in us a feeling of similar transport. Christ in the prime of youth, when commenting upon the scriptures, certainly did not teach and work mutely; he enjoyed speaking, and his words were spirited and good, as the Gospel relates."

Goethe, while asking words of those who might be expected to speak, craved nevertheless, something besides. In "Wilhelm Meister" we find this assertion: "Words are good, but not the best. The best, itself, does not become plainer by means of words. The spirit governing our dealings is the all-important."

The quasi-confession contained in "Faust" Goethe would probably never have applied to himself, if occasion had arisen, awe-inspired confession of deism though it be. For his religious feeling was something above and beyond this, and rather than revolt against hard judgments from friends and enemies alike, he would endure to be regarded in the light of "a foreigner, a stranger, even a heathen."

Schleiermacher's *Brüdergeminde* probably attracted him more than any other church. What set up a barrier between himself and them was "the same idea that often before caused a schism in the church." Some held that human nature by the fall of man, had suffered such corruption that not even the least grain of good had been preserved. Others admitted hereditary faults in man, but maintained that the inmost germ of his nature, vivified anew by the grace of God, might yet develop into a splendid tree of spiritual felicity. "Of the latter thought" says Goethe," was I thoroughly possessed." But this idea Schleiermacher denounced as pelagianism.

Singular as is Faust's speculation on the passage: "In the

beginning was the word," it is eminently significant of the poet's theory of the world's origin. Aside from the question whether Faust's translation of "Logos" successively into "thought," "power" and "act," does not imply a gradual retrogression from the logical standard of exegesis,— aside from this it is true that the final translation, "act," is truly Goethean in character, emphasizing as it does the idea that the origin of the universe has been due to an act rather than a thought,— though this idea may not entirely conform to the Christian system.

Eckermann was the faithful collector of many of Goethe's most important aphorisms. Here is one that could not very well be expressed by an unbeliever or a heathen:

> When we comprehend and assimilate the pure teachings and the love of Christ, we shall realize our own greatness and freedom. From Christianity in word and faith we must reach Christianity in thoughts and deeds.

Taken all in all, Goethe's thoughts of divine things cannot be encompassed in any religious or philosophical system not his own. They are not pantheistic, but closely allied to Christianity; and he who strove for every inch of them, was a mighty man. His spirit and soul were gigantic; his views covered a vaster scope than those of ordinary men. He saw more, and craved more, and more was obscured to his view, than we can imagine. His "feeling" was immensely greater than ours, and, in erring, no doubt his faults were far more grave. Hence, Goethe cannot be judged by the ordinary moral standard. We are apt to forget that his head was, like that of Shakespeare, far above the ground. We are apt to notice only, that his feet rested upon our earth. In his sublimity, in his greatness, in his faults, and in his weakness, Goethe was a giant. The image of Christ, in its historical purity is essentially in harmony with Goethe's *Weltanschauung*, such as it appears to be in his years of spiritual maturity— when his handwriting, as we are told by Dr. Weismann, had reached its third stage: firmness, character, and beauty, evidence of inward harmony. It is more than likely that a heav-

enly body guard may have been sent forth to the death-room in the Weimar house, March 22, 1832, once more protecting Faust against Mephistopheles. We are told, at least, by Dr. Weissenborn, that "some persons being in the adjoining room at the time of Goethe's death, pretend that they heard a tune; — very likely they were mistaken. For the chorus, if such there were, chanting:

Springtime declare him
In purple and green!
Paradise bear him,
The sleeper serene!

— a chorus chanting such a requiem would not have been audible to mortal ears.

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GOETHE.

As the lone watcher on some mountain height,
  Uplifted far beyond the gaze of men,
Pierces the vast profound with searching ken
  To read the mystery of the starry night;
So, poet, did'st thou probe the living soul:
  With eye undazzled, mind dispassionate,
Weighing the mysteries of Growth and Fate —
  Weaving their message in one cosmic whole.

Goethe, keen-eyed astronomer of song,
  Let quibbling critics carp and call thee cold;
To us who know thee thou art genial-souled
  And lovable; — one unto whom belong
Self-poise and calm reserve, yet none the less
  Warm-dropping tears and depth of tenderness.

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THE RELATION OF EDUCATION TO REFORM.

AT the close of the nineteenth century there is a vast feeling of unrest of which all are conscious. Many are seeking means to change this condition of the public mind, thinking that something is temporarily out of place in the social order, and if this cause of friction is found and removed, the peoples' unrest will vanish.

What is this unrest but a feeling of discontent with existing conditions? It is a feeling as necessary to the social development as is the blood circulation to the physical well-being. Should mankind ever lose its dissatisfaction over present attainments and accompanying anxiety to be allowed to do better in the future, stagnation would cause rapid degeneration. Neither in this nor any other world, as long as we are organic beings, with a highly organized cellular structure, can we look forward toward remaining for very long in a state of inaction. Through many centuries, the jaded man or woman has been encouraged to look forward to an eternity of rest — mere physical inaction and mental torpor; but 'tis well for us that our ancestors never found such an opportunity in this world.

It is said that "The end of education is wholly misconceived, unless we consider it as aiming to bring the individual into right relations, at as many points as possible, with the world in which he lives, and to place him in as full possession as possible of the varied powers and capacities of his nature." This admirable statement should make this world movement more clear to us, and instead of seeking to stifle the feeling, we should rejoice in the thought that mankind is endeavoring more rapidly to arrive at a fuller consciousness of its environment and possibilities.

Those who endeavor to revive mediævalism, who endeavor to persuade our growing consciousness to retire into a molluscan shell of contented inaction, are the greatest

enemies of mankind. These are the preachers of false peace, when such peace does not and should not exist. On the other hand, the reformer, disappointed and embittered by the apparent failure to cause his ideals to become at once the public ideals, and who therefore gives up the struggle and relapses into a passive condition, tinctured by a bitter and unreasoning pessimism, shows his lack of true philosophy.

While this discontent is healthful as an indication that higher ideals are illumining present conditions and encouraging us to seek pathways of future promise, still the danger is ever present, that through following wrong lines of action, our discontent may bring us ultimate failure, and defeat, for the time being, its own ends. So much time and energy are partly wasted, owing to the fact that, rushing headlong into inviting paths, the traveler eventually finds himself losing sight of his goal, and only regains the true path after painful effort. Again, an ever-present temptation to indolence accompanies our life. While "our ideas may force us into the arena," indolence tempts us to seek an easy way to their realization. Broad and easy of travel are the avenues which attract in the hope of finding a shorter and easier travel route. Hence we are ever seeking a panacea, — a cure-all. The most elementary thinker realizes the existence of past and out worn conditions, but hastens to accept the most plausible and easy appearing remedy offered, hoping thus to stifle the world cry within him and relapse into a condition of mental indolence.

But granted that this feeling of unrest or discontent is necessary what is to be done? All sorts of remedies are prescribed, from that of the "*Laissez faire*" to the extreme of paternalistic and meddlesome theories, each warranted by some enthusiastic advocate to be the only remediation necessary in the case.

As the first necessity in a consideration of these matters, to revert to the statement as to the end of education, already quoted, we find that a certain amount at least, of self-cultivation is essential. This cultivation can only be

acquired through a thoughtful consideration of the cosmic order, which should give one a more perfect idea of environment and of the individual's relation to it and to his fellows. The program of the specialist is not conducive to this more rounded development. On every hand can be observed the specialist or expert, becoming more and more interested in his pursuit of one or more branches of science, until this individual becomes restricted in his development, and suffers as it were from an intellectual near-sightedness. Such an one becoming mentally one-sided does not reach the full measure of his abilities, and remains ignorant of much of the beauty of life. Pursuing some abstract branch of thought, he loses the ability to sympathize heartily with his fellows, and becomes an intellectual and social hermit. We have all met the intellectual individual, the so-called student, who could observe with appreciative eye the struggles and actions of a toiling ant, or could study patiently and laboriously a minute aquatic growth, but who seemed unable to appreciate human struggle, and to whose imperfect eye and ear human misery seemed unrealized.

Such a person cannot be considered cultivated. An asymmetrical development may force us to admire its achievements, but it should not be held up as the model growth. Many of our present ideals tempt us to imitate this form of growth. Those who by using all their energies in one line of action have become noted, are held up to the admiration and emulation, not alone of adults, but of children, who, through immaturity, are deficient in the power of critical thought and analysis. After passing through our school system of intellectual forcing and cramming, and having indulged in a more or less indiscriminate hero worship, is it surprising that the child has become a person with one idea or one passion? Another one sided individual takes his place in society, and along with his fellows engages in the mad pursuit of something which will bring him fame or selfish pleasure. The education of this individual cannot be considered to have caused culture, as much as the specialized development of

certain instincts. Indeed, such a person cannot appreciate the quiet, all-round culture of his neighbor. He often becomes a menace to the welfare of society in that he allows himself unbridled license in his pursuits.

Neither the multi-millionaire in his money madness, nor the scientist in his science madness, are model results of education. The life of each, instead of being held up for our admiration, should rather be critically examined to discover whether such an individual has brought himself "into right relations at as many points as possible with the world." If we discover that this standard is not being followed, then the life in question, notwithstanding its achievements, is more or less of a failure.

One of the greatest drawbacks to progress is the lack of critical analysis and the corresponding failure in logical thought. The results of centuries of thought and investigation are at the command of the student. Physiologists tell us that the organism is not benefited by the amount of matter absorbed, but rather by the quantity really assimilated. The truth of this is readily apparent in the study of mental growth. The person who sets out to explore the vast domain of knowledge fearlessly, will find open doors in every direction, tempting one to pass the threshold and solve the mysteries beyond. To such an one no door can be closed unless the explorer from fear or credulity so wills; and assimilating and classifying each new discovery, the traveler should soon possess a trained power of observation and a fund of ideas, in orderly arrangement, never before realized. Only in this way can one become able to see below the surface of appearances. The superstitious thought of a mystery vanishes, and absurd worship of the past ceases. But, unfortunately, too many of us lack either the patience of purpose or the motive, to realize this degree of culture. In our thinking we jump at conclusions as if they were five-barred gates; when over, hardly realizing where we are, and certainly ignorant as to how we got there. Too many, like the Hebrew messengers of old, view the promised land of knowledge

from afar, and, picturing it as filled with all sorts of hobgoblins and insurmountable obstacles, retire in dismay. This will never do. Life is serious, and to understand its problems, one needs to sanely and fearlessly bring to bear all resources of the mind. Most inexcusable of all attitudes is that of childish indolence content to accept, nay, rather looking for, the dictum of another, without due consideration. Unfortunately, this latter attitude is too common. It goes far toward explaining the power of the "boss" in politics, and of the "priest" in religion. When men are willing to stand erect, and each is anxious to exercise that individual sovereignty which is his prerogative, it will be surprising to see how many of our present problems have either vanished or become lessened in gravity.

Especially is this true cultivation necessary in the study of sociology. This branch of science relates to the most complex organization of which we have knowledge, and it necessarily follows that its study cannot be conducted by superficial reasoning or hasty generalization. Here, we are dealing with variant individuals, each differing more or less from the other, and whose actions call into play all the world forces. In no department of scientific thought is our growing consciousness more apparent than in the study of society. Much of our unrest is centered upon the problems of human life. A realization of something wrong or out of harmony is apparent, whether we turn to the writings of Edward Bellamy or the attempts of the money magnate toward self-justification and self-satisfaction. He who blinds himself to the needs of evolving mankind, not only commits a grievous crime against his fellows and the moral order of the universe, but is in the most stupid fashion postponing the inevitable day of individual accounting.

We find remedies for our troubles pouring in from all sides. There is the remedy of bimetalism; again of individualism; or the socialist offers his theories, — in fact, remedies of all sorts, from the simple alleviative of superficial conditions to the warranted cure-all prescribed in allopathic doses. In-

dolence and lack of thought tempt us to seize upon the plan, plausibly presented and requiring least exertion from the individual, and applying it to all conditions, complacently await the cure. If the expected change is not apparent, despair ensues.

In all attempts at change of existing conditions, it is necessary to constantly remember that we are not dealing with inert atoms, to be placed at the will of the manipulator. Here is a mass of individuals who cannot be violently changed at the will, however sincere, of the reformer. These people have their ideals and prejudices, and, if changed at all, better conditions can only be brought about after a course of social education. If this change is simply the result of violence, or spasmodic effort, the reaction must set in equally in an opposite direction. Improvement, to be genuine and lasting, can only result as the exhibition of a higher culture. The "social conscience" of each and all must be quickened. The individual, to overcome the effects of a life of immoral ideals, and consequent environment, cannot become changed in the twinkling of an eye, but must laboriously and painfully work up to the higher levels of thought and action.

In our thought upon social life, certain clearly perceived guiding principles are necessary; certain rules of action in the treatment of our fellows must be our standard. Otherwise, like a rudderless vessel, we will drift through life at the mercy of every wind of public opinion. And in the work of shaping future public opinion, the public opinion to be evolved out of the mature culture of the rising generation, whose influence is more powerful than that of the teacher of today?

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Albany, N.Y.

THE ARTS AND CRAFTS MOVEMENT IN ENGLAND.

DURING the past hundred years the English country districts have been sadly fouled and blackened by commercialism. Whole districts in Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Staffordshire have been ruthlessly abandoned to the ravages of the industrial Philistines. Hideous factories are springing up beneath the very shadows of the old cathedrals. Green fields have become heaps of cinders, and sparkling brooks have been converted into sewers. The great cities — London, Liverpool, Manchester — with their streets upon streets of "brick boxes with breathing holes," and their heavy palls of smoke, are little better than blots upon the face of nature.

The lives of the workers have grown correspondingly dark. The rapid growth of the machine industries, whatever the good it may have accomplished in the cheapening of commodities, has inflicted irretrievable damage on the cause of craftsmanship. Workmen who in past generations performed their tasks happily and quietly in their own homes, are now herded together in noisy, dirty factories, and the cramping specialization which prevails in almost every branch of modern trade, tends to make the workman nothing more than a mechanical drudge watching a machine.

Side by side, however, with this degradation of both man and nature, has sprung up a vigorous counter-movement, which chiefly owes its inspiration to such men of genius as John Ruskin, the late William Morris, G. F. Watts, and Walter Crane. This movement has steadily set its face towards the redemption of modern life from ugliness. It will be satisfied with nothing less than a beautiful world, — beauty in the city, in the street, in the home, in the articles of daily use.

The most prominent and influential organization in this new crusade is the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, founded in 1886 by Walter Crane, Holman Hunt, and other decorative artists. The object of the society is primarily to encourage and promote all kinds of handiwork, to bring the craftsman and his products into closer touch with the public by means of periodical exhibitions, and to ameliorate the condition of all workmen. Indirectly, it is a protest against the attempt to limit "art" to the mere pictures we hang on our walls and occasionally go to see in galleries. The first exhibition took place at London in 1888, and comprised examples of wood-carving, furniture, embroidery, tapestry, textile fabrics, glass, pottery, tiles, wall paper, leather work, metal work, jewelry, and book decoration. Four subsequent exhibitions have been held in London, and two art congresses at Glasgow and Liverpool have owed a large measure of their success to the coöperation of the society. Walter Crane was the first president of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, but the position was filled from 1891 to 1896 by William Morris, whose devotion to the cause of popular art finds no parrallel in our century. The society has published several books voicing its ideals, among which may be specially mentioned "Arts and Crafts Essays" and "Art and Life."

Another important organization working on rather different lines is the Home Arts and Industries Association. The objects of the association are two-fold; firstly, the resuscitation of village industries and the consequent prevention of rural depopulation; secondly, the encouragement of practical craftsmanship amongst workingmen in their leisure hours. Branches exist in all parts of England, and night classes (mostly taught by women) for instruction in carving, inlay, and metal *repoussé*, have met with great success. The men's lives are brightened by the refining influence of art creation, as well as by association with congenial minds, and in many cases the society has brought to light remarkable talent. G. F. Watts, R. A., is the leading figure in the movement, and has given both time and money unsparingly. As an

instance of the society's practical work may be mentioned Mr. Watts' recent assistance to the workers in a Surrey village, who, with their own hands, are decorating the interior of their new church.

The Art for Schools Association, of which John Ruskin is president, is doing excellent work in still another direction. It endeavors to plant the love for beauty in the minds of little children, and circulates among the schools works of art and photographs of great pictures. Here again Mr. Watts has done sterling work. Under his patronage were issued lately the "Fitzroy" series of chromo-lithographs by Heywood Sumner and Selwyn Image. These beautiful pictures, which can be bought very cheaply, were especially designed for use in school-rooms, clubs, mission-rooms, and other centers, and have admirably fulfilled their purpose.

The Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings has been in existence since 1877, and includes among its membership Stopford Brooke, James Bryce, Sir John Lubbock, Leslie Stephen, W. B. Richmond, Alma Tadema, John Ruskin, and most of the other prominent figures in English art and literature. It was founded by William Morris, to whose untiring efforts the society owes most of its success. The object of the society is to preserve all ancient and beautiful buildings from destruction and desecration. It has correspondents throughout England, and all attempts to tamper with historical architecture are vigorously opposed by the influence of the society, through the medium of newspaper letters, magazine articles, circulars, etc. In this way scores of lovely buildings have been rescued from the hands of the vandals, and preserved as a sacred heritage for future generations of Englishmen.

Two national organizations which exert wide influence are the Ruskin Society and the Kyrle Society. The first was formed for the study and propagation of John Ruskin's teachings in art and life. Ruskin societies exist in almost all the large cities; they furnish lectures, publish pamphlets, and hold classes amongst every section of the community.

The Kyrle Society is a philanthropical body of men and women who are willing to devote a portion of their time to beautifying and brightening the lives of the poor. They decorate — often permanently — the walls of school-rooms and libraries. They distribute flowers among the slum-dwellers, and give concerts, lectures, and all kinds of free entertainments.

The Clergy and Artist Association was formed in 1896 "for the improvement of art in churches." It supplies a center in London, where the clergy may consult competent artists regarding church architecture, stained windows, and interior decoration. This movement has especially taken hold among the younger of the high churchmen, who are determined to make their churches and services beautiful, in the true sense of the word. The Healthy and Artistic Dress Union, of which Walter Crane and Henry Holiday are prominent members, does all in its power to counteract the ugliness of modern garb. The Society of Arts is a union of leading craftsmen, who meet for the reading of papers, and the advancement of decorative art.

At Toynbee Hall, the pioneer social settlement in the East End of London, Canon Barnett, who presides over the institution, thoroughly believes in the civilizing influence of art, and arranges annual picture exhibitions. The hall also supports a school and guild of handicraft, and conducts lecture courses on art topics. The Ancoats Art Museum, in the slums of Manchester, is similar in its aims, and is trying to educate even the very poorest in a love for art.

The most important practical experiment in the arts and crafts movement is, undoubtedly, William Morris's factory at Merton Abbey, near London. About forty men are employed; and from this picturesque old workshop, standing amidst the trees and flowers, have come some of the most beautiful art products that the world has ever looked upon. All the workers are handicraftsmen; and instead of the shriek of machinery, they hear through the open windows the song of birds, and the music of running water. In this one little

corner of the earth William Morris realized his dream of an "art made by the people for the people, as a joy for the maker and the user." The Kelmscott Press, opposite Morris's home at Hammersmith, was an embodiment of the same ideal, but, unlike the factory, it has not survived the great poet-craftsman's death. In both workshop and press, William Morris had the whole-hearted support of the late Sir Edward Burne-Jones, whose designs were mostly worked out in tapestries and stained windows. It would hardly be possible to overestimate the influence of Morris's two industrial experiments on English decorating and printing.

Several similar projects have been started in various parts of England. At Birkenhead is the Della Robbia pottery, engaged in the manufacture of plates, cups, jugs, and other earthenware. All are made by hand, and show the impress of genuine artistic feeling. Mr. William De Morgan is also a potter, and makes exquisite tiles and fireplaces. T. J. Cobden-Sanderson is a specialist in book-binding; and the unique position occupied by him in this craft has given him a world-wide reputation. The Chiswick Press and the Vale Press are firms of artistic printers, who turn out books that are beautiful within and without.

All these various organizations and art industries, as well as many more that have not been mentioned, are the outward expression of a spirit of revolt against present conditions, which is penetrating every class in English society. The arts and crafts movement is much more than an attempt to graft art onto present social conditions; it is rather the embodiment of a new conception of life. Its leaders do not try to reconcile their theories with present-day ideals. They declare that the struggle between art and commercialism is a death grapple. One or the other must die. They have strenuously upheld that production for profit, with its competitive strife, its brutalizing of the workman, and its shoddy wares, is absolutely incompatible with true craftsman-ship. Profit-mongering must be supplanted by production for use and for pleasure. Competition and inequality must give

place to brotherhood and fellowship. The fevered struggle for existence must be converted into an organized coöperation for mutual service and love.

John Ruskin declared himself a communist. William Morris gave ten years of the best years of his life to the propaganda of socialism; and Walter Crane has dedicated much of his finest artistic work to the cause of labor and brotherhood. Both Sir Edward Burne-Jones and G. F. Watts have shown more than merely passive sympathy with the ideals of the modern labor movement. A very large number of the younger English artists have openly associated themselves with the socialist agitation. It will thus be seen that the arts and crafts movement is emphatically economic, as well as æsthetic, in its influence upon English life. Its ideals may seem distant and impracticable, but to those who have faith in the future and in man, it seems certain that the efforts of these sturdy pioneers will one day bear fruit in a new and beautiful society.

LEONARD D. ABBOTT.

New York.

TODAY.

DREAMER! that over Homer's line doth pore,
Searching for valorous deeds on musty page,
Behold! the Mighty Ones are here once more,
And thine own time is the Heroic Age.

ELIZA CALVERT HALL.

Bowling Green, Ky.

THE HEART OF A MACHINE.

A YOUNG man in the dress of a United States naval officer came up the steps two at a time. As he passed the inner door a messenger-boy coming around the corner bumped into him, and, recovering from the rebound, hurried by without looking up. The officer muttered an apology that never reached the lad, and went quickly across the hall to a young man in gray uniform, who was leaning on the desk and chatting with the elevator-boy.

"I wish to see a lady, Mrs. Meeker, who is a patient here, I believe."

His manner was unusually respectful, but as he addressed the clerk there came out somewhere the unmistakable quality of command; his pause seemed full of the expectancy of obedience.

The young man addressed had been but recently raised to the position, and the suit he wore still showed the creases of the manufacturing tailor's piled-up stock from which it had been drawn. This fact he was trying to live down, and was failing most signally in the attempt.

He looked the naval man up and down deliberately, and without changing his pose. His experience with uniformed visitors had been thus far limited to policemen and self-important ambulance surgeons from a rival institution, and these it had been his privilege to harass and circumvent as far as possible without getting a noise started on the floor.

"In a moment, sir," he answered; and he strolled over to a man with a hand wrapped up in a red handkerchief.

The officer followed, after a little impatient waiting at the desk.

"Pardon me, but will you kindly direct me to the office? I have very important and immediate business"; and he bowed an apology to the man with the injured hand.

"In a moment, sir," was the answer, given rather sharply.

Turning, the officer went down the long hall to where an elderly man had just emerged from a side room and was putting on his overcoat.

"Will you kindly direct me to the office? Allow me," and he liberated the offending cuff and helped the old man to draw on the heavy coat.

"Thank you, thank you very much," said the old man, bowing. "Just around the corner to the right"; and he pointed the way. And as he watched with keen admiration the fine figure of the young officer going down the hall, his own drooping shoulders straightened, and he went out to his carriage with eyes high and with a well-counterfeited youth in his stride.

"Are you looking for someone?" asked the boy in gray, coming forward and placing himself squarely in front of the officer.

The next moment he was rubbed against the wall—gently. Then he stood for two whole minutes, staring at the corner around which this new type had disappeared.

In the superintendent's office two women clad in black, and a man were waiting on a settee near the door. The women were very quiet. The man made a noisy and irritating business of his waiting. The superintendent behind the table was engaged in an earnest conversation with a large man, whom he called "Professor." The professor was doing most of the talking, and with a great deal of emphasis and gesture. The officer stood with his hands on the rail. A break occurred in the conversation and the superintendent looked up inquiringly.

"You will pardon me for interrupting," said the officer, bowing to the professor, "but a delayed letter which I have just received, tells me that my mother, Mrs. Meeker, is very ill in this hospital—that she has undergone a surgical operation. I would like to see her as soon as possible, as I can remain but a short time."

The superintendent turned to a paper on file at the end of

the table. "Meeker—Mrs. Meeker—Mrs. Elizabeth Meeker, room 70. Yes, she is here. She has been very ill, I believe, and for the last day or two nobody has been allowed to visit her. Several friends have already called today. She is reported as resting quietly, but too weak to see anybody. I will send for the house surgeon and he will advise you further."

He turned to a telephone and called up several rooms without finding the doctor wanted, and was ringing up another when the officer interposed.

"Couldn't you give me the necessary passes? The doctor is probably busy, and I may have to wait some time. Perhaps I can find him by going right up. I am sure he will let me see her. You see, every minute is precious with me, and if it is in any way possible I should like to go up without having to wait long." He was leaning over the rail, which his hands were gripping hard, and speaking with an eagerness that he could not wholly control.

"I understand," he went on hurriedly, "that there are rules and reasons in a place like this that I know nothing of, but I'm just in on a ship. I got here at this hour with much difficulty. I haven't seen my mother in three years. Couldn't you let me up now without the usual wait? You see how I'm fixed, and that mine is an unusual case." The women were listening with sympathetic intensity. The restless man had become quiet. The superintendent hesitated.

"I suppose I might," he said, in a more kindly and less routine manner. "Of course I—but the doctor will be here in a few minutes. Will you be seated, please?"

He tried the telephone again, and after much ringing and talking and transmitted confusion the doctor was located.

"He is engaged just now, but will be down as soon as he is at liberty." And the superintendent resumed his conference with the professor, who had been shifting uneasily about during the long interruption. The young man remained standing at the rail. The two women had moved forward in their seats and were watching his compressed and twitching lips and the changes in his strong brown face. The super-

intendent, engrossed in his argument with the professor, did not see the officer leave the room.

"Whom do you wish to see?" asked the boy at the desk, very respectfully this time.

The officer apparently did not hear, but passed directly to the elevator and entered.

"Whom do you want to see?" asked the elevator boy.

"Mrs. Meeker, room 70, please."

"Let me see your pass."

The officer made no reply. He was looking through the little square holes in the top of the cage.

"You'll have to get a pass."

The officer turned on him with an eye and a voice that made him shiver at intervals for hours after, and yet he spoke in very low tones.

"Take me to room 70 at once."

The elevator went up with a rush and stopped with a jerk.

"Right around the corner, sir—the second door"; and the boy winced at another glance. "Ask a nurse—any of 'em; they'll tell you."

There seemed to be some confusion on the floor. Nurses and attendants were hurrying. An order was given loudly down the corridor. The officer accosted a busy nurse and made inquiry for the doctor.

"He is in room 70," she replied; "I will speak to him."

"Room 70," he repeated, and followed slowly after her to the corner.

There he almost ran into the doctor, who was walking with bowed head.

"This is the house surgeon, I believe. I would like to see Mrs. Meeker. She is my mother. I thought you might be very busy and I felt I couldn't wait for you at the office, so I took this liberty. How is she now?" His hand was on the doctor's arm, and his voice was tense and low. "May I go in?"

The doctor was tall, and lightly bearded, and young, but in his brown eyes, as Meeker saw them, was unusual maturity and experience. It was as if a century of living had passed

through him, leaving no mark except a gleam in the depths of his eyes. It was a look that the thoughtful and the strong ever wear for a time after they have seen death.

The doctor took Meeker's arm, and without a word led him into a room across the hall and closed the door. Seating himself opposite him he looked searchingly into the other's eyes and saw his way clearly.

"Your mother has just died — just the moment before you met me. It was rather sudden — a matter of less than a half hour. We had barely time to send a message to her sister. She had been very weak,— very weak, but getting on better than we had expected, until a little while ago when the nurse called me."

Meeker sat quietly erect, his gray eyes fixed on the doctor's face.

"She knew she was going to die, when this last trouble came. She had been very hopeful till then. She asked for you — many times. I think her only regret was that she could not see you. Her last words were a prayer for you."

The doctor, who had been looking away, out of the window, turned his troubled gaze back to the son's face. He met again the same steady eyes and again saw the way to go. So he talked on, steadily — mercifully — telling the story of her illness, giving many incidents showing her courage and patience and beauty of character, as they had so easily been discovered during her short stay in the hospital.

Now and then as he talked he studied closely the man before him. His work had brought him in contact with grief in its many forms, till he thought he knew all of them. But this man puzzled and, somehow, awed him a little. He dreaded the pause that must come.

"May I see her now?" asked Meeker, when the story was told and the doctor waited, wondering.

The doctor rose, and led the way to the door of room 70.

The professor was preparing to leave as Meeker entered the superintendent's office. The women clad in black were

still there, waiting in the same quiet way, silent. The man had gone. The women looked up anxiously as he came in. Then they looked into each other's eyes; and then drew a little closer together on the bench. As the professor passed out, Meeker went inside the rail. The superintendent, busy with some papers, did not notice him for a little while. Then he turned, and with a glance of recognition opened his lips to speak, but did not. Meeker stood on the opposite side of the table, erect, with his hands at his sides. Something in his face stopped the superintendent's formal words of greeting, and dropped him back in his chair with questioning eyes and lips still parted. The man before him seemed to have grown years older in the short time he had been up stairs. New lines were on his face, and the white, narrowed lips contrasted strangely with the dusky, ashen hue that seemed to underlie the bronzed skin. Meeker began speaking, huskily at first, as with the voice of an old man made tense and narrow and penetrative by emotion.

"I want to speak to you," he said. "You are a good man — naturally; I can see that. But you have done a wrong today, to a woman — and to me. You do not know it, but I want you to know it, and perhaps some one else will be spared some suffering — another time. While you were keeping me here, and discussing ways to increase the income of your institution, my mother was dying — in the room above. I had not seen her in three years. I told you so. I tried hard, without being unmannerly, to make you realize it — that my case was a little unusual. You looked at me, but you didn't see me. I was a figure behind the rail. No, you didn't see me. I know you thought you took me in at a glance, and treated me well; but while I was trying to get out of the grip of your formality, my mother was dying, not forty feet away — and crying for me."

He stopped, and a spasm distorted his face as if a knife of pain had stabbed through his head. The hesitating, jerky clatter of a typewriter came from the next room. The superintendent cleared his throat twice, changed his hands from

one position to another, and straightening in his chair, made a move to speak.

"Wait," said Meeker, "I am not through yet. I know what you are going to say. I don't blame you particularly, — except for one thing. Why have you let this place wear the heart out of you? No — sit still and wait till I have finished. You don't know it; you won't believe it, I see; but I am telling you of it, and when I am gone you will think it over and you will know that I am right. It has been slow, and you haven't noticed it. You probably think and say that this life, this constant dealing with suffering and want, has nourished your sympathies and enlarged your heart. You are wrong. You don't know it, but you will know it, sometime, when you awake to see that you have allowed a machine to possess you — to possess you till you are a wheel; a big one, perhaps, but a wheel, none the less, —a wheel that dare not pause or change."

He was still standing perfectly erect. His hands were tightly clenched. His words came faster and clear-cut. The lines grew deeper about his mouth, and his face turned more deadly ashen. The superintendent was sitting far back now, the hands that were at first so restless, hanging limply over the arms of the chair. The typewriter clacked more slowly and spasmodically. Finally it stopped. The two women clad in black cried quietly behind their veils.

"While the wheel turned slowly and smoothly, and I waited for it to click, my mother with her last breath was praying for me — just beyond a door. She might have had me — maybe my coming would have saved her" — another convulsive twitching passed over his face. After a pause, he went on:

"I live and work in an institution a hundred times more complicated than yours. I am an officer in the navy. We, on board ship, are parts of a system more delicately adjusted than any you dream of here; but the men in it keep their hearts — and keep them big. We are out to crush, and bruise, and kill. You aim to comfort and save. Which can

offer the better excuse?" He was speaking bitterly now, and looking over the superintendent at the window. "I was left in charge of a ship today, with large responsibility. When I got that letter I went to a superior, whom I had never seen before, and showed it to him. 'Go,' he said,— 'go at once; it will be all right. We can offer you nothing better than a hope and a prayer that all will be well.'"

He paused long. The hardness slowly faded from his features, and his eyes came back to the face of the superintendent, now whiter than his own. He leaned over the table and extended his hand.

"I will be back some day — to ask your pardon, if I've been harsh. I can't do it now." The superintendent made no move. "May be you are not to blame," he continued, in a gentler tone, allowing his untouched hand to sink to the table. "May be I'm wrong, but I don't want another to ever suffer here what I am suffering if it isn't necessary."

Then he turned and passed slowly out with the buoyancy gone from his step.

The superintendent sat without moving for a long time.

When the typewriter hesitatingly resumed its clacking, he rang for an assistant to take the office. Then he put on his overcoat, without help, and left the building.

FRED BRUSH.

Ogunquit, Me.

THE ARTIST'S AREA.

A LAND there is where the thought-flower blows,
Where the face of unpaged Parnassus knows
The soul that may read her unrivalled rose,—
For it sees the shadow the Brain-God throws!

LUCY CLEVELAND.

New York City.

UNDER THE ROSE.

TRUSTS AND THE COMMONWEALTH.

It is not so long ago that socialist predictions of a rapid and increasing concentration of industry in the form of the capitalistic combinations called trusts were derided by the economists, laughed at by the politicians, and, except for a mild and passing wonder, disregarded by the public. Now that these predictions are finding fulfillment in the marvelous increase of trust organization during the past eighteen months—an increase which, if it continues unchecked, will include practically all the manufacturing industries of the country before the end of another year—there are evidences of an awakening of the people in every quarter. Forced by the logic of facts, economists and legislators are at last giving serious attention to the phenomenon. The press is filled with discussion apropos of daily reports of freshly formed combinations, and it is evident that in one shape or another, the trust question will become the one and overshadowing issue of the next presidential election. In congress and the state legislatures, during the coming winter, we may look for much fierce pulling and hauling on the subject. Perhaps the most striking and significant feature of the agitation, so far, is the pronounced growth of the civic consciousness occasioned by the situation. Taking up the gauntlet flung down in Attorney-General Grigg's avowal of the helplessness of the federal power, Governor Sayers of Texas has called a conference of governors and other state officers to meet at the Texan capital and consider measures by which the growing power of the trusts may be brought under state restraint and control. About the same time a convention is to be held under the auspices of the Civic

Federation of Chicago, to which,—taking the bull by the horns,—the Federation has invited the trusts to send representatives and to reply to a formidable list of questions. The Commercial Travelers' Association, finding that seventy-two thousand of its members have been thrown out of employment in five months by the trusts, shouts defiance and denunciation, while the political parties are falling over each other in the attempt to catch the tide of public feeling by promises of "anti-trust" platforms.

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THE APPEAL TO CÆSAR

Amidst all this tearing of hair, the socialists alone seem calm and contented. The more the trust question is discussed the more widespread and insistent becomes the demand for public ownership of public utilities. Sifted down, all the objections to the present concentration of industry can be reduced to the truly patriotic objection to private control for private profit. That in most cases the consolidation and concentration of industries has resulted in increased effectiveness and economy of production is unquestioned, that the general public has been vastly benefited—despite the accumulation of enormous fortunes by the Rockefellers and the Havemeyers and the ruthless crushing out of small competitors, with accompanying corruption of courts, legislatures, and common councils,—is also admitted. But people the country over have awakened to a realizing sense of the menace to the republic contained in private control of production and the means of production *when concentrated.* Appeal is made to Cæsar. The State must be vindicated, must be upheld; its supremacy must be asserted. The people *en masse* are realizing, in regard to themselves, Louis Fourteenth's boast: "*The State!* I am the State!" In the mouths of the American people, emphatic recognition and assertion of the truth that, "We are the people and, therefore, we are the State!" marks a new and glorious epoch in our national development, in human history. Mr. Kleberg's eloquent plea in the August Arena, for the muzzling of the trust from the

standpoint of the publicist, and Mr. Thurber's graphic and practical exposition of the economic achievements of the trust as viewed by the man of business, are both immensely helpful towards an understanding of the situation. But in view of the utter failure of the Interstate Commerce Commission, of Attorney-General Grigg's admission, and more than all, of the constantly growing strength of capitalistic combination, these pleas but emphasize the utter powerlessness and inadequacy of any program that leaves the ownership and control of the people's industries in private hands. The Texas conference, and the Chicago symposium, like the Quixotic pronunciamento of the "drummers," and Carl Brown's call for a "peaceable parade" to Washington, are but helpless and hysterical exhibitions of the powerlessness of any halfway measures.

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A PROGRESSIVE PROGRAM WANTED

Now is the time for the socialists, calm in the midst of surrounding excitement, watching with gratification the fulfillment of Bellamy's predictions—to come forward with a clear-cut, scientific program—a program of practical progressivism, with demands distinctly based on the theory of Social Evolution to which demonstrated facts give solid basis. Democracy in industry is for our age democracy in practice—the works by which our faith is to be proved. Will the democratic party rise to its opportunity? Will its leaders be wise enough to discern the signs of the times; to understand that the people are in earnest on this issue, and demand nothing less than honesty in platform promises, and earnestness in their execution?

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THE SOCIAL REFORM UNION

President Bliss writes me from Cleveland, where he has been making an inside study of the great car strike, that reveals certain startling features in the methods of corporation managers. The Social Reform Union, organized at Buffalo, July 4, is already getting well under way, he says,

so that in the October Arena he will be enabled to announce its complete plans. Acceptances of membership are coming in from all over the country, and from well-known and thoughtful men. Branches have already been formed in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Bound Brook, N. J., Buffalo, and Louisville. Before this goes to press, branches will be formed in all the central states and as far west as California. Until, however, this preliminary organization is complete, definite arrangements cannot be made. Those, however, who would know about it, and help this work of uniting the reform forces of the land, are invited to send in their names to the president, W. D. P. Bliss, Alhambra, California.

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PLAIN SPEAKING

A delegate at the recent Reform Conference in Buffalo advanced a common and usually convincing argument in opposition to the plain speaking of the address condemning military despotism in Idaho: "It has not hurt you, has it?" Outspoken denunciation of wrong, of falsehood, of injustice is apt to be thus deprecated until the wrong comes home personally to the denouncer. That a man should feel another's pain and resent a wrong to another as he would one to himself is considered by many people foolishness or "extremism." Lowell's noble lines:

> . . . Wherever wrong is done,
> To the humblest and the weakest 'neath the all-beholding sun,
> That wrong is also done to us . . .

are regarded as "sentimental," and not practical. And so in regard to the pillorying of public fraud or injustice. The newspaper which first accused the Tweed ring in New York, and stated its infamy in clear and unmistakable terms was looked upon, especially by the so-called respectable people, as unduly sensational, and a pernicious stirrer-up of strife. Louis J. Jennings, editor of The New York Times, a scholar and a gentleman of rare character and ability, who forced the exposure in that journal, was practically ostracized by New York society, and was eventually compelled to resign his

editorship. Tolerance is a good thing and charity covers a multitude of sins. The difficulty seems to be a mental inertia which assumes the virtue of tolerance and which, through indolence or fear, stolidly objects to an extension of either tolerance or charity to the denouncer of fraud and iniquity. It requires little examination to show that this attitude inevitably tends to degeneracy, not alone of public spirit, but also of the individual's moral faculties. The timidity or the indolence which decries or pooh-poohs the reformer's demand for social justice must, in the nature of things, cause a distinct lowering of public standards and ideals on the one side, and the passive acceptance which means participation in fraud and falsehood, on the other. The Arena's recent exposé of the Great Spoon Syndicate, otherwise known as Eddyism, is another instance in point. That I should publish carefully verified facts going to show that the "Christian Science" scheme is a swindle from beginning to end, deliberately designed and prosecuted to dupe the unwary, and preying upon the holiest and tenderest emotions for the mere piling up of pelf — this performance of obvious public service brought upon my devoted head a mild storm of deprecation and protest.

"What is the use of stirring up a row?"

"Mary Eddy never did you any harm, did she?"

"What difference does it make? Fools are born every hour, and humbugs of one sort or another are sure to thrive."

Slavery is built upon the submission of the slave, and falls only when its victim awakes and strikes the blow that makes him free. The quietism of Molinos, the passivity of the Quaker, and the serenity of the "scientist" are very beautiful and have their uses; but there are times when quietude and passivity mean that suppression of truth, which, according to a legal maxim, is the suggestion of falsehood; when unquestioning submission becomes criminal complicity. In the great human crisis through which we are passing — a time which tries men's souls indeed — the call and the command to every human soul is for choice expressed in

action. No man can remain neutral in the great struggle between light and darkness, truth and falsehood. Under one banner or the other, every man must range himself if he is in earnest. Indifference is cowardly, inaction the support of wrong. The vindication and justification of those things that be of God depend absolutely on human agency, on human action, on decided, distinct, definite, dynamic human action. Otherwise, God is not justified, wrong is not destroyed, injustice triumphs, and falsehood mows down the Filipinos with Maxims, throws strikers into jail, exploits the "man with the hoe," and the slave of the sweat shop, fills the coffers of the Rockefellers, transmutes plated spoons and tinted photographs into hard cash, and builds hundred thousand dollar synagogues for the deification of humbug and imposture! Many good people profess to be puzzled by what they call the "success of Eddyism." Modesty blinds them to the fact that their own lack of decision in thought and action is directly and indirectly responsible for the triumph of this and other impostures. It is important that the metaphysical movement of the day should take no uncertain stand in this connection. For the healing of the body of the individual, as of the body politic, the first requisite is clearness and definiteness. Order is essential to harmony and life. There can be no confusion of light and darkness. Most of all is it fundamental that truth shall be recognized as truth, and falsehood as falsehood, without compromise or palliation. Truth is larger and greater than its manifestation; Truth cannot fail, cannot be destroyed. It is in itself beyond and above all manifestation, the vitalizing principle, the governor and preserver of the universe; but it is all this only in so far as you and I, my friend, recognize its differentiation from falsehood in our calm, strong, and steady silent thought, and proclaim the differentiation to all men in word and action. While the question of whether Mrs. Eddy or Dr. Quimby originated metaphysical healing in our day may be of little consequence, the truth or falsehood of the pretensions on which Eddyism is based is as important as the

recognition of Truth itself. The duty forced upon every honest man and woman in this connection may be disagreeable, disturbing our indolence. In such an issue personal feeling and inclination must give way to the sense of highest duty.

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WIND OWNERSHIP

Under the title, "Lords of the Air," an amusing satire on private ownership of land, by Bolton Hall, appeared in the March Arena. It might have been supposed that Mr. Hall's picturing of the possibility of claiming private ownership in the air we breathe, was far fetched, or at least that it looked a long way ahead. It now appears that the theory of ownership in the air, at least in air in motion, is not a new thing under the sun. Philip Laidlow, in a recent English magazine, quotes from an old Bohemian chronicler, who tells us that when windmills came into general use in western Europe, about the beginning of the twelfth century, permission to regulate them was included in the charters granted to the convents, and the Pope issued a special edict compelling them to pay tithes to the church. In consequence, the question as to ownership of the wind was raised, and caused frequent conflicts between the clergy and other landowners. An example of this sort is related in the annals of an old monk:

"Since our monastery," he says, "had no corn-mill, they resolved to build one. When the lord of the land heard this, he did everything in his power to prevent it, saying that the wind in Zealand belonged to him, and that no one might build a mill there without his consent. The matter was, therefore, referred to the bishop of Utrecht, who replied in a violent passion that no one had power over the wind in his diocese but himself and the church at Utrecht, and immediately granted full powers by letter patent, dated 1791, to the convent to build for themselves and their successors a good windmill, wherever they might choose."

In this case, it will be observed, the church appears, not as a defendant of vested rights, but as a champion of natural

rights to which ecclesiastical sanction were given. The good bishop claimed a lordship of the air, as inhering in his spiritual authority, as opposed to the rights claimed by the landlord. It makes all the difference whose bull is gored.

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TO FEED THE WORLD

The imagination is staggered by certain possibilities suggested by Sir William Crookes's references, in his presidential address before the British Association, as to new means of averting the world's starvation through failure of the wheat crop. As is well known, the growing of wheat year by year steadily exhausts the nitrogen in the soil on which the wheat depends. Sir William indicates the fixation of atmospheric nitrogen as the only solution of the difficulty, providing, as it would, not merely the maintenance of our present wheat crops, but their steady increase. A correspondent of the Birmingham Argus, in commenting on this utterance, notes the singular fact that almost at the moment Sir William Crookes was giving utterance to this thought, the problem was receiving its solution at the hands of an English chemist. It involves the scientific combining of nitrogen and hydrogen in air and water by an extremely simple and inexpensive process. The process, it is declared, is now complete, and will shortly be placed before the scientific world, preliminary to its commercial exploitation. If we shall succeed, not merely in maintaining at a high point of productiveness the newer wheat lands of the northwest and of Argentina, but also in enriching and renewing the nearly exhausted wheat belt of India and Russia — to say nothing of transforming millions of acres now regarded as impossible of cultivation — by simply drawing the necessary fertilizing element out of the atmosphere, surely the dawn of a new era in agriculture, and in all other industries, is at hand. The actual utilization means far more than merely material enhancement of land values or increase of trade; it means, for one thing, an end to the frequently recurring famines of India and China; it means cheap bread, and more of it — and with

bread plentiful, other favorable conditions will follow. The worker will be able to devote a larger share of his product to the things beyond bread by which man lives; the hard grind of the struggle for bare subsistence will become a thing of the past; more thought, energy, skill, and enterprise will be devoted to production that must mean enlarged sense of beauty and of life, and of power and joy in life for all.

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PUBLISHING ENTERPRISE

The latest thing in the way of publishing enterprise is exhibited by the publisher of a western monthly who is scattering broadcast an affidavit as to the truthfulness of statements made in an article published in his magazine. The advent of the affidavit specialist in the circulation departments of daily papers was hailed a few years ago as a palpable demonstration of the need of boosting up unsworn statements regarding circulation. It was supposed at the time that if the practice became general, a notable shrinkage in the figures claimed for the "great dailies" would be noticed. On the contrary, however, the affidavit fiend proved entirely equal to the calls upon him, and in one or two of the Chicago dailies half a dozen affidavits are published in attestation of every statement of circulation made. What the effect of supplying a publisher's affidavit as to the truthfulness of his contributors will have on periodical literature, it is perhaps too early to conjecture. If, for instance, every reporter were sworn to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth in regard to interviews, and if this custom were extended to the advance agents of traveling theatrical companies, the business of the notaries would certainly boom; although the art of mendacity would probably lose in picturesqueness what it would gain in solemnity. Seriously, is not this increase of swearing an index of the decadence of plain honesty? The requirement of an oath is itself an impeachment of human probity. Tolstoy rightly condemns the military oath as a bondage to infamy. I had rather have the simple yea or nay of the Quaker or the Shaker, who refuses to

swear at all, than the oath "on a stack of Bibles," of the man ready to swear on the slightest provocation. What greater farce is there than the affidavit making industry as practised daily, not merely in newspaper offices, but also in law offices and courts of justice, and at every turn where this perfunctory and mocking violation of the second commandment is called for. Surely, in these days, swearing is a custom that were more honored in the breach than in the observance.

P. T.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH.

A MORMON PROPHET.

By Lily Dougall, cloth, 12mo, 427 pp., $1.50. D. Appleton & Co., New York.

MISS DOUGALL has already earned well-deserved reputation by "The Zeitgeist" and other notable novels. The present book indicates steady increase of power, and is made timely by the current discussion as to the seating of a newly-elected congressman from Utah; for the story of Mormonism, like all stories of human life, has two sides. Most minds see but one, and that, to use the author's words, "through the glasses of rigidly defined opinion, judging the affected person to be either saint or demoniac, according as he conforms with the spectator's view of truth." Miss Dougall has studied her subject from the historical point of view, and from the psychological. In fact, morbid psychology would seem to have furnished her with much of her interpretation, although, on the whole, she comes very near doing justice to a difficult subject. She aims to prove that Mormonism does not necessarily include polygamy; that it had no part in the first revelation to Joseph Smith, who never saw Utah, and who lived at many points the kindest, most blameless of lives. Miss Dougall herself regards him as both honest and fearless.

"It appears to me," she writes in her admirable preface, "more likely that Smith was genuinely deluded by the automatic freaks of a vigorous but undisciplined brain, and that, yielding to these, he became confirmed in the hysterical temperament, which always adds to delusion self-deception, and to self-deception half-conscious fraud. In his day it was necessary to reject a marvel, or admit its spiritual significance. Granting an honest delusion as to his visions and his book, his only choice lay between counting himself the sport of devils, or the agent of Heaven; and optimistic temperament cast the die."

Had the Psychical Research Society existed at that time, it is Miss Dougall's conviction that Joseph Smith might have been aided to distinguish between desire and delusion, weighing his revelation in the balance present-day science provides. In that case a marvelous movement would have fallen still-born, and history have lacked several interesting pages. One may well ask if the Joseph Smith delusion is any more extraordinary than the Mary Eddy delusion? Indeed, to one who has been upon the ground, and marked what the Mormon commonwealth stands for, in its economic phases, it becomes a matter of serious question whether some of its characteristics might not with advantage be adopted generally. Whoever has once seen Utah and the type of prosperity it owns, knows its people as a mighty dynamic force. Not even the Salvation Army is so equipped for the propagation of religious doctrine. It may be counted as a trust in a sense, but a spiritual trust not less than a marvelously efficient temporal one. The Mormons are a people terribly in earnest. They believe absolutely in the continued immanence of the Holy Spirit, and that inspiration is no less a part of the present than of the past. Their history, their passage through fire and water and blood, bears witness to their fervor, to their supreme faith in their principles.

As to polygamy, their position is frankly stated: "We believe it more honest to openly support, to the best and utmost of our ability, the women who honor us by becoming our wives, than to pledge fidelity to one woman, and keep first one mistress and then another, or several at once, as is the manner of the world." This is their testimony, and their women echo it, and for the most part lend their aid to bring in more converts.

Mormonism in all its phases, it is plain, has been closely studied and clearly comprehended by Miss Dougall, although she confines herself in the story to the careful development of her conception of Joseph Smith. Smith and his wife, a convert, and ardently devoted to him and his revelation, are a source of profound interest to the reader; yet hardly more so than the Croom household and the only son, Ephraim, who in time becomes the compensation for the heroine's years of torture as the wife of a Mormon missionary. After years of devotion, this missionary takes a second wife, but finally abjures the faith and is killed while attempting to escape from Salt Lake City.

The record of the whole movement moves side by side with the personal story; the gradual progress toward the adoption of polygamy, the Nauvoo life, with its rise and fall; the long and frightful passage across the plains; all that makes the tale of devotion and forsaking, of faith unto death, and of vilest perjury and betrayal; of utter carelessness of human life, and the minutest care for the growth and prosperity of the people, — these and many another contradiction, each one an attested fact, are to be found in the story. Its pages are chiefly tragedy, and the author has failed at some points to apprehend the real spiritual quality of certain phases of Mormonism. But crowded as the canvas is, lurid, as is its background, it is the first study of the subject that may be called,

in even faint degree, sympathetic. Claim for it what they may, nothing can alter the misery and degradation for woman bound up in the word polygamy; and yet sincere souls, tender hearts, keen intelligences among women have held the faith, and lived it honestly. It is all a puzzle, and, profoundly interesting as is Miss Dougall's study, it can hardly be regarded as more than a step in the direction of its solution.

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DANISH FAIRY AND FOLK TALES.

From the Danish of Svend Grundtvig etc. By J. Christian Bay. Profusely illustrated. Cloth, 12mo, pp. 293, $1.50. Harper Brothers, New York.

The pretty volume containing this new sheaf of fairy and popular tales is simply another demonstration of the essential unity of all folk-lore. With the slight variations born of national temperament and characteristics, the stories are reproductions familiar to all, of the fairy tales of our youth, all alike of Indo-European origin, traveling with their tellers from country to country, never losing the original typical character, and becoming with each generation more deeply rooted in the affections of the people. "The same story," writes the editor, "may be found in Denmark, Germany, Servia, or England, comprising the same facts and founded upon one common plot, with the exception of certain details; but the mode of telling, the tinge of nationality, or of individual peculiarities — these are as different as the momentous charm produced in telling." The child who reads will not trouble himself to trace out resemblances. It is the story he wants, and here he has it in excellent English and with spirited illustrations, a book that deserves place on the shelf of books to keep, and that will mean pleasure for all child readers and many older ones.

HELEN CAMPBELL.

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ESSAY ON THE BASES OF THE MYSTIC KNOWLEDGE.

8vo, 287 pp., $2.50. Chas. Scribner's Sons, New York.

In Récéjac's work recently translated from the French by Sara Carr Upton, mysticism has for the first time become thoroughly rational. Hitherto the mystic has been inclined to discredit the intellect, to doubt the possibility of a rational statement of the higher aspect of life, except in paradoxical terms; and present-day mystical thought tends toward a denial of the moral law, by its affirmation that "all is good." But Récéjac rejects these doctrines as degraded forms of mysticism, while his own doctrine not only harmonizes with reason, but is founded on Kantian ethics, and is wholly plausible, sane, free from the taints and false conclusions of the self-conscious mystic who mistakes his own emotions for the veritable Absolute. The author is obscure at times, his language even in this remarkably good translation is difficult, and the book is not for the novice. But he has lived with Saint Augustine, Saint Francis, Pascal, and Kant, until he has absorbed their best thought and restated it in terms of the most modern spirit. All is finite in us except Freedom. We search for the Absolute in vain, until in the moment of disinterestedness we pass into the larger realm of the mystical Presence. The mind then symbolizes the Absolute by the aid of the imagination.

We apprehend God only with the heart. That which eludes the consciousness fills the head with goodness, and beyond that we cannot go. All attempts to formulate what we have beheld in the higher realm partake of this symbolic character and are subject to illusion. "After its highest flight, mysticism must always return to practical life in order to be sure that all was not a dream. . . . The Absolute will not be circumscribed any more by ventures of Freedom than by exercise of Dialectic. . . . When the mystic eye is pure it sees in God only such things as add to the moral and rational life of humanity. . . . There is no greater danger for mysticism than the tendency to allow the symbols to become objects; and by this road it soon degenerates into fanaticism." Récéjac therefore believes that we should frankly admit the symbolic, imaginative character of our relations with the Absolute, and must not believe that the soul's visions and voices have objective existence. Pessimism is a mystic malady. The Vedanta philosophy also comes under the head of degraded mysticism, since it forgets the symbolical character of spiritual meditation. But "the heart is reason," and if our desire is moral, we may safely proceed upon this exalted pathway of right and duty, seeking to "become so conscious of the Absolute that life will be realized according to the aim of reason." Mysticism must persistently undergo the rational test, and we should carry science as far as possible into the superior realm. If science should reach the highest round of the ladder it would be a supreme triumph, and mysticism would be no more. But Récéjac does not fear this, and herein lies his superiority over previous students of mysticism; he does not fear to give fullest play to the scientific spirit, and he rigidly reduces the heart's most exalted emotions to the symbolical type. When he has finished, there is a residuum of absolutely sane spirituality. The world of psychic research evidently does not exist for him. There are many questions in regard to our spiritual nature which Récéjac does not mention. His universe lacks the great intermediary human world between nature and the Absolute; he does not mention Swedenborg or Emerson. But as a specialist, and Récéjac is essentially that, no one has gone further than he, no one has drawn mysticism and ethics so close; and no one has read the mysticism of the ages to better advantage.

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THE MAGIC OF THE HORSE-SHOE.

By Robert Means Lawrence, M. D., 12mo, 344 pp. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.

Dr. Lawrence has ransacked the literature of all nations for references to the horseshoe and the lucky owners connected with it, and has produced a very entertaining volume, particularly from the point of view of the childhood of the race. The folk-lore of common salt, the omens of sneezing, the days of good and evil omen, superstitions dealing with numbers, and the luck of odd numbers are topics which the author has treated in the same suggestive way, although his first love is apparently the horseshoe. There is surprising unanimity in regard to these superstitions among primitive people, although there are notable exceptions, which seem to prove the rule. For example, in Bohemia whoever picks

up a horseshoe, thereby picks up ill-luck. In many countries the power of evil spirits is said to be especially strong on Friday, but in Servia children born on Friday are thought to be invulnerable to the assaults of the whole army of hags and sorcerers. In Germany, Friday is reckoned the most fateful of all the week-days, whether for good or ill. In Ireland neither butter nor milk should be given away on Friday, nor should a cat be taken from one house to another. The omens of sneezing are particularly explicit. The belief in the luck of numbers, notably the ill-fated thirteen, seems to have survived most persistently in later times, and these "Synes" are most seriously accepted. At the thirteenth annual dinner of the Thirteen Club, in New York City, in 1895, "so prevalent was the apprehension of evil likely to result from the assembling together of thirteen persons that, when at length the requisite number were seated at table, it was found desirable to lock the doors of the banquet room, lest some faint soul should retire abruptly." A copious index enables one quickly to locate one's pet superstition, and the volume contains abundant references to the original sources of information.

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LIVE QUESTIONS.

By John P. Altgeld. 8vo, 1010 pp., $2.50. G. S. Bowen & Son, Chicago.

The reader is almost overwhelmed with the wealth of material on the great social issues of the day, in ex-governor Altgeld's book. Every unsettled problem which a governor of a great state is called upon to meet, is here discussed at sufficient length to make the book an exhaustive statement of a point of view. The method of treatment of these live issues is well illustrated by the author's examination of the evidence for and against the condemned anarchists whom Governor Altgeld pardoned in 1893. The reasons for this act are given at length, and the principle on which the decision is based is the ideal of justice, equality, liberty, for which the author pleads throughout with a candor and a spirit of patriotism which cannot fail to appeal even to the prejudiced mind. Surely one who thus pleads for the extension of equal rights to all is worthy of an equally candid hearing. "No government was ever overthrown by the poor," the book concludes, "and we have nothing to fear from that source. It is the greedy and the powerful who pull down the pillars of the state. It is the criminal rich and the hangers-on who are the real anarchists of our time."

H. W. D.

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STUDIES IN THE PSYCHOLOGY OF WOMAN.

By Laura Marholm. Translated by Georgia A. Etchinson. 8vo, 348 pp. Herbert S. Stone & Co., Chicago.

The student of the nature and position of woman is laid under obligation by the publication of these studies in English. However one may criticize certain minor judgments, the reader recognizes in the author a strong, broad-minded, logical, and intelligent personality which seeks to place the real question at issue in woman's development in its true light; to give it impartial and comprehensive consideration. The

author appreciates the defects and the merits of the movement for woman's emancipation, and offers a rational solution for serious difficulties which confront the social and economic world. Man was responsible for changes in woman's position in the family and in society during early modern history. She developed solely in line with man's changing temperament and needs; she led a life of adaptation to such conditions as man created in response to his desires and requirements. Woman was not aware that she possessed an individual nature, characteristic of her own sex and unlike the masculine type. In fact, woman knew little of her own nature; circumstances offered her few opportunities to develop an understanding of herself. She was willing to hold herself subservient to man, to echo his ideas. But the forces of evolution have roused a vague longing for a larger life. The movement in response to that longing has led her to seek freedom for herself in directions identical with man's activity, because woman was as yet incompetent to understand her needs and adapt her life to meet them. The vital point about which the argument of the book centers is this fact, that neither man nor woman has understood the nature of woman. The highest permanent results in the movement for woman's emancipation can be attained only when man and woman recognize the individuality of the masculine and of the feminine type: that woman can never develop into a true man, nor man into a true woman. Many differ from the author and believe that "equality" of man and woman is possible and inevitable. But equality implies—not identical rights—but the opportunity for full expression of the individual sex type, complementary development which fits man and woman for comradeship.

The cry of the age is for happiness. Happiness is no longer covered by crude ideas of enjoyment and sensation, but involves the longing for unity in the individualized inner life, to understand the real self and to live the life which springs from, and increases such understanding. Woman raises this cry for happiness by saying, "Give me freedom to understand myself as woman, to express my woman nature. I desire to be nothing more than woman, yet a woman to the length and breadth of all possibilities, to live out my nature in action, in taking an active part in the world of action."

The author sees for all present problems of family, social, and commercial life, one comprehensive solution: First, the recognition of individual masculine and feminine types, complementary but never normally interchangeable; second, individual expression of the type; third, the creation of a field of activity for woman, work which arises out of "womanly necessity for inner and outer unfolding," that she may have access to productive work without encroaching.

"In what does woman's productive labor consist? As I write this question I am surprised that it has not been raised before, either by the women or the men; and for the following reasons: Firstly, in order to meet the woman's need of work, we must decide clearly for which branches she is especially fitted; secondly, in order to avoid the intrusion of women into departments more natural to man and better filled by him, we must fix the distinguishing qualities of masculine and femi-

nine work, and discard those branches in which woman's service is inferior; thirdly, we must know in what departments the woman is superior to the man, and hence reserve this work for her, so far as possible; fourthly, it is a question of a certain quality of performance, not merely of work alone, but of productive work; *i. e.*, no longer the service of an individual for a certain return, no longer a mere wage relation, but such that by its very constitution a surplus arises out of it which contributes to the public weal and is indispensable for its preservation; fifthly, has there . . . been any conception of a work for woman as productive? It seems to me there is no such conception, since it is desired to open to women all branches in free competition, which therefore excludes protection in her own especial branches . . . ."

A. R. D.

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LIBRARY OF HEALTH, Vol. II.
8vo, pp. 172, $1.00. Alliance Publishing Company, New York.

The second volume of "The Library of Health," by Charles Brodie Patterson, carries us further along in the "New Psychology" than the first, which deals more directly with the physical effect of "living the life." In this latter work we are brought into a realizing sense of our illimitable possibilities. We are made to feel that we may be filled with a never-failing supply of vitality, giving us health, happiness, the power of benefiting all with whom we come in contact, and that there will be for us an ever-increasing, ever-broadening mental and spiritual growth, through the complete assimilation of these facts: Our oneness with all life, leading us irresistibly to feel our intimate relationship, not only to man, but to life in whatever form it may be expressed; the right understanding of non-resistance; the power that becomes ours when we realize that force works from center to circumference, so that man must look within himself for divine power, and, through the right use of will, bring it into outward expression; the power in our own thought for the upbuilding or the undoing of ourselves and others; the knowledge of our birthright — our freedom — through understanding the actual meaning of the saying, "Man is a law unto himself." There are also some excellent papers on how to develop the gift of healing, and on how to give treatments. The author dwells insistently upon the affirmation of the good, instead of the denial of the evil. The extreme simplicity of these essays is one of their strongest points. There are no confusing metaphysical speculations, only clear, practical statements that people in any walk of life can understand and put into use.

F. P. P.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Descriptive Mentality from the Head, Face, and Hand, by Holmes W. Merton; illustrated, 8vo, cloth, 224 pp., $1.50; David McKay, Philadelphia.

The Labadist Colony in Maryland, by Bartlett B. James, Ph.D. (Johns Hopkins University Studies); Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore.

A Sketch of Anne Robert Jacques Turgot, with a Translation of his Letter to Dr. Price, by James M. Barnard; small 4to, portrait, 64 pp.; George H. Ellis, Boston.

The Standard Intermediate-School Dictionary of the English Language, designed to give the orthography, pronunciation, meaning, and etymology of about 38,000 words, with 800 pictorial illustrations; abridged from the Funk & Wagnalls Standard Dictionary, by James C. Fernald; Funk & Wagnalls Company, New York and London, 1899.

Last of the Great Scouts, the Life Story of Col. William F. Cody (Buffalo Bill), as told by his sister, Helen Cody Wetmore, Duluth, Minn.; published by the author; cloth, 267 pp.

Testimony of the Sonnets as to the Authorship of the Shakespearean Plays and Poems, by Jere Johnson; New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons; cloth, gilt top, 99 pp.

History of American Coinage, by David K. Watson; G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York; cloth, 277 pp., $1.50.

Duality of Voice, an Outline of Original Research, by Emil Sutro; G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York; cloth, 224 pp., $1.

Industrial Cuba, by Robert P. Porter; G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York; cloth, 415 pp., 62 illustrations and maps, $3.50.

Miss Cayley's Adventures, by Grant Allen; G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York; 80 illustrations by Gordon Brown; cloth, 344 pp., $1.50.

Notes on History of Auricular Confession, H. C. Lea's Account of the Power of the Kings in the Early Church, by Rev. P. H. Casey, R.J.; John Jos. McVey, Philadelphia, 118 pp., paper, 25 cents.

Pauperizing the Rich, by Alfred J. Ferris; T. S. Leach & Co., Philadelphia; octavo, cloth, 432 pp.

Better-World Philosophy, a sociological synthesis, by J. Howard Moore; Ward Waugh Company, Chicago; cloth, crown 8vo, 275 pp., $1.00.

No "Beginning," or The Fundamental Fallacy, by William H. Maple; W. H. Maple & Co., Chicago; cloth, small crown 8vo, 183 pp., 75 cents.

Outline of Practical Sociology, by Carroll D. Wright, LL.D., United States Commissioner of Labor; Longmans, Green & Co., New York; 8vo, cloth, 431 pp., $2.00.

Tea Pot Philosophy, by Walter L. Sinton, 45 Rush Street, Chicago; paper, 35 pp., 25 cents.

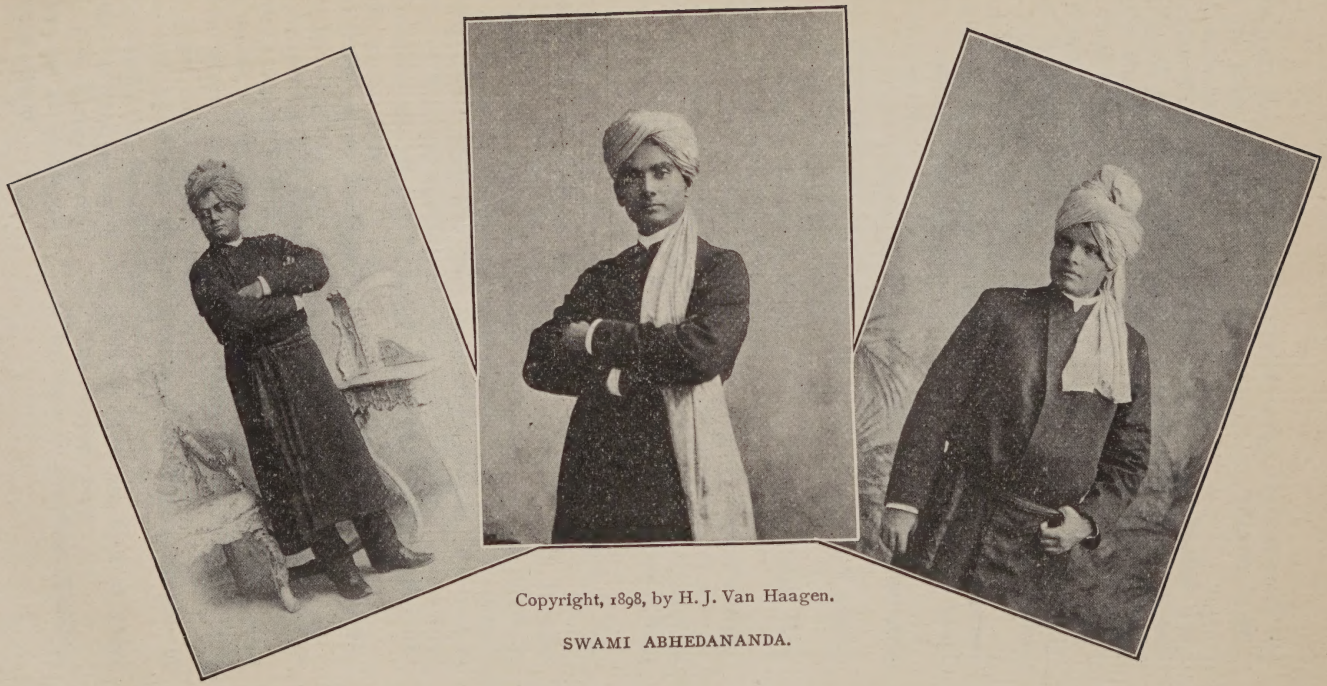
The Awakening of Women, or Woman's Part in Evolution, by Frances Swiney; George Redway, London; post, 8vo, 323 pp., $1.25.

Soul Power, a discussion concerning the religious and practical value of "mental health," by George Croswell Cressey, Ph.D.; George H. Ellis, Boston; paper, 29 pp., price 5 cents.

Cubes and Spheres in Human Life, by F. A. Wiggin; Banner of Light Publishing Co., Boston; cloth, 120 pp.

A Step Forward, a treatise on possible social reform, by F. C. Theo. Krüger; J. H. Blanchard & Co., New York; paper, 30 pp.

Lessons on the Philosophy of Life, by Lucie G. Beckham, Alameda, Cal.; cloth, 158 pp.



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SWAMI ABHEDANANDA.

SWAMI VIVEKANANDA.

SWAMI SARADANANDA.

"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them.
They master us and force us into the arena,
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."
—HEINE.

THE ARENA

VOL. XXII. OCTOBER, 1899. No. 4.

ENGLISH ETHICS.

IT will readily be granted that England holds a foremost place amongst the nations of the earth for learning, sacred and profane. All sources of knowledge have been exhausted to bring her instruction and enlightenment. The literature of ancient Greece, Rome, and of still more remote antiquities has been unrolled before her. She has made her own of the knowledge of the many, the concretion of which is called Science, and has drunk so deeply of the intoxicating cup that she has become inebriated and incapable of distinguishing between right and wrong.

It would be out of place, and is not necessary, to attempt here an exposition of England's vast educational resources; or to estimate the millions expended annually (perhaps it is more correct to say squandered) upon her schools, public and private, and upon her colleges and universities—ecclesiastical, lay, military, naval, engineering, legal, medical, etc. The land is studded in every direction with schools, high and low, for the intellectual and moral training of all ranks and conditions, from the pauper to the peer. Even the abnormal classes—the deaf-mute, the blind, and the idiotic—are not forgotten; they, too,

are included in England's designs for informing and enlightening the understanding, regulating the principles, and molding the character of her people. What visions of all that can be taught and learned are conjured up by merely naming Cambridge and Oxford, the most famous two seats of learning in Great Britain! Thousands of men of the highest order of intellect, whose influence in after life extended to the uttermost ends of the earth, studied within their halls. What has that influence been? Has it been for good or for evil? For the benefit and elevation of mankind or only for the betterment of a limited number of ambitious adventurers? The question shall be answered as we proceed.

It is a truism to say that good and evil exist side by side everywhere but separated by an impassable gulf—an abysmal chasm too wide to be bridged over and too deep to be filled up. There has been a death struggle—war to the knife—going on between them from time immemorial: even from the day when the first murderer struck down his weaker brother, bespattering the altar before which they both knelt with his innocent blood. No! good and evil cannot be harmonized. It is impossible to unite or dovetail them; two such antagonisms cannot blend. Their contrarieties are so countless, so infinite, their incompatibility so immense, they cannot approximate. There is an eternity of discordance between them. "When such strings jar, what hope of harmony?"

Civilized morality stands aghast and horror-stricken at the bare thought of compromise between vice and virtue, justice and injustice; between good and evil; between heaven and hell. Under the imperial ægis of the Demon of Unrighteousness, man-slaying, money-grabbing, and military profligacy must go on filling the world with misery and desolating the homes of countless millions of the human race until the advent of the blessed day now so much talked about —

> "When the war-drums throb no longer
> And the battle-flags are furled,
> In the Parliament of man,
> The federation of the world."

That the original and fundamental element out of which all good comes—the eternal truth—will in the end prevail, who can doubt? It is only a matter of time.

The questions naturally arise: Have the principles of justice, honor, rectitude, and humanity been so impressed upon the minds and hearts of the youth of England in the schools that ever afterward, in whatever circumstances they have been placed, their ethical training has made itself manifest in their actions? Have they lived up to the standard of their training? Have they laid themselves out to set, by word and example, a pattern of virtue and rectitude to other peoples, especially to those classed as ignorant and uncivilized? Or have their actions been characterized by savage ferocity, gross immorality, unexampled cruelty, and unscrupulous disregard of the rights of others? These questions have to be answered.

So many people never give the subject a thought it is necessary to consider briefly what is the meaning of the word *Ethics*. Ethics is defined as the science of the laws that govern our actions as moral agents; or, in other words, the science of human duty—of the duty man owes to man; that is to say, of the principles of brotherhood in regard to our moral obligations to one another, without distinction of class, creed, country, or color. Finally, Ethics, which must be placed at the top of all the sciences, may be summed up in the simple words: "Do unto others as you would wish others to do unto you." The precept is sublimely beautiful; but how does it work out? How is it put into practise? There is said to be a formula for raising the devil that includes reciting the Lord's Prayer backward. I do not know if there is any authentic record of the formula being successful, but it can hardly be denied that the science of Ethics read backward, as it prevails and is understood in England at the present time, can be said to have succeeded in raising His Satanic Majesty with all his works and pomps, with all his courtiers and cabinet ministers, most effectually. In pagan times the rights of "meum and tuum" were well defined though rarely well observed.

Cicero formulated a system of ethics for the guidance of the Romans of his day; nevertheless, the principle expressed in the maxim, "they may take who have the power and they may keep who can," held the field then as now. It might reasonably be expected, however, when Christianity came in—when the Sermon on the Mount had been preached and promulgated—that the hungering and thirsting after justice, mercy, and good works spoken of therein would replace the system of plunder, rapine, immorality, and murder that prevailed and still prevails over the earth; but nothing of the kind has happened. Look around and say where is the difference between the ancient and modern methods.

Under Britain's Empress-Queen—

> "Man's inhumanity to man
> Makes countless thousands mourn,"

—just as it did under the Rome of the Cæsars.

England is, comparatively, a small island—somewhere about the size of that distressful country Cuba; yet she boasts that the sun never sets upon her flag. How does this happen? It happens because the imperial instinct, the lust of conquest, and the spirit of rapine are hereditary and concupiscent in her. The smell of carnage is as a sweet odor in her nostrils; the stench that arises from the decaying bodies of the victims of her Maxim guns and repeating rifles, as they lie unburied on the battle-field, is most precious incense to her. It is useless to deny the impeachment; for is it not the fact that after every massacre, from the Khyber Pass to Khartoum, are flashed instantaneously, from the highest personage in Great Britain, congratulatory messages to the men who have done the butchering? Wherever the Union Jack floats, from Southern to Northern India, from the Cape to Omdurman, there the message of "peace and good-will to men" is reversed; the destroying Angel spreads his unholy wings and there there is weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth among the hapless millions of God's creatures, the victims of aggression, cupidity, lust, ruthlessness, and crime; and this in spite of England's pretensions as a Christianizing nation.

"Rule, Britannia" is the key-note reverberating through every page of English history. Imperialism, conquest, annexation, expansion—these are the watchwords of England's statesmen. Wherever they *safely can,* they grab all before them regardless of the "meum and tuum" of it—utterly indifferent to the rights of the original owners and brutally callous to the horrible sufferings they inflict. The facts are so and cannot be got out of or explained away, no matter how statesmen and soldiers may plume themselves upon their benevolent intentions or lay the flattering unction to their souls that all the killing, and plundering, and fire-raising is done for the honor and glory of God, and especially for the saving of the souls of "the heathen." Maxim guns, repeating rifles, dum-dum bullets, and dynamite,* impiously described as "the resources of civilization," are but burglars' tools in the hands of England to carry out her felonious policy in dealing with weaker nations. The so-called "resources of civilization" are used by brutalized soldiers, trained to war and case-hardened by crime, to slaughter the comparatively defenseless, to deprive them of their lands and goods, their precious metals and precious stones, their exquisitely wrought textile fabrics, and, when thus depleted and pauperized, to deprive them finally of their liberty. Merciless and unscrupulous English soldiers, hungering for promotion, for honors, decorations, titles, and wealth, are ready, at what is feloniously described as the call of duty, to rush to the uttermost ends of the earth, and to let perdition loose upon weak, imperfectly armed, and unoffending peoples. The act of the burglar who smashes open a safe and annexes the contents is a comparatively trifling crime; for, as a rule, he neither commits murder nor sets fire to the place he has plundered. He is a personification of innocence beside the blood-stained leader of the brigands and desperadoes who, under the Union Jack, carries out the behests of Great Britain and slays, robs,

*It is on record that in the Zulu war English soldiers set "dynamite traps" for the natives. Pictures of the horrible results were given in the Soudan illustrated papers of the day, to be gloated over by enlightened Englishmen and by the élite of the "West End."

burns, and destroys all before him, not respecting even the tombs or the ashes of the dead.*

The anti-ethical effect of British militarism is appalling. Take as an instance the recent aggression on the Hill Tribes in northern India. This splendid race of men were attacked in their mountain homes and in their beautiful valleys by a great army of British soldiers assisted by a host of native auxiliaries. The old method, "divide et impera," always adopted by England when she covets her neighbor's goods or territories, and means to have them, is resorted to. The so-called "friendlies" corrupted by British gold, and demoralized by British influence and example, are induced in a variety of ways best known to unscrupulous military adventurers to fight against their own fellow-countrymen. The word *ethics* has no place in the vocabulary of "the morally-emancipated statesman who (we are told), when circumstances drive him to cruelty, rapacity, breach of faith, falsehood, will not waver and whine about the painful necessity, but with simple decision unhampered by scruples take the course that leads straight to the next stage of the everlasting progress." (Practical Ethics, by Professor Sidgwick; p. 67.) In reading Professor Sidgwick's philosophy one is left in doubt as to whether he meant in this passage to justify the "cruelty," "rapacity," "breach of faith," and "falsehood" of "the morally-emancipated statesman" or not; at any rate, it is only fair to give him the benefit of the doubt.

A brief digression is here called for to give an instance of British breach of faith, such as Professor Sidgwick alludes to. It occurred during the Afghan war of 1844 and relates to the so-called murder of Sir William McNaughton, British Commissioner. Sir William formed the design of capturing Akbar Khan, the Afghan chief, and with this intention invited him to a conference to be held in the open, and to which both parties

*Lord Kitchener's wholesale destruction of an army of 26,000 Dervishes, the massacre of the wounded and of non-combatants—men, women, and children—the smashing of the Mahdi's tomb and casting out of his remains, is a case in point.

to the parley were to come with only a limited number of attendants. Akbar accepted the invitation and very nearly fell a victim to his trust in English honor. During the course of the conference his quick eye detected the movement of the red-coats in the not distant woods. He saw he was being surrounded. With quiet dignity he brought the conference to an end and rose to his feet. As he did so Sir William McNaughton rushed at and seized him. The noble Afghan looked into the traitor's eyes for an instant, as if doubtful whether such a breach of faith were possible; then, quickly drawing a pistol from his belt, he shot him through the head, and, leaping onto his horse, he and his escort disappeared unhurt, amid a hail of bullets.

Contrast the following instance of the chivalrous generosity of the noble Afghan with the treachery and meanness of McNaughton. During the course of the war the wife of Sir Robert Sale fell into Akbar's power. Knowing how greatly the English general would be distressed by the untoward occurrence, he at once sent an envoy to the British camp to say he did not make war on women, assuring Sir Robert of Lady Sale's safety, and that she and her party would be treated with every courtesy, adding that he would send her ladyship into the British lines on the first possible opportunity *without ransom,* which he did.

The most notable recent illustrations of the ethics of "the morally-emancipated statesman" are the campaigns against the Afridis and the Soudanese. These two instances serve to show how true is the aphorism about history repeating itself, and to show also with what relentless persistency the English nation has continued in its career of crime for so many centuries.

With regard to English doings in India it is not necessary to go back to the days of Clive and Warren Hastings, or to recall the pillage of Indian cities and the massacre of the inhabitants —from the storming of Seringapatam to the sack of Lahore, Delhi, and other great centers of Indian civilization. When Lord Cornwallis, in 1792, compelled the Sultan, Tippoo Sahib, to hand over half of his dominions to England and to pay a

vast sum of money besides, as a preliminary to wiping out himself and his kingdom, he was merely giving a practical illustration of the meaning of "English Ethics."* From that day to this the expansion of the British Empire in India has gone on and on. British statesmen and soldiers have never wavered or whined about cruelty, rapacity, breach of faith, or falsehood; nor have they ever been hampered by scruples about the painful necessity of "punitive measures," a newly coined phrase for carrying fire and sword into the homes of native races who presume to defend themselves and all they hold dear from the murderous attacks of their enemies.

The recent "punitive measures" taken against the brave Afridis is a fresh instance of how Englishmen interpret the meaning of the word *ethics*. In one day sixty villages, as reported by the military authorities, were burned to the ground. Sixteen mills were laid in ruins, and, to complete the iniquity, the millstones were broken—to make sure the murderous designs should not fail and that famine would complete the hellish work of the destroyers. There were, it may be supposed, thirty families, averaging five persons to each, in each village, giving a total of nine thousand souls, of whom probably six thousand were women and children. Picture the horrible sufferings of those innocent and helpless women and children perishing from cold, hunger, and exposure in the fastnesses of their native mountains, while at the very moment they were in their death throes their persecutors and murderers were receiving compliments, congratulations, and rewards from the Empress-Queen of Great Britain and—India! And—oh, shame! Bishops and clergy were offering up thanksgivings to the Father of Mercies for the success of the British army!

The massacre of the Arabs at Omdurman can be dealt with very briefly for the reason that an eye-witness, Mr. Ernest N. Bennett, has given the harrowing details to the world in the January number of *The Contemporary Review*. It is true an

*Seven years later, namely, in 1799, this brave Hindu monarch was killed on the ramparts of Seringapatam, fighting gallantly against English aggression, in defense of his kingdom and of his people's rights.

endeavor was made in some prints to discredit Mr. Bennett's terrible recital; when, however, it came to the test the main facts had to be admitted at the table of the House of Commons —namely, the wholesale slaughter of the Arabs: combatants and non-combatants—men, women, and children; the massacre of the wounded, the destruction of the Mahdi's Tomb, and the throwing out of his remains. It was attempted indeed to explain away and even to justify these acts, but the attempt was an utter failure.

It is an open secret that England has for long coveted "the flesh-pots of Egypt," and, in due time, a Kitchener was naturally appointed to look after them. The Marquis of Hartington, who is now Duke of Devonshire, when Secretary of State for War, ten or eleven years ago, was called upon in the House of Commons to say how long the English occupation of Egypt was going to last, and replied he hoped not more than six months. I am perfectly certain the Secretary of State for War spoke what he then believed to be the absolute truth; but how the wily wire-pullers at the War Office must have laughed at his simplicity! Since then the English have penetrated from Cairo to Khartoum, have shed rivers of innocent blood, spent millions of the tax-payers' money, and inflicted unutterable misery upon the Soudanese. In a conversation with a cleric recently, a kindly man, he amazed me by attempting to justify the wholesale slaughter of the Dervishes at Omdurman on the ground of their immorality and the consequent spread of disease in the Soudan. Of course he spoke in ignorance of the spread of contagious diseases by British soldiers wherever they go, about which something will be said later on.

An ex-Cabinet Minister, Mr. John Morley, speaking the other day of English action in the Soudan, said: "It is revolting in itself; it reflects no honor upon either the good sense or the right feeling of those who ordered it, and it reflects disgrace upon the British name."

One is reminded by these two instances—the slaughter of the Afridis and Soudanese—of the sanguinary action of the English in Ireland as related by themselves. Here are the words of an

English Viceroy, Lord Deputy Chichester, who was sent over to Ireland as a pacificator, "where [according to the historian Lodge] his service in the reduction of the Irish to due obedience was so manifest that he was effectually assistant to plough and break up that barbarous nation by conquest, and then sow it with the seeds of civility."

This master of "English Ethics" (Chichester) has left the following under his own hand (the letter is quoted in Godkin's Land War): "I have often said, and written, it is famine must consume the Irish, as our swords, and other endeavors, worked not that speedy effect which is expected; hunger would be better, because a speedier weapon to employ against them than the sword."

This amiable illustrator of "English Ethics" goes on to inform his employers, the English Government, how he carried out his theory. He says: "I burned all along Lough Neagh. . . . sparing none of what quality, age, or sex, soever, besides many burned to death. We killed man, woman, and child, horse, beast, or whatever we could find."

A contemporary and colleague of Chichester in the pacification of Ireland gives us, as related in the "Pacata Hibernia," a further insight into England's idea of Ethics. Sir George Carew, President of Munster, tells us how he accomplished the pacification of that Province, as follows: "Having before burned all the houses and corne and taken great preyes in Owny O'Mulrian and Kilquig, a strong and fast country, not far from Limerick, diverted his forces into East Clanwilliam and Muskry Quirke . . . and killed all mankind that were found therein . . . thence we came to Arloghe Woods (the beautiful Glen of Aherlowe), where we did the like, not leaving behind us man or beast, corne or cattle."

Here is another and still better illustration of "English Ethics," which fits the doings of Sir William Lockhart in the Khyber Pass and Lord Kitchener at Omdurman so well I am tempted to quote it. It is contained in a report to the Government from the President of Connaught—Malby. The Irish leaders had tendered their submission to him, hoping, by so

doing, to save their people from extermination; but Malby was not to be conciliated. He had come with a mandate to massacre, and he was not to be turned from his bloody purpose by any submission on the part of the Irish. He says in his report, as quoted by Froude: "I thought good to take another course; and so with determination to consume them with fire and sword, sparing neither old nor young, I entered their mountains. I burned all their corn and houses, and committed to the sword all that could be found. . . . In like manner I assaulted a castle, when the garrison surrendered. I put them to the *misericordia* of my soldiers—they were all slain; thence I went on sparing none that came in my way, which cruelty did so amaze their followers they could not tell where to bestow themselves. It was all done in rain and frost and storm, journeying in such weather bringing them the sooner to submission."

It is a far cry from Omdurman and Afghanistan to Ireland, and reference to the latter in this connection may be thought a digression; but it is nothing of the kind. The reference is most appropriate; it shows the meaning English soldiers and statesmen, past and present, attach to the word *Ethics*, the subject of this article, and how an elastic conscience allows a nation to grab the property of other people and in doing so to commit murder on a gigantic scale. It seems as if the magnitude of national crimes consecrates and makes them *sacrosanct.* Yet when some starveling picks a pocket or robs a till England throws up her hands and eyes in pious horror and virtuously sends the offender to prison; or, if murder is done, hangs him up by the neck.

Reference was made above to the profligacy of the British army. Nobody will assert that all soldiers are bad. There are many respectable and right-minded men in the ranks as well as in positions of command; but, on the other hand, nobody will assert that Tommy Atkins, taken in the gross, is a virtuous character. The controversies over the Contagious Diseases Acts, and the statistics supplied from cantonments, camps, and garrison towns, and especially the Indian statistics in refer-

ence to those controversies, shed a lurid light upon the dissolute character of the British soldier. The revelations made before the Committee of the House of Commons, which sat during four years, from 1879 to 1882, examined a host of witnesses and asked thirty thousand questions, disclosed an appalling condition of things in this connection. It showed the prevalence of moral iniquity in the Army in its most hideous aspects —such as the government system of licensing prostitutes and providing them with brothels—and convicted the military authorities, who brought about the passing of the Contagious Diseases Acts, not only of conniving at but of pandering to the vicious tendencies of the soldiers by endeavoring by every conceivable means to make the habitual practises of immorality safe and attractive.

The late Right Hon. James Stansfeld, whose terrible denunciation of Lord Kimberley's defense of the government brothel system caused such a sensation a few years ago, especially with reference to the fact (admitted by the then Colonial Secretary, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) that a sum of $50,000 net profit was annually received in the Colony of Hong Kong "as part of the regular revenue and used for the general purposes of government," in a speech in the House of Commons, June 19th, 1882, denounced the atrocious system and dwelt upon the infamy attaching to the Contagious Diseases Acts in a way that ought to have convinced the most hardened reprobates of their folly and wickedness. A publication, just issued, entitled "The Queen's Daughters in India," reveals the existence of a state of profligacy in the Army there, from the Commander-in-Chief downward, that amounts to a moral leprosy. It gives details of the means recommended and adopted to minimize the danger of disease consequent on the licentious conduct of the British soldier. It tells how young girls from the tenderest age upward are specially provided by the military authorities to gratify the basest passions of England's heroes.

To make sure there shall be no mistake about the facts, a "Circular Memorandum (No. 21)," addressed to general officers commanding divisions and districts, dated June 17th, 1886,

and issued by the orders of Lord Roberts, the then Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's forces in India, is quoted. The circular memo. is a long one, and enters into a variety of disgusting details. One brief extract is sufficient to show its aim: "In the regimental bazaars it is necessary to have a sufficient number of women; to take care that they are sufficiently attractive; to provide them with proper houses," etc. And it goes on to point out that "if young soldiers are carefully advised . . . they may be expected to avoid the risks involved in association with women who are not recognized by the regimental authorities." The whole circular reads as if it had been concocted by the Arch Fiend in the bottomless pit rather than by one of Her Majesty's most favored Generals, who had already received great, and was yet to receive still greater, honors and rewards at her hands.

It might naturally be supposed that the whole bench of Bishops rose in their place in the House of Lords and with loud and united voice denounced this atrocious circular; or that H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge, then Commander-in-Chief, brought the matter under the notice of his cousin, the Empress-Queen; or that the Marquis of Hartington, then Secretary of State for War, with manly eloquence protested against the degradation of the department of which he was the head; or that the Poet Laureate in scathing verse, such as Longfellow or Tom Hood would have written, held up to the scorn of the world the morally degraded British soldier. No! Nothing of the kind took place; but what did happen was this—the man who thus debased himself to the deepest depths of human infamy; who had made himself a pander, a pimp, a bawd, a procurer for the Army under his command, had honors, rank, wealth, and decorations rained upon him. He was given the Victoria Cross of Valor, was made a peer and a Knight of St. Patrick, and was so feted and feasted and flattered that he must have believed himself to be a heaven-sent messenger instead of an emissary from "another place." Rudyard Kipling in his "Departmental Ditties" lets a ray of light in upon the doings of the élite in India. It is just possible, when he wrote

those scathing satires of his, especially those entitled "A Code of Morals" and "Pink Dominoes," he may have had in mind the author of the infamous circular memorandum of June 17th, 1886:

"That snowy-haired Lothario, Lieut.-General Bangs."

About £40,000,000 sterling annually is devoted to warlike purposes; that is to say, to the military and naval services. It would be satisfactory to the tax-payers to know how much of it is spent for immoral purposes, or, plainly speaking, for providing licensed prostitutes and sanitary brothels for the men who fight England's battles.

There is a great ethical movement on foot at the present time, and a supreme effort is being made to lead the country into the paths of justice and righteousness. But unless and until the men who hold the reins of power and control the public purse are compelled or shamed into decent behavior, it is to be feared England will continue in her career of crime until history repeats itself by visiting her with the fate of so many other fallen nations.

W. J. Corbet.

Delgany, Ireland.

IS THE REPUBLIC OVERTHROWN?

THESE facts are not disputed: (1) The United States purchased from Spain the *legal* title to the Philippine Islands and the *legal* right to hold the citizens of those Islands as subjects; and (2) The United States has refused to promise to said citizens that they shall receive self-government when they establish a stable government or are capable of establishing such a government.

Does this make the United States an Empire? In other words, is the Republic overthrown and an Empire arisen?

"Empire" is derived from "imperium," which means command; control; domination. Where the sovereign power of any given territory has dominion over the people of any portion of its territory, with no promises to them of self-government, the form of the State is that of an empire. In other words, whenever the sovereign power (the State) wills that the people of a given territory shall be its subjects, with no promise of self-government, and establishes a legal title to such territory, at that moment the State becomes an empire. The United States became an empire at the moment she refused to promise self-government to the people in the Philippine Islands.

The form of government through which the sovereign will acts may be monarchical, aristocratic, or republican; that is to say, the State makes eligible to office one, a few, or the mass of the population.* Great Britain is usually termed a Monarchical Empire; the United States of America is a Republican Empire. The fact that the United States is attempting to hold in subjection the people of the Philippine Islands, and with no promise of self-government, is evidence that the form of the State is an empire, while the form of the government through which the State acts remains as it has been—namely, republican.

*Burgess's "Political Science and Constitutional Law," vol. II., page 3.

At the moment that the United States refused to promise ultimate self-government (home rule) to the people of the Philippine Archipelago, the form of the State changed from that of a republic to an empire. In other words, the sovereign will changed from that which recognized self-government as the true basis of government to that which refused to recognize this principle. Previous to that time we were a republic; for, when the Louisiana purchase was made, it was deliberately declared that the people in the newly acquired territory were to have self-government; and such was the case in the Florida purchase and in the acquirement of Mexican territory. As to Alaska, the question of empire *versus* republic never came up for determination; but if it had, our people would have stood by the principle of self-government and would not have changed our ideal to that of conqueror and subject.

"Empire" has other meanings than that of a State in which the people in some portions of its territory are held as subjects. For example, "German Empire" is a term applied to the State that resulted when several of the German kingdoms and lesser States were united. In this case a broader term than "kingdom" was required, and "empire" was adopted. "Republic" did not describe the aggregation of German commonwealths, for self-government was absent—there existed government of the many by the few: "government by others." "Empire" is also used to describe a broad expanse of territory, regardless of where the sovereignty resides; for example, "The Empire State"—New York.

The way that our republic was overthrown was through Usurpation. The officers of the government, when they took the oath of office, assumed the solemn and high obligation of upholding the Constitution of the United States. That Constitution has as its corner-stone the establishment and continuance of the republic; yet the officers in control of the government have deliberately refused to declare that the people of the Philippine Archipelago shall have self-rule when they shall have established a stable government. The Administration and its upholders attempt to evade this central point in the Philippine

question. Examples of the way in which the question is sought to be evaded are as follows:

It is said to be a question of Expansion; whereas every one is in favor of expansion of trade, provided other important principles are upheld, and many are in favor of territorial expansion who are not in favor of the method here being pursued.

It is said that what we are doing is in pursuance of a duty we owe to civilization; that it is "the white man's burden." We reply, there is no doubt that we owe a duty to civilization. The point is, in what does the duty consist? Shall the United States refuse to promise home-rule when a stable government is formed, or shall we promise it? The difference marks the boundary between despotism and self-government, between empire and republic. The representatives of the sovereign power in the United States have usurped the authority of their principals and have refused and are refusing to promise the people of the Philippines ultimate self-government, and as a result we have war on our hands; but far worse than war is the desertion of the principle of self-government and the adoption of a principle that is the exact opposite. The people, however, have the power to force the usurpers of sovereignty to right-about-face, for the elections are nearing. It therefore behooves the citizens of this country to note carefully the arguments in this Philippine question:

Our brave soldier boys in the Far East are yielding up their lives with scarcely a murmur, and each day increases the number of widows and orphans both in this country and in the Philippine Islands. Yet the fighting between our troops and the Filipinos will cease immediately if our government will reaffirm the principle enunciated to the Cubans, namely, independence as soon as a stable government is established. If this announcement were made, our troops would rest on their arms, holding the vantage-points already possessed, and await the outcome. Until a stable government should be established by the natives, our troops would continue their occupancy; and if for a considerable time there should be fighting among the natives themselves, or a failure to recognize the rules of international law, then our forces would intervene.

Why not adopt this policy? There is no valid reason for refusing it, and there was no valid reason for refusing it at the close of the Spanish-American war. The question came squarely before the Senate of the United States in the following resolution:

"*Resolved, further,* that the United States hereby disclaim any disposition or intention to exercise permanent sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over the people of said islands, and assert their determination, when a stable and independent government shall have been erected therein, entitled in the judgment of the government of the United States to recognition as such, to transfer to said government, upon terms which shall be reasonable and just, all rights secured under the cession by Spain, and thereupon to leave the government and control of the islands to their people."

The policy enunciated in this resolution—the Bacon resolution, as it is called—was voted down by the Republican leaders. The ballot stood a tie, and the President of the Senate—the Vice-President of the United States—cast his vote against the resolution. Many of those who spurned this policy and thereby brought on the Philippine war were among those who voted against a similar declaration as to the Cubans. Among those who voted down the Bacon resolution were Senator Hanna, Chairman of the Republican National Committee; Senators Foraker of Ohio, Platt of New York, Elkins of West Virginia, Penrose of Pennsylvania, Burrows and McMillan of Alger's State, Allison and Gear of Iowa, Davis and Nelson of Minnesota, Spooner of Wisconsin, Cullom and Mason of Illinois, Thurston of Nebraska, Baker of Kansas, McBride and Simon of Oregon, Wilson of Washington, Carter and Mantle of Montana, Hansbrough of North Dakota, and Wellington of Maryland; and the President of the Senate.

In the House of Representatives the Republican leaders did not permit the question of Philippine independence to come to a vote, but the Democrats, Populists, and Silver Republicans held a caucus and adopted a resolution similar in effect to the Bacon resolution.

Yet the Republican leaders, including the President, evade the discussion of this central point—the point that marks the departure from the principle of self-government to that of despotism: from a republic to an empire. President McKinley, at the banquet of the Boston Home Market Club, said that we either had to do as we were doing or draw out and leave the islanders to themselves, thereby concealing the middle course proclaimed in the case of Cuba, namely, that of remaining on the island until a stable government should be established. Why this evasion of the point at issue if it can be satisfactorily answered?

When forced to answer the point it is usually said that the Filipinos are incapable of establishing a stable government. We answer, Why not announce the principle upon which self-government rests, and thus range ourselves with the republics instead of the despotic States? There is no answer that can be given that will conform to the principle of self-government. The selfish interests of millionaire franchise-grabbers and of those other capitalists who control the machine of the party in power have succeeded in carrying public opinion as far as they have only because they have concealed the true question at issue.

There are a few individuals who honestly believe that we can give the people in the Philippine Islands a better set of national laws than they would make for themselves, while we will permit them to make their own local laws within certain limits. The answer is twofold at least. If the people of those islands are *incapable* of establishing a stable government, then we are all agreed that the United States shall make their laws until such time as they are capable of establishing a stable government; but we must announce to the Filipinos and to the world that independence will be granted when a stable government is established. This is anti-imperialism. If the people of the Philippines are to-day *capable* of establishing a stable government, then they should be encouraged to do so in order that they may make their own laws and thereby receive liberty and greater prosperity than is the case where any body of people

residing in another territory make their laws for them. The dominant power in the Philippines will know what is best for themselves, while so long as their laws are made by people residing in another country the foreigners will work for their own interests and therefore against the interests of those whom they rule. Such is the history of the world.

"But," it is said, "there is a struggle for existence and a survival of those best fitted for the existing conditions; therefore, it is right for us to get what we can and keep it." We reply that this is a misstatement of God's law of social development. If the law were as stated, why should not the pirate be applauded instead of being shot? The point is that "the struggle" takes place under rules or planes of competition commonly called laws and customs. The character of these rules or planes of competition determine the height of civilization. In other words, "civilization" means that certain forms of competition are barred out—for example, piracy and looting weaker nations, provided they have stable governments. Such is the law of nations—international law. Republics, however, go beyond the laws of nations and recognize that where people are capable of establishing a stable government they are entitled to do so, and therefore should not be held as subjects against their will.

The way that competition between races takes place under international law is as follows: To the extent that the less civilized races permit immigration, the rights of the more highly civilized beings are protected by their own governments. In this way the Englishman, the German, and the American with their intelligence and capital have gone into the republics of Mexico, Central America, and South America, and have helped to develop the country, and at the same time the laws of each country into which they have gone have been made by the people residing within such territory. This has insured that the laws have been in the interest of the dominant power in each republic, and it has given the immigrants from the United States, England, and Germany power in the forming of these laws that they would not have had were the laws enacted in the United States, in England, or in Germany, or by the representa-

tives of these Powers. In other words, had the European countries made the laws for the American provinces the aim would have been to benefit those residing in Europe, and at the expense of their own flesh and blood who resided in the provinces. For this reason the thirteen colonies put forth the Declaration of Independence, and left the mother country.

We may rest assured that the principles whereby the greatest height of civilization is being reached are the principles whereby we are to go to higher and higher forms of life and of government. The Republic is the highest form of State yet attained, and history will pronounce this war against the Philippine people as General Grant did our war with Mexico: "It was one of the most unjust wars ever waged by the stronger against the weaker. It was an instance of a Republic following the bad example of the European monarchies in not considering justice in their desire to acquire additional territory." And the dying chieftain added, "The Southern rebellion was largely the outgrowth of the Mexican war. Nations, like individuals, are punished for their transgressions."

Space will not permit a detailed statement of the evils to the people residing in the territory that is governed by the conquering power. It is very bad, for, among other evils, it keeps the inhabitants from attaining real self-government. Whenever the majority of the people become the real rulers they willingly grant self-government to others. In the words of Abraham Lincoln: "No man is good enough to govern another man without that other's consent," and he added, "those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves, and under a just God cannot long retain it."

The principles whereby the different nations and races of mankind have attained their most rapid development are, as I read them, as follows; and they are placed here in the form of a political platform:

NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT.

Whereas, History demonstrates that the progress of a race of people is best promoted where there are equal rights before the law—equal opportunities; and,

Whereas, Equal rights prevail most widely where the laws are enacted by a majority of those adults of the race whose interests are at stake; where a man or set of men have legislated for others whose interests are antagonistic the aim has invariably been to benefit themselves, their families and friends and class, and this is necessarily at the expense of those whom they rule, and ultimately at the expense of the capable ones themselves who possess the special privileges, and at the expense of their families and descendants. The European policy holding in subjection the class that is fit to vote has kept the entire nation in each country from progressing as it otherwise would have done. Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the . . . . party reaffirm its allegiance to the American policy of equal rights, which includes majority rule.

RACE DEVELOPMENT.

Whereas, In the development of the races of mankind, as distinguished from nations, the facts of history demonstrate that the best results for civilization have been secured where each race capable of maintaining a stable government has home rule, subject to the rules mutually agreed upon by the nations of the world—international law. The governing of India by the dominant power in England has been bad for the people in India, natives and Europeans; bad for the English nation, for it has retarded the development of equal rights; bad for America, and an evil to all the human race. The qualities that have spread civilization in foreign lands and secured wealth to the advanced people have been intelligence, energy, and sympathy for fellowmen—love of justice. Our trade with the countries of Central and South America has been extended because of the justice of the Monroe Doctrine—the protection of the weak by the strong—our fair dealings in other ways, and the intelligence and energy of our people. The countries of Europe, so far as they have adopted a similar policy, have profited tremendously, while to the extent that they have held races in subjection they have substituted an inferior progress to that which would have

been secured under the opposite policy. In contradistinction to India under British rule, the Japanese under home rule are adopting the civilizing influences at an astonishing rate, while retaining many of the higher qualities not possessed by other peoples; and all this is benefiting the entire human race. For the strong people to blot out the expression of the Japanese through their own lawmaking body would be for brute strength to rob the world of high qualities, some of which we shall assimilate. If the less strong people are left to develop they will assimilate many of our better qualities. Social perfection is many-sided, and therefore needs the example of all the higher races, and under varied conditions of soil and climate—all sprung from the same stock and territory, it is supposed. We deprecate, therefore, the loss of home rule for Scotland, Ireland, Wales, Poland, and Finland, and call attention to the magnificent results that have flowed from the retention of home rule in Switzerland, Holland, Belgium, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, New Zealand, and the United States. Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the . . . . party reaffirms its allegiance to equal rights, which includes home rule for each race of people, subject to international law; and

Whereas, This moral right of races is recognized in international law, but in recent years it has been weakened; the dominant powers of Europe are pouncing upon degenerate China, and soon will stand like famished wolves, ready to pull down the weakest member of the family of nations unless the international law protecting them is strengthened. And

Whereas, The United States by refusing to promise ultimate self-government to the people residing in the Philippine Islands changed the form of the State from a Republic to an Empire. The form of government through which the sovereign will acts remained as it was—namely, republican. And

Whereas, The present government has, by implication, abandoned the Monroe Doctrine, viz., the doctrine that the republics on this continent shall not be subjugated by those who rule in the empires of the Old World. And

Whereas, From the standpoint of immediate wealth to

the United States the attempt to hold the Philippines as a conquered province is the rankest folly, and, therefore, explainable only on other grounds than that of material benefit to the people of this country. The trade of the islands is open to the world, the franchises are going to those who already are over-wealthy, while the soldiers must come from the ranks of the people of this country and the funds to support them be raised by taxing our people while the incomes of those who own the franchises cannot be touched—such is the Constitution as the appointees of the monopoly barons have construed it. On the other hand, we are advocating the expansion of home rule for all nations capable of maintaining a stable government, and advocating also the widest possible expansion of trade for this country consistent with the highest possible standard of living for the people of this land, and we point to our enunciated trade policies to demonstrate our devotion to the interests of all the producing classes, and at the same time the protection of vested interests and exact justice to all. Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the . . . . party of the United States reaffirms its allegiance to the doctrine of home rule for all nations, subject to international law. Accordingly, we reaffirm that it is the purpose of this people to prevent the subjugation of any American republic by a European power or powers, and we denounce as traitors to self-government, and, therefore, to progress, those who have changed the United States to an empire. In doing so, they have slaughtered in the Philippines the flower of the American youth and manhood who enlisted for the purpose of giving liberty and self-government to the Cuban patriots, and have slaughtered those who were demanding and fighting for liberty and self-government as did our forefathers, and with whom this government allied itself to overthrow the authority of Spain in the Philippines. The people of this world face two alternative tendencies. On the one hand is the tendency to the development of despotic power over more and more widely distributed areas, until all the people of the globe shall be the subjects of a single dominant, centralized power, or until civilization shall have retrograded to where this shall

have become impossible. On the other hand, there lies open the development of republicanism, or, as more commonly termed, democracy, namely, the self-government of each community, the people of several communities agreeing with each other as to the rules of conduct which should be coëxistent with their territory, and the people of each of these territories agreeing with each other as to the more universal rules of conduct, and all combining upon international rules, thus begirting the world with human laws, mutually agreed upon and conforming to Nature's laws of progress. This mutual marking out of the righteous rules of conduct with equal rights to all secures the maximum amount of freedom and happiness and the minimum amount of government. This is the Republicanism of Lincoln, Grant, Blaine, Logan, Sumner, and of the entire Abolition Party and their descendants who abide by the principles of their fathers; it is the Democracy of Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, and their followers; and it is the application of the Golden Rule—the Christ spirit of brotherhood: "He hath made of one blood all nations."

GEORGE H. SHIBLEY.

New York.

A REFERENDUM FOR REFORM.

AFTER extended discussion, the following resolution was reported unanimously by the Committee on Resolutions and was adopted by a three-fourths vote at the National Social and Political Conference, held at Buffalo, June 28th to July 4th, last:

"*Whereas,* This Conference favors the enrolment into a coherent and tangible body of voters of all those who wish to effect the enactment into law, through the agency of existing political organizations, of measures of reform in the interests of the people, and

"*Whereas,* This Conference has considered the plan presented by Mr. Buchanan for accomplishing this object and believes it to be practicable and advantageous, assuring at once the force and effect upon a political convention of a united demand made by a numerous body of citizens, while at the same time securing to each member of that phalanx his voice in the selection of the measure or measures recommended; therefore, be it

"*Resolved,* That this Conference approves the plan, pronounces it at once practicable and advantageous, and recommends the appointment of a committee consisting of Dr. C. F. Taylor, Eltweed Pomeroy, Charles B. Spahr, and Frank Stevens to coöperate with its originator, Joseph R. Buchanan, in putting it into effect."

It has long been the opinion of many of the country's thoughtful men that efforts to secure practical reforms through independent party action would prove futile. This does not mean that third parties, or fourth and fifth parties, have been complete failures. On the contrary, they have been and are great educational forces. To their splendid propaganda work is due, in a great measure, the fact that there are now in this country between two and three million voters who are no longer counted as faithful adherents of the old parties. To these independents, more than to any other influence, belongs the credit for bringing into the arena of political discussion the advanced questions of social economy and governmental policy

that have completely changed the current of politics within recent years. Yet a success many times greater than has hitherto been achieved at the polls by a third party is needed to place the forces of legislation and administration behind the measures proposed by reformers to-day. It is apparent that the required success is more difficult of attainment now than ever before unless radically new methods be adopted.

I do not intend here to go deeply into the causes of the failure of third parties; but in discussing the plan recommended by the Buffalo Conference, a few of these causes may be suggested to the mind of the thoughtful reader.

The greatest discouragement with which reformers have had to contend is the evidence so frequently placed before them that, while their doctrines appear steadily to gain supporters, the accomplishment of their aims seems to be getting farther and farther away. That is to say, that though their success as agitators is gratifying, their failure as organizers is discouraging. The genuine reformer does not desert his cause because of these discouragements; but, like all other men, he sometimes grows weary in fruitless labor, and he knows the strengthening power of an occasional practical achievement. For these reasons the majority of reformers in this country, after entering some wing of the radical movement step by step, reverse their course, and in time are ready to concentrate their effort upon what is most available at a given time—never, however, abating a jot in loyalty to their final program. This tendency was distinctly shown in 1896, notwithstanding the fact that the inducement then extended, so far as platform declarations were concerned, was little if anything. It is true there are parties other than the two leading ones whose members absolutely refuse to accept anything short of their whole program (generally they scorn to receive any benefit unless it bears their particular party label); but, with a few exceptions, they are comparatively young recruits and have not reached the turning-point, or they are lacking in knowledge of the people, institutions, and history of this country. They mean to be right, and desire to improve the conditions of the people; but,

for the present at least, those who operate under the step-at-a-time plan will have to get along without their assistance.

There are in the United States, according to careful estimates made by well-informed men, about two million voters who are not "party men." Some of them vote with one party (not always the same one), some with another, and frequently many do not vote at all. One-half of these voters, properly understanding and trusting one another, can determine the result of any national election. This is the reform force in politics, and through its intelligent action will come the peaceable solution of our governmental problems, if it come at all in that way. This great force is not united for progressive work. There is union in opposition to the existing order of things, but there is division into two or three dozens of camps when it comes to proposals for a new order. There were twenty-two distinct schools of reform represented at the Buffalo Conference, and "there are others." However, these schools are not so far apart as people may think. A great and good change has taken place among the reformers during the past few years. Many observed it for the first time at Buffalo; others were aware of it before that meeting, but waited for the Conference to make it plain. The change referred to is the almost entire obliteration of the spirit of intolerance in which each school of reformers has held all others. Not only is there now toleration, but each school, with rare exceptions, recognizes the good in all the others and urges only that its particular reform should be the first adopted. All agree in the wisdom of the step-at-a-time policy, but differ as to the first step. This sentiment coupled with the spirit of opportunism, which constrains all to work for reform through the most available and efficient channel, gives us something tangible with which to start.

Beginning about a year ago, representative men of the various schools of reform were asked if, realizing the facts here set forth, they believed it would be possible to get the men that are traveling in the same direction, though by slightly divergent routes, to pool their issues, and, deciding by a perfectly fair method which of the several demands should be pushed first,

support unitedly the party that would grant that demand. Without exception the answers were in the affirmative. A plan for carrying through this idea was then worked out and submitted to a score of clear-headed, practical men, covering at least a dozen different branches of the reform movement, and by all of these men it was pronounced not only fair and honest as a proposition but also practical as a method. This is the plan that was subsequently indorsed by a three-fourths vote at the Buffalo Conference.

There is nothing deep, dark, or mysterious about the plan; nor is there anything new in the general idea. That labor and other reform forces should unite their voting strength and cast their ballots for the party that would grant their demands is a thought as old as the labor movement. It has not, however, been practically and effectively applied. The method now proposed offers the practical details for securing the desired union and making it an effective force. The plan embodies the pledging and enrolment of the reform voters and the selection, by means of the referendum, of specific demands to be made upon the various political organizations.

More in detail, the plan is to start a crusade among the reformers of the country asking each to sign a pledge of this nature:

"Realizing the need for a formal, explicit, and tangible union of all progressive forces, if any great advanced reform is to be secured through political action, I promise to give my vote and my active support to any political party that shall incorporate in its platform and commit its candidates to the measure or measures selected by the membership of this league through a referendum vote, and that shall so construct its platform and select its nominees as not essentially and inevitably to obstruct the enactment into law and the effective enforcement or administration of the measure proposed."

These pledges would be collected at a general office and there recorded and filed. On a date sufficiently in advance of the holding of the party conventions to allow ample time to receive, canvass, announce, and formally present the result of the ballot, a referendum vote would be taken from all those

enrolled. The ballots sent out would contain the demands of the various schools of reform, and there would also be a blank space in which the voter could, if he so desired, write any demand omitted from the printed list. The voting would be by the proportional system, and each member would denote his first, second, and third choice, thereby almost positively assuring a majority vote for the measure selected. No measure that was already included in the platform of one of the two leading parties would be included in the list of reforms to be voted upon. The details for carrying out the program have all been carefully considered and are as perfect as is the machinery of the best-managed business institution in the country. These details cannot be fully set forth here because of the space they would occupy. The work would be in the hands of a carefully selected committee, representing every phase of the reform movement, chosen in the first instance by the gentlemen appointed at the Buffalo Conference to put the plan into operation. I have treated the subject here as it relates to national elections, or rather elections in which national platforms contain the issues, when candidates for President, Vice-President, and members of Congress are to be voted for. It is easily seen how the plan could also be employed advantageously in State and municipal elections.

This plan would, in a sense, be a practical application of the principles of the referendum and of proportional voting. Through it the people could learn something of the practicability of these two reforms, which are so generally advocated. In fact, enlarged and almost unlimited opportunities would be afforded for educational work under the plan. There would be an incentive to extend agitation and education, for the believers in each reform would strive to win as many recruits as possible. Thus every follower would become a leader—every believer an advocate.

This plan does away with the necessity for troublesome organizations, with their sometimes burdensome fees and quarrel-provoking official machinery. It will test the sincerity of every voter who says he holds "measures before men," and "princi-

ples above party." It will be opposed by "independents" who are seeking office; but we can spare them, and it is in cutting loose from all such that the reform movement of the country will free itself from the cause of most of its disagreements and practically all of its betrayers.

"Not all of the labor and reform forces of the country will go into this new movement," said one doubter at Buffalo. Unfortunately, that is true. If all would at once accept the plan, its main feature would then be unnecessary, for we could secure the adoption of the whole string of demands at once; there would be enough of us to carry any election against all parties; then a successful third party would be assured. But it is believed that a million or more can be found who will coöperate under the proposed plan, and that is enough—when the strength is used as intended. After the first victory is won the doubting, nerveless ones will fall over one another in their efforts to rush into the movement.

"What if neither of the parties will grant the measure selected by your referendum vote?" asks one. It is hardly within the bounds of possibility that a million determined voters would be ignored by skilful party managers; but if ever such a thing should happen, our votes could be deposited as a protest under a plan arranged by the general committee, or we could refrain from voting altogether. In either event we would be in no worse position than we are now and have been in for many, many years; and when we knocked again the doors would fly open to us.

There is the objector who says he "will not go to the old political machines for anything." But, my dear sir, you must perforce go to them now, if you hope to get anything, and you haven't any special claims, nor the power to enforce your demands if they are not willingly granted.

"Yes, but they'll betray us!"

I will admit that they have betrayed you time upon time, in the past; but that was because they didn't fear you. There are two great influential factors in politics in this country—the vote and the dollar; and the greatest of these is the vote. The

votes, however, must be organized, and, so far as practicable, in evidence. By concentrating its principal force—money—capitalism has secured much that it wanted from politicians; but it does not require much thought to understand that politicians without votes are of little service to anybody. You may talk as much as you please about the overpowering influence of money in politics, but the fact that the voters properly organized and determined can defeat the corruption fund will remain unshaken. Moreover, under the influence of the plan herein proposed, the corruption fund, losing its power, will cease to be; for Money-bags will refuse to pay from his rich store for what he does not get.

I have been told that reformers, especially workingmen, will not trust one another; that they will not work together harmoniously in such a movement as is proposed. Then, pray, what hope is there in a third party, where there is constant friction over the selection of candidates for office and over party leadership? Those who have indorsed the plan under discussion believe that a vast majority of the people will trust one another, especially as all grounds for jealousy and suspicion will be removed. If, however, it is not possible to find a million good men in this country who will have confidence in one another, then all hope is lost, and we had better quit wasting our time talking and writing about reforming anything.

The objection to the plan that was oftenest repeated at Buffalo, though it was not brought up in the discussion of the subject in the Conference, was that it would result in leading the reform forces into one of the old parties. To be more explicit, it was said that the Democratic party would, through the operations of this plan, capture the independent voters of the country. Only one man, so far as I was able to learn, feared that it was a scheme in the interest of the Republican party, and that unhappy man's friends told me they should ask for a commission in lunacy as soon as they got him home. But why should several intelligent, honest persons have been so wrought up through fear that under the proposed plan the reformers of the country would be captured by the Democratic party? Let us

face this question bravely, not fearing to recognize the facts nor to speak the truth concerning them.

In 1896 the platform and candidate of the New Democracy were distinct and radical advances over the platforms and candidates presented to the voters by the two old parties since the days of Abraham Lincoln. As a consequence, the party third in numerical strength, the People's party, accepted the candidate, though it made a platform of its own, and most of the reformers of the country, waiving for the time the claims of their various parties, worked and voted for the success of that candidate. It is generally believed that, *if the element that controlled the Democratic National Convention in 1896 controls the convention of 1900,* a still more radical platform will be adopted and the candidate of 1896 will be renominated. Whether they are aware of the influences or not, those who fear that the Democracy will absorb the reform voters are under the spell of the facts of 1896 and the probabilities of 1900. Therefore, it seems clear, in contravention of the attitude of opponents of the plan, that if the probabilities become realizations and the independent, progressive forces remain as they now are, a majority of the voters who comprise these forces will as individuals again coöperate with the Bryan Democracy; and the man who knows men doesn't have to be told that the step from a second consecutive coöperation to an affiliation is not a very long one. In other words, there is danger that the present independent voting forces may be drawn into the new Democratic party by its alluring declarations and candidates—the present honest intent of which I am not questioning; and it will take half a life-time of party conservatism, which is likely to follow a few victories, to make those who are still on earth independent voters again. It was to preserve the independent and radically progressive force and make it a power in urging not only the Democratic party but all parties forward —in 1900 and in the years that are to follow—that the plan adopted at Buffalo was presented. It is a bit singular that the opponents of the "old parties" appear to be blind to these truths when they are so clearly seen by men who are in sympathy with

the New Democracy and have given the "plan" consideration. To the credit of these latter it should be said that they boldly declare that when the time comes, "if it ever does," that the ear of Democracy is deaf to the demands of the people, formally made, then the Democratic party will deserve defeat and should have it overwhelmingly.

It is not a dream that the time may come when the two leading parties will be rivals for the favor of a force in politics that intelligently decides what it wants and places the governing votes behind that decision. The idea is not new—though application in this way would be unique. For years the forces of capitalism controlled the two great parties by uniting for certain measures at specific periods, backing their demand with contributions to campaign funds and other kinds of bribery. It has been possible for them to succeed in their devilish schemes because a majority of the voters were blind or indifferent, and those who could see, and were aroused, divided and scattered their strength.

It is believed that the plan indorsed at Buffalo will, if the earnest reformers of the country give it their support, change all this, and once more place the freeman with the ballot in his hand above the dollar, and secure, in the order of their selection, the changes in our system so much desired. Prejudice, intolerance, and jealousy among reformers cannot defeat us. Only indifference and delay on the part of those who can see and are liberal in thought can stop the onward march toward better things.

JOSEPH R. BUCHANAN.

New York.

ACADEMIC FREEDOM.

I. LIMITS IMPOSED BY RESPONSIBILITIES.

THE editor of THE ARENA asks me to comment upon the statement, which is reported to have been made at the Buffalo Conference, that "there is not a single institution of learning in this country in which the teaching of economics or sociology is not muzzled by the influence of *wealth* in the case of private endowments, or of *partizan politics* in the case of State universities."

Having taught economics and sociology for eighteen years in privately endowed institutions, I naturally feel in a measure competent to pass upon the pertinence of such an assertion. It will not be practicable to include in this comment evidences drawn from other experience than my own, but so far as my personal knowledge is an index of the facts it would be much nearer the truth to say that *"there is not a privately endowed college or university in the United States in which the teaching of economics or sociology is muzzled by the influence of wealth."* Having had no personal experience with State universities, I may properly confine my statements to the other class.

With reference to alleged cases of interference with academic freedom, of which only hearsay reports have reached me, I have yet to learn of the first instance in which the evidence presented seems to justify the rumor. My belief is that in most, if not all, of the cases quoted in support of charges like the one cited above, the facts would show either that academic freedom was not in question at all, or if it was threatened it was by individuals only, not by authoritative action of a responsible body. This is not a denial that cases of another sort may have occurred. It is a denial that an authenticated case has ever come to my knowledge in connection with the non-State institutions. Within the range of my personal ac-

quaintance nothing has ever taken place that a reasonable man could represent as in any sense or degree a denial, limitation, or obstruction of academic freedom. More than that, I have yet to meet the first indication on the part of a board of trustees of any other policy with respect to academic freedom than that which is approved by the faculties themselves.

The only explanation I can venture for the alleged Buffalo statement is that men who indulge in such generalizations are either indifferent to the obligation of knowing the facts or they are playing fast and loose with very vaguely apprehended terms when they try to state the facts. Referring to the latter alternative only, it would not be difficult to show that the conception of academic freedom which is betrayed by the charge in question is a pure hallucination. The sort of freedom demanded by implication does not exist anywhere in this world. Absolute freedom is a speculative abstraction which has no counterpart in reality. No man is free. We are simply free within the limits set by our responsibilities. I have a neighbor who is a judge. We think of his station as one of the freest in American society. He was recently invited to deliver an address before the Bar Association. He told me that he was having great difficulty in selecting his subject. He said he would like to discuss one of several important questions of legal construction, but the principles involved might presently be raised in cases to be tried in his court, and he felt estopped from expressing an opinion in advance. Whether he was over-conscientious need not be decided. The point to be illustrated is that, as Phillips Brooks used to say, "no man has a right to all of his rights." The judge felt the limitations of his position. Our responsibilities always imply restrictions. From the valet and the butler, with their accountability for a certain minimum of deportment while on duty, to the President of the United States, with a thousand shades of obligation not due from a private citizen, we one and all have freedom simply up to the limits imposed by our responsibilities.

Professors in colleges and universities are no exception to this rule. If anybody imagines that in academic halls an abso-

lute freedom may reign, while the rest of the world has to get along with freedom limited by responsibility, he may at least be pronounced naïve. The university professor is responsible in the first place to the whole body of thought which has been accumulated in the department of knowledge in which he works. The scientist is not free to talk as he might if there had been no Bacon, and Newton, and Darwin. The philosopher is not free to think as he might if certain work had not been done for him by Plato and Descartes and Kant. The economist is not free to speculate as he might if Adam Smith and Ricardo and Mill had not thought through some things in advance. The professor is bound to discipline his self-esteem into decent respect for previous thought, and into reasonable humility in the presence of unsolved problems in his field. He is responsible further to his colleagues. Among men whose specialties are as far apart as geology and poetry, or biology and jurisprudence, there are certain implicit standards of sobriety and sanity. A university man would be callous indeed if his association with specialists of the many types represented by a university faculty did not broaden his view and temper any native disposition to be hasty and narrow in his mental processes. Every rightly constituted university man is conscious that there are conventionalities in the republic of letters which he has no right to disregard.

The professor is responsible again to his students. His business is to develop in them first and foremost intellectual integrity and morality. Knowledge is secondary. Right intellectual conduct is primary. Knowledge and wisdom follow. The first duty of the professor is to be to the extent of his ability an example of the kind of character which it is his function to cultivate in his students. Whatever his other deficiencies, he should be above suspicion of intellectual irresponsibility. Lastly, the professor is responsible to the public. A part of the return which it is his duty to render for his support is the most mature and candid sort of judgment possible upon all subjects that fall within his competence. He has no right to speak professionally unless he has earned the right to his

thought and the utterance of it by loyal use of the mental processes necessary to justify conclusions. This, then, is the reality corresponding with the phrase "academic freedom." To some minds it may appear to be the freedom of a strait-jacket. Every right-thinking man knows that this is the only freedom possible under a régime of reason.

In the exercise of his academic freedom the professor is bound to assure himself first that he has all the facts available, and, second, that he has placed those facts in their actual relations to the whole body of truth in which they belong. For instance, suppose he ascertains that trusts are diminishing the number of commercial travelers. It would be a very unscientific performance if he should thereupon proclaim that trusts are an abomination. It may be that commercial travelers are as much on trial as the trusts. It is quite possible that the part of the commercial traveler in business is overdone. The general welfare, not the trust nor the commercial traveler, must be the measure of social good and bad. One fact does not make a truth. The truth may be square contradiction of the face value of many facts. The university professor is so placed that he cannot easily see facts that tend to confirm the social claims of one interest without at the same time seeing the facts that present the counter claims of other interests. He is consequently not free to be fractional in his judgments. He is not free to be an *ex-parte* advocate. He does not hold a roving commission as a special pleader for detached interests. It is his business to represent the public mind as far as possible in formulating rightly proportioned general truth, and then in pointing out its application to all parts of society.

Certain free lances in the field of economics and sociology cannot understand why their tactics are not adopted—why their vagaries are not accepted and made the program of instruction in the universities. They can account for it only on the supposition that wealth "muzzles" the professors. If they would say that wealth "hypnotizes" the professors, there might be more plausibility in the figure of speech. Probably no professor of economics or sociology in the United States is so sure

of himself that he can get along without occasional self-examinations as to whether he actually does give undue weight in his calculations to the arguments that tend to support wealth interests as against other social interests. I fancy that if the whole truth were known more professors of sociology and economics are hypnotized by poverty than by wealth. Their sympathy with the hardships and the hopes of the poorest and weakest disturbs the even balance of their judgment oftener than their deference to wealth warps their opinions. After all their purgings of soul, the explanation that the professors themselves find of their failure to satisfy the agitators is that they cannot possibly think the things that their critics would have them teach. Their conclusions will not run in the same channels with those of the intellectual *sans culottes*. That they are "muzzled," however, is as far from the truth as it would be to allege the same thing of the astronomers, because they prefer the Copernican to the Koreshite conception of the universe, or of the Shakespearian commentators, because they do not adopt Ignatius Donnelly as their standard of criticism.

When society selects men to run stationary engines, or to sail ships, or to drive automobiles, or to compound prescriptions, or to serve on the police force, or to practise medicine, or to send telegraphic messages, or to bake bread, or even to remove garbage, it insists upon more or less careful examination of their fitness for their work. For similar reasons the machinery for selecting professors tends to choice of men who by training, by temperament, and by conviction are likely to recognize their responsibilities and to act accordingly. The reason why college professors, as a rule, are moderate rather than extreme, conservative rather than radical, measured rather than intemperate in their thought and speech, is not that they are "muzzled" by wealth or anything else, but that these qualities represent the professors' own response to what seem to them the appropriate requirements of their profession.

But the statement to which we are referring amounts to a charge that boards of trustees are intolerant and bigoted rich men, or their tools, who force professors of economics and

sociology to teach *their* views or nothing. So far as my personal knowledge goes this imputation is so wide of the mark that it is not even good caricature. Boards of trustees are the authorized representatives of all those interests to which professors are responsible. They have a function in preserving the true balance among academic influences as constant and as essential as that of the professors. If the boards of trustees of certain institutions that I might name should set in motion their prerogative of reasonable limitation in the case of certain irresponsibles, they would deserve well of the friends of education and of public intelligence. The most matter-of-course action of that sort would doubtless be trumpeted abroad as an infringement of academic freedom. In reality it would no more teach genuine freedom than flushing the Chicago sewers would threaten the right of suffrage.

The uninitiated might easily infer, from the representations of self-appointed guardians of academic freedom, that trustees and professors have to each other very much the relation of General Weyler to the "reconcentrados." My own experience is probably not exceptional, and from such means of observation as I have enjoyed the usual feeling of professors toward their trustees is rather that of sincere esteem and confidence. Boards of trustees are in the final appeal the responsible judges of the qualifications of professors, although, as every university man knows, this function is regularly delegated, and is discharged directly by boards of trustees only in the rarest instances. In the nature of the case there must be some last resort upon such questions, unless the principle of university administration is to be anarchy. Every university man recognizes his accountability in principle to the judgment of the board of trustees about his qualifications for his work. So far are trustees from exercising their power arbitrarily, however, that in practise they show extreme reluctance about using it at all, or even about indirect implication that its use may ever be necessary. This loyalty to the principle of academic freedom even operates as a self-imposed limitation upon trustees themselves in social intercourse with members of faculties under

their oversight. In cases of intimacy on all other subjects, trustees will instinctively avoid trenching upon the territory in which professors may have to pass judgment. To avoid any possible misconstruction of personal views as a limit of official wishes about professors' opinions, trustees of the type that I am acquainted with exercise a restraint over themselves in friendly intercourse with professors that they would not think of with their other acquaintances.

The changes are frequently rung upon the assertion that professors are simply the hired spokesmen of the rich men who endow our institutions. If the people who make this charge would follow it to its logical end they would find that they are crediting these same rich men with some remarkable inconsistencies in thinking. Either they do not hold the view of economics and sociology attributed to them, or they tangle themselves up unaccountably when they speak through their alleged mouthpieces. If the rich men have hired the professors as their personal or class representatives, they have not displayed their usual sagacity in spending their money. The fact is that university professors are foreordained by the very nature of their training to take views of current economic and sociological questions different from those likely to be entertained by men engaged in the active conduct of business. The professors may not be wholly right, but they are bound to see things from a different angle from that at which they present themselves to the business man. The men who endow colleges are not ignorant of this. If they were bigoted, and intolerant, and unwilling that the truth should come out, they would use their money in other ways. They are not the sort of men to surrender their own conclusions simply because a professor reaches other conclusions. Neither are they the sort of men who want to gag the professors until they are willing to speak as rich men dictate. They want the truth to be known. They want the professors to think at their level best. All they ask of the professors is that they will devote their energies to finding out and publishing the truth as it appears from the standpoint of universal interests, and without fear or favor. They

want the professors to use their opportunities for perfectly disinterested research and reflection. They do not pledge themselves to accept the professors' results, but they believe it is a good thing to have men investigating problems of human affairs from the point of vantage, apart from distracting personal interests, which the professor is enabled to occupy. They sometimes exercise an altogether wonderful degree of patience when professors are saying things that from the business man's point of view must seem inexcusable. So far as my knowledge goes, if professors of economics and sociology have ever failed to teach what they believed to be true, the fault has been their own, and they have kept their own secret. Such failures, if there have been any, cannot be charged upon the illiberality of boards of trustees, or of the men who have furnished endowments.

The truth about the situation enforces diametrically opposite propositions. The professors of economics and sociology in our leading colleges and universities obviously do not hold and teach views of social rights and duties that completely correspond with business traditions. However the economists may abstract industrial relations from other human interests for scientific purposes, the economists to-day almost invariably see our economic institutions at last in an ethical setting that calls for very significant revisions of business conceptions. This is the case to a still greater extent with the sociologists. The professors do not duplicate the views attributed to the rich men who endow universities. On the contrary, they are working out ideas that may very fundamentally modify many conceptions now prevalent in the business world. The salient fact, therefore, is the generosity of rich men toward all this academic work, of the ultimate value of which they must often be very incredulous. Yet instead of muzzling it, or indirectly discouraging it, their toleration might be taken as an edifying example by professors themselves. It would frequently raise the standard in vogue among scientific men in their dealings with one another.

If there is any board of trustees in this country that muzzles

a professor of economics or sociology in the interest of wealth, I do not know the institution which it controls. From my personal knowledge of conditions of instruction in those subjects, I should at once suspect that a professor who demands more liberty than he enjoys probably wants a sort of liberty to which he has no right. To my mind, one of the most conspicuous evidences that American rich men are not the enemies of humanity that we would suppose from many of the descriptions, is their loyal support of institutions whose ideals and traditions are distinctly different from those of pure business. They show by this that they are not opposed to truth and light, even when it tends to impeach their own opinions and to challenge some of their views about social relations. They are opposed to partialism posing as science. They are opposed to narrowness parading itself as judicial authority. They are opposed to prejudice and misrepresentation and partizanship in positions where open-mindedness and precision and balance are prerequisites. Without any disrespect to American professors it may be said that we are not invariably such paragons of good judgment that it would be an unpardonable sin in business men to criticize us much more frequently and severely than they do. We should be finical and childish if we resented failures of rich men to accept our views on demand, and it would be a curious pleading of the baby act if we should virtually deny their freedom of thought and speech in order to save our own.

This outcry about violation of academic freedom is a mechanically manufactured alarm. Those trustees of whom I may speak from personal knowledge have always maintained an attitude toward the professors responsible to them which contradicts every detail expressed or implied in the Buffalo charge. The American professor whose digestion is good and who has escaped brain-fag has all the freedom that he wants. He knows that he could not have more without resorting to license that would place him among social quacks. He is bound to be an offense to the violent partizans on both sides of questions because he is likely to see things along the median

lines, rather than in a perspective that is all extremes and no center. He is never to be counted on for very satisfactory aid and comfort to faddists of any sort. He is not likely to be enthusiastic about any of the specifics which his more ardent friends call upon him to believe in as the hope of society. He is not supposed by himself to be the one perfect character in an imperfect world. He believes, however, that his division of labor is important, and that he will do his work best by cultivating the qualities of the investigator and the counselor rather than those of the political rough-rider.

Among responsible Americans none are freer than the university professor. The Buffalo tale of woe does not represent him. He is not whining for sympathy. He has all the chance he can use. If he does not fill his place man-fashion nobody is to blame but himself. He is usually attending to business, under spur of a sufficiently stimulating ambition to do his part so well that he will deserve the respect of all his fellow-citizens.

ALBION W. SMALL.

The University of Chicago.

II. NECESSITY OF AN INDEPENDENT SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS.

THE history of the world may be searched in vain for any instance of harm to humanity or to any people resulting from the exercise of the fullest intellectual liberty. Freedom of speech never yet wrecked a nation, although attempts to suppress it have more than once resulted in disaster. Freedom of thought has never yet put Right in jeopardy, nor has the fullest liberty of the press been anything but an aid to the orderly and progressive development of man in all that pertains to social and individual welfare. A cause that is essentially unsound cannot be more certainly destroyed than by inviting its advocates to the arena of popular discussion. By their own utterances they then will be destroyed, while under suppression of discussion their error would thrive in the atmosphere of secret conspiracy. The men who continually strive for the

repression of intellectual liberty in the press, the pulpit, and the colleges must either be cognizant of these facts—for they are readily deducible from history—or they must be ignorant of them. If the latter, their ignorance is so crass that their pretension to authority over the thoughts and utterances of intelligent men can only be regarded as an example of the brutal and stupid insolence of irresponsible wealth. But if they have read the lessons of history aright, they know that the fullest intellectual liberty in college class-rooms, in the pulpit, and in editorial rooms means the certain triumph of right and the assured overthrow of wrong. If, then, they still, systematically and relentlessly, apply the gag, it is a confession that they profit by vested wrongs, that their fortunes and their power are founded upon injustice, and that they fear the truth because it would dethrone them.

In 1781, King Louis XVI. of France was sitting with his queen and Mme. Campan attentively reading the manuscript of a new comedy—"The Marriage of Figaro." Authority in France had never seemed more firmly fixed—nor had the Bastile ever been more populous. It was a day of the most perfect legal provisions for suppressing the expression of thought. Plays, pamphlets, songs, and books were all subject to the censorship, and behind the censor stood open the door of the dungeon. Yet never has such a volume of "seditious" literature been issued, nor has ever the attack upon the *status quo* equaled in vigor or in generalship that led by the men who then had imprisonment or exile staring them in the face. Beaumarchais's comedy was brimful of insidious thrusts at the governmental evils of the day. One paragraph especially, Mme. Campan tells us, excited the ire of the King:

"A question arises concerning the nature of riches," says Figaro, "and as you do not need to have a thing in order to talk about it, I, who have not a penny, write on the value of money and its net product. Presently from the inside of a cab I see the drawbridge of a prison let down for me, and leave as I go in both hope and liberty behind."

Hearing these words, Louis XVI. bounded to his feet, white

with rage. To send for his minister of justice and make inquiry whether it were really true that so wanton and unjust an abuse of the power summarily to imprison Frenchmen was common? Not at all. His thought was not to open the Bastile, but to close the theater.

"It is detestable. It shall never be played," he cried. "Not to have the production of this play a dangerous piece of inconsistency we should have to destroy the Bastile. This man makes sport of everything that should be respected in a government."

How natural it sounds, even after more than a century! "This man makes sport of *everything that should be respected.* Silence him." So he was silenced—for the time; but the Bastile came down nevertheless.

To-day, in our own land, some men in college class-rooms have attacked certain things which the oligarchs of monopoly declare should be respected. Again the cry comes from those who wield despotic power, "Silence them!" Boards of college trustees have been compliant too often. The irritating critics are silenced. But for how long? Will the command of capitalism prove more enduring than the decree of the French king? Can the structure of monopoly endure assaults that shattered the Bastile?

Priests and princes, emperors, kings, dictators, sultans—the possessors of power, under whatever name and in all ages—have striven to repress freedom of thought and of speech. They have established their inquisitions, their Star Chambers, and their censorships, and then, arrogantly elate with their success in resisting the irresistible, have died and been forgotten—themselves, their dynasties, and their beliefs—while the ideas they thought to kill and the teachings they thought suppressed have risen immortal, have affected men's thoughts and daily actions in all parts of the world, and have won acceptance on every hand, so that men now wonder that any reasoning being in the shape of man should ever have thought them revolutionary. The radicalism of one age is the conservatism of the ensuing generation. To-day teachers are being disci-

plined for giving expression to that which the professor of twenty years hence will be regarded as imbecile to deny. Look back but a scant half century. In 1858 the college professor who dared to teach the inherent right of all men, regardless of race or color, to be free had short shift in most colleges, South or North. Of such a one, supposing he insisted on his "academic freedom," it would have been speedily discovered that he really did not attract quite as many students as the trustees had expected; or that the financial state of the college compelled retrenchment by the abolition of his department; or he might be looked upon as a political professor, obviously working in the interests of a new and revolutionary party given over to abolition and Lincolnism; and his discharge would then be pointed to proudly as evidence of the determination of the trustees to take the college out of politics. In some way or other, be sure, he would have been dismissed and for some plausible reason. Academic freedom? Oh, that would not have been in issue at all—the faculty and most of the professors who remained would assure the public. The difficulty would have been that the offending professor was an "intellectual *sans culotte,*" an "economic free-lance," and an "irresponsible." Doubtless there were in that day college professors quite as certain that there was no interference with the right of their colleagues to teach what they would on the slavery subject, as Professor Small is sure to-day there is no interference with the freedom of the teacher of economics and sociology.

Nevertheless, the anti-slavery professor in 1858 encountered the same antagonism that confronts the professor of economics who to-day preaches emancipation from the new slavery of corrupt capitalism and corporate aggression. And then as now, no doubt, out of the institution most distrusted for its subservience to the forces of corrupt wealth would have come a professor ready to say that to touch on such a subject as slavery was to violate "a conventionality in the republic of letters which he has no right to disregard."

To the priests, princes, dictators, sultans, kings, and what-

not of vanished ages, and of other lands, has succeeded now, in this nation, a new power, not less arrogant, oppressive, or wanton than they. Capitalism, operating through the corporation and the trust, buttressed by special privileges fraudulently gained and corruptly held, has created and maintains among a majority of our people a wage slavery more brutal in some of its manifestations than the old chattel slavery, and, among a smaller and more comfortable class, a condition of industrial and financial dependence further removed from true freedom than was the relation of the feudal vassal to his lord.

Is this assertion untrue?

"Execrably so," respond the spokesmen of the New Despotism.

"Let us argue it fairly then," say the assailants. "We are ready to meet your arguments in the press, in the pulpit, and above all in the college class-room, where the youth of the land —the generation that must in the end see justice done between us—may hear and learn the truth. All we ask is that the truth be discovered and preached. Come, let us argue together."

"What! Argue with a beggarly lot of intellectual *sans culottes!*" exclaims the New Despotism. "I know a better plan than that. Get out of *my* colleges. I endow them and I shall select the conventions of letters that may not be disregarded. Get out of *my* newspaper offices. Don't I control advertising? You, fellow, there in the pulpit, preaching about the Golden Rule in business! Who pays the pew-rent here, I'd like to know? What this church needs is more gospel and less politics in the pulpit. Argue with you? Not much. Get off the earth!"

Thus, colloquially, and not courteously like Professor Small, does the New Despotism meet the appeal for free speech and intellectual liberty. Some of the attributes of the old despotism are lacking, it is true. The rack and the dungeon have gone out of vogue, but discipline by starvation is still within the power of the despot. If irreverent critics cannot be exiled, they can at least have all opportunities for the pursuit of their professions closed against them. It is that method

which has been applied to the college teachers who have offended the ruling powers. It is that weapon which has been raised against Professor Edward W. Bemis, who mortally offended the Standard Oil conspirators; against Professor Commons, who justly earned the hostility of the trusts and monopolistic corporations; and against President Will and Professors Parsons and Ward, who in the State Agricultural College of Kansas were filling the minds and hearts of their students with hope of a new and higher order of society, in which there should be more of justice and less of special privilege—more of Christ and less of Cain. The heavy hand of the New Despotism fell on all these as it had fallen on others before them.

There is seldom a place in an American college for a teacher who takes advanced ground on any question relating to the distribution of wealth or the destruction of monopoly. Such a leader and teacher of men as the late Henry George might have been able to influence thought in a score of lands, and to count his followers by hundreds of thousands; yet no American college would have dared to give him a class-room and freedom to teach, even though at the same time an "orthodox" economist —not a *sans culotte*—might be installed in an adjacent room to controvert his doctrines. In the vast majority of our privately endowed institutions the teachings upon controverted questions of public interest must be subjected to some such test as this:

Colleges are supported by endowments;
Endowments proceed from the capitalistic class;
Therefore, nothing obnoxious to the capitalistic class shall be taught in this college.

Of course, so bald and frank a statement of motive cannot be expected from those whose duty it becomes to warn the teachers themselves against plain speaking. A recent letter from the secretary of the University of Chicago to the members of the faculty will furnish for other college officials seeking to shackle their professors an admirable literary model. I venture to

quote two paragraphs of it, thinking that it has peculiar pertinence as emanating from the constituted authorities of that college, which employs Professor Small and his optimism:

"While it is the privilege of every member of the university to entertain whatsoever opinion he may choose concerning controverted questions of public interest and to express that opinion in any proper way and on any proper occasion, it is nevertheless desirable that great care should be taken to avoid involving the university even by implication in such controverted matters.

"All actions and expressions of opinions on such subjects should be scrupulously disassociated from all university relations so far as possible, that by such scrupulous regard for the good standing of the university in the opinion of all classes real freedom of speech and of action will be promoted."

If this is not equivalent to a command to all professors that they ignore in their classes matters of vital political and economic importance, then it has no meaning whatsoever.

It does not appear to be essential at this date and in this magazine to go over in detail the cases which showed the widespread tendency in American colleges to abridge academic freedom. The existence of the evil is generally admitted. The question of a remedy is the all-important one now. Professors of liberal views have been silenced or ejected from college faculties in sufficient numbers to prove the case against the colleges. The question is, "What are you going to do about it?"—an interrogation that *Might* is constantly putting to *Right.*

At the recent Buffalo Conference an effort was made to answer this query. In caucus and in open meeting the situation in the colleges was discussed with the utmost freedom, the debate being participated in by many men still holding college chairs and even college presidencies. As a result, the following resolutions were adopted without a dissenting vote:

"*Resolved,* That it is the sense of the Conference that immediate steps be taken for the establishment of a school of economic research and instruction.

"The purpose of this school shall be:

"First—To afford an opportunity to men of capacity, training, and recognized ability in economics to make scientific investigations into the important social or economic phenomena of the day which affect our national, State, and municipal life and our individual liberty.

"Second—To afford to the people opportunity to enjoy, at a cost within the reach of all, the benefit of unrestricted scientific, earnest, and patriotic education in the field of economics, sociology, and politics.

"Third—To disseminate among the people, through the press, the lecture-platform, the churches, and every other means of reaching and affecting public opinion, the truth—that truth which, because of its certain and fatal antagonism to all the forces of oppression, injustice, and spoliation is now denied a hearing in most of our colleges, sometimes excluded from the columns of newspapers, and too often given but a scant and grudging recognition in the Church.

"To accomplish these purposes we ask the coöperation and support of the members of this Conference, and of earnest and sympathetic people the world over. For the maintenance of the College and the effective prosecution of its work during the next two years, it will be necessary to have subscribed a sum of not less than $20,000 a year, payable in such methods and by such instalments as the committee in charge shall deem wisest; and to this end this Conference invites subscriptions, not only from friends here present, but from friends of intellectual liberty the world over."

To give effect to the resolutions, Mr. Carl Vrooman, of Kansas, who was in the chair, selected an organization committee made up of the following gentlemen: Edwin D. Mead and George F. Washburn, Boston; George H. Shibley and Willis J. Abbot, New York; Dr. C. F. Taylor, Philadelphia; John W. Breidenthal and C. B. Hoffman, Kansas. The last two gentlemen were members of the Board of Regents of the Kansas Agricultural College, which was recently "reorganized" for political purposes purely. At the same meeting subscriptions amounting to almost $20,000 were announced.

This committee has been busily engaged on the preliminary work of organization, and in a few weeks announcement of the active work of the college may be expected. A large and representative Board of Regents has been selected. Arrangements have been perfected with distinguished college professors for active or associate membership in the faculty. Among the former class it is permissible to name at this time Professors Bemis, Commons, Parsons, and Ward, and President Will. The publication bureau has been organized and methods determined for securing publicity for the work of the faculty in the line of individual research—a most important feature of the educational plan. The details of a method for teaching eco-

nomics and sociology through correspondence have been carefully elaborated, and that department may be expected to represent the most efficient part of the work. Subjects of current economic or political importance have been assigned to individual members of the faculty for scientific investigation, and work in this line is already in progress.

It is pertinent here to correct certain misstatements that have gained wide currency in the press. This college is not designed in any sense to be a "socialist" college or to conduct a "socialist" propaganda. It is true that most of its professors have taken advanced ground on so much of the socialist program as is involved in a wider ownership and direction by the State of public utilities and natural monopolies. But the essence of this project—its whole reason for existence—is a protest against that narrowness in educational ideas which would deny to any school of economic thought a full hearing in college class-rooms. I do not overstate the case when I say that, while most if not all the men associated in this movement are in favor of a very considerable extension of the functions of the State, they would welcome the establishment by believers in the *laissez-faire* theory of government of a chair devoted to the advocacy of that doctrine. Few if any are single-taxers, yet a chair devoted to the defense of that system of political economy which Henry George so eloquently enunciated will find a welcome place in this school of free economic research and instruction. For this school there would be no place if there were any considerable, any discernible, number of established colleges ready to do as much for free discussion and untrammeled teaching. Its establishment has not been undertaken until after a painstaking search for some such existing refuge for academic freedom; but, while Professor Small can find no place where it is menaced, we can find no place where it has been permitted to exist. The evil against which this school is designed to be a protest has attracted attention in lands other than ours; and I cannot do better than to close this article with an expression of enlightened English professional opinion on the menace to academic freedom in the United States. Pro-

fessor H. S. Foxwell, of St. John's College, Cambridge, writing some months ago upon this subject to an American correspondent, said:

"It is difficult for us to understand the situation in the United States with regard to university professors. The disclosures recently made as to tyranny of the money power in the universities caused a great sensation here. The *Spectator,* one of our most respected and independent weekly reviews, seems to have been astounded at the state of things revealed. It wrote a remarkable article on the subject, pointing out the national danger inherent in such tyranny, and concluding by expressing the belief that it must lead to social revolution. . . . Our people cannot understand how you can sit down quietly under this poisoning of the springs of national life. There is no heritage we prize more highly or guard more jealously than English freedom of thought and speech. We tolerate at our universities any caprice, any eccentricity—even some degree of incompetency—rather than tamper with the liberty of professors. They are in fact absolutely independent. Like our judges, they hold their chairs for life and good conduct.

"I must honestly say that, in the face of such proceedings as the censure of these professors by the moneyed interest and one or two similar pieces of news which have reached me, I begin to think that your boasted freedom is something of an imposture. Such things could not be done in despotic Germany or Russia. I could wish nothing better in the interest of bimetallism than for such an outrage to be attempted here. University men of all views, who rule the country in Parliament and the Cabinet, would rise as one man against such an abuse. The working class would at once lose their trust in our honor and impartiality: a trust which does much to weld the nation together."

WILLIS J. ABBOT.

New York.

THE SWAMIS IN AMERICA.

THE order of the Sannyasin, of whom the Swami (master) Vivekananda* was the first to appear in this country, is the most ancient order of monks in the world. Max Müller speaks of them as known before the rise of Buddhism. In the Bhagavad-gita (v. 3) we read: "He is to be known as a Sannyasin who does not hate and does not love anything." To-day there are thousands of them in India, many who have passed directly from the student life into that of the spiritual man, taking the vows of poverty, chastity, and homelessness. In their long ocher robe, with staff and alms-bowl, they wander barefoot from village to village. Children are taught to read, the sick are cared for, the people are shown better habits of life, and the profound philosophies of the Vedanta are taught. In India, religion and philosophy are one. They have no organization, as we understand the word. They have no monasteries. They hold no property. It is a voluntary, undogmatized brotherhood, with recognized freedom of thought. The true Sannyasin may be said to represent no religion. His religion is a life—a realization; it is not a theory. The Jewish prophets living in lowly places; John the Baptist, crying in the wilderness; Jesus of Nazareth, who had not where to lay his head;—these were but living the life of a Sannyasin. Literally, "Sannyasin" means *saint.*

Formerly, the status of a Sannyasin implied to the Hindu years of discipline—first as a student, then as a householder or married man. After a period of fulfilling these duties he retires from the world to the forest, performing certain exercises, and is often accompanied by his wife and children. The fourth and last stage implies a complete surrender of worldly interests. He has no fixed habitation. He lives alone and becomes a *Rishi*—seer of truth. Max Müller tells us "the Buddhist re-

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*Vivekananda: Sanskrit, *Ananda*—bliss; *Viveka*—discrimination. [See frontispiece.]

volt was mainly based on the fact that if spiritual freedom was the highest goal on earth it was a mistake to wait for it till the very end of life, and the Buddhists declined to pass through the years of discipline."

The Sannyasin for thousands of years has wandered barefoot through India and sat cross-legged under a tree to teach the people. When on the platform of the World's Parliament of Religions, at Chicago, the Sannyasin, Swami Vivekananda, of Calcutta, India, stood, for the first time, to address an audience, the thrill of a broader view, a quickened spirit, was not alone his. Surrounded by the chosen representatives of the world's faiths, facing an audience of four thousand people, few who remember the power, the force, the eloquence of his words that morning knew that he was delivering his first public lecture in English—and standing. The ability shown by Vivekananda at this time made him an object of interest, and during the winter of 1893 he was invited to give a series of lectures on secular subjects in this country. (No Hindu monk takes money for religious teachings.) He did so, with marked success. The following winter he lectured in New York and Brooklyn under the auspices of a company of liberal men and women calling themselves the Vedanta Society. This organization has done a good work since 1894, sustaining a teacher and giving a course of eighty lectures during the winter months. It is now recognized as a growingly important factor in the thought-movement of the day.

The evident influence of what Max Müller calls the dialogic process on many current reports with regard to the Sannyasins in this country makes one wish to emphasize the fact that a monk has no caste. Brahman, Kshatriya (warrior caste), Sudras, are all represented. Vivekananda was a Kshatriya; his successor in this country, Saradananda,* is a Brahman. A monk may eat of any food, in any company, in any country. He is above caste.

Miss Sarah J. Farmer conceived the idea of continuing at

**Saradananda*—Bliss in wisdom. [See frontispiece.]

Greenacre Inn, Eliot, Maine, the movement inaugurated at Chicago, and forming a center there during the summer months for the study of the points of contact—the sympathy to be found between the thought-movements of the world. In 1894, the first year of this movement, seventeen different faiths were represented. Vivekananda lectured there for two weeks; and his successor in this country, Swami Saradananda, delivered his first public speech in America in July, 1896, at Greenacre, on the banks of the Piscataqua. He continued to lecture during the summer months at the Greenacre School of Comparative Religion, which was held apart from the lecture-course, with Dr. Lewis G. Janes as director. The next winter Mrs. Ole Bull opened her house at Cambridge, Mass., and a series of conferences were held there, also under the direction of Dr. Janes. Saradananda gave a course of lectures on the Vedanta philosophy. It is stated in the circulars of both schools that the *motif* is comparative study, and that the representatives of different views make no attempt at the "propaganda of doctrines."

During the following winter Saradananda spent several months in Cambridge and in New York City, lecturing under the auspices of the Vedanta Society. In 1898 he returned to India, and the same winter his successor, Swami Abhedananda* lectured at Mott Memorial Hall, in New York, and through the summer at Greenacre. During the last season he has given at Assembly Hall, in the Associated Charities Building, eighty lectures on the Vedanta philosophy to large and intelligent audiences.

Swami Vivekananda, when in this country, initiated three persons into the order of the Sannyasin. The robe worn by its members typifies the fire of knowledge that will burn away ignorance and impurities. When a man renounces worldly ambitions and becomes a Sannyasin he is regarded by the Hindu as having been born again, and a new name is given to him. This is a custom common to many orders of monks.

**Abhedananda*—Bliss in unity. [See frontispiece.]

In 1886 a remarkable Hindu teacher died—Sri Ramakrishna. During the latter years of his life there gathered about him a company of about twenty young men and boys, most of them educated at the Calcutta University. He was himself an uneducated Brahman, but with such rare spiritual powers that to-day he is regarded by many Hindus as one of the Saviors—the great teachers of mankind. He lived in a garden, eight miles from Calcutta. Men of all faiths came to him to be taught—Jews, Parsees, Mohammedans, Jains, bond and free. He recognized no sect, no caste. When pressed to take bodily rest he would say, "I would suffer all sorts of bodily pains if by so doing I could bring one single soul to freedom and salvation." Max Müller tells us that he practised many different religions, even Mohammedanism, believing them different ways to the same goal, and arriving always at their highest purposes. He saw Jesus in a vision, and for days he could speak and think of nothing but Jesus and his love.

Such a man was the Guru (spiritual teacher) of the Vedantists who have come to this country. Many of the boys who were drawn to Ramakrishna crept secretly from their homes for months. To a Hindu family, to have a son become a monk without first passing the prescribed periods of student life and that of a married man is regarded as a calamity. The ideal of the Hindu is that he shall first experience life in its different phases; that first the mind circles forward to the senses, then back again to the spiritual. But "the joy of a Hindu in the beginning was worship, and his joy to-day is worship."

What would we think of an American boy who went about with tears in his eyes, asking, "How can I find God?" He would be incarcerated at the expense of the State as a dangerous member of society. Another Hindu boy saves his money to buy a New Testament. Another reads Geikie's "Life of Christ" and lends it to his heathen companions.

The *Hindu Patriot,* a Calcutta daily newspaper, gave a detailed account of the reception given to Vivekananda on his return from America. The Raja of Ramnad travels miles to meet him; the carriage is dragged by barefoot natives, headed

by the Raja; flowers are cast about him, and to the fullest we see the poetic extravagance of the Oriental. Why is this? Because the mainspring of the Hindu is his religion. The cause of the most terrible rebellion India has ever known was an invasion of its religious rights. Every nation has its ideal —its theme. To India it is *spirituality.*

What do the Hindus know of the Western world? They have heard nothing of the vast political changes that within the last few years have subverted the order of things; but, as Vivekananda said, "let there be a Parliament of Religions at Chicago, and let one Sannyasin go from India to represent to the Western world the highest purposes of Hinduism, as every beggar knows."

The Swamis have been invited to this country, and to England, by those interested in the study of the Vedanta. There are many different sects in India, and almost as many shades of belief as there are people; but the back-bone of religious life there is the Vedanta philosophy. This philosophy is the metaphysical portion of the Vedas, the ancient sacred literature of the Hindus. The Vedas are said to be without beginning or end; revelation is not completed; it is an accumulating treasure of spiritual laws, from any source at any time. Women as well as men have been discoverers of these laws, and are called *Rishis* (seers of truth).

It is not within the scope of this article to give any idea of the profound philosophies of the Vedanta. It is founded on a subtle system of monistic philosophy, holding that there can be but one Reality, whatever it may be called—God, the Unknowable, Brahman, the Absolute. This philosophy existed two thousand years before Spinoza, yet is identical in some respects with the system taught by him. Centuries before evolution had been heard of in any language the Hindus were evolutionists, with Brahman as our great ancestor.

There has never been a religious persecution in India. "The Vedanta adapts itself to any philosophy, to any religion." To the Hindu every nation has its Savior. Jesus is as much a Savior of the world to them as Buddha, Krishna, or Zoroaster.

Dr. Lewis G. Janes tells us in a recent article that "Mazoomdar's Oriental Christ has helped many a Western mind to a truer understanding of the man of Nazareth."

To every thoughtful mind the question comes, What has this teaching for us? What effect, if any, will it have upon Western civilization?

There has been no attempt to form a sect or to proselytize. Repeatedly has Vivekananda said: "Shall the Christian become a Hindu? God forbid! May you be a better Christian."

Does this study mean anything in our daily life, or is it a mere intellectual pastime for the few? The value of all labor, of all thought, is summed up in the word *service*. Will this subtle system of Eastern philosophy *serve* us as we press toward the mark of our high calling? The command of the Greek philosopher, "Know thyself"; the words of Jesus of Nazareth, "Lo, the kingdom of God is within you"; and the highest teaching of the Vedantic philosophy, "Thou art That"—"See the Self by the Self"—these are all one and the same.

If the Hindu helps us to level the uninhabitable peaks of dogma, and to recognize the one essential in religion—realization; if he helps one man in this materialistic age to pause and to listen to the "still, small voice," his coming has not been in vain.

But can the monstrous system of caste and superstition, in which India is engulfed, be the outcome of the teachings of this Vedanta philosophy? Did Jesus Christ lay a single stone in the edifice of dogma and ceremonial many of us call *our church?* Is the commercial and social system of this country founded upon the teachings of Jesus Christ? Might not the question be asked, Are we a *Christian* people? No Vedantist can believe in caste who recognizes this central thought in the philosophy: the oneness of existence, the brotherhood of man. Every great teacher has cried out against it, and the barriers are breaking. English education, railways, commerce—all are helping to do the work.

The Brahman has been to India what the Levite was in the old Jewish system; now, through the struggle for existence,

he has been pushed into the business world as clerk, merchant, lawyer, etc.

The great need is education for the women and children. Money and teachers are needed; not Methodists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, but Christian *teachers,* in the broadest sense of the word. The Swamis have well exemplified in this country the wisdom of presenting Eastern ideas through Western methods. Might it not be wise for our teachers in foreign lands to profit by their example?

A Miss Noble, of England, has recently gone to India, and under the direction of Vivekananda has started a kindergarten.

These men are trying in every way to help their people. They denounce their ignorance, their weakness, their superstition. Vivekananda tells them they have pitched their religion into the kitchen—their God has become the cooking-pot; that they are losing the spirit of the grandest religion in the world through the foolish restrictions of food and drink. He calls them weak and down-trodden. He also tells them that they do not love one another enough. Might not the contributors to certain missionary periodicals be reminded of this fundamental teaching of Jesus Christ?

The enlightened Western nations are proud to claim their descent from some conquering warrior; but the Hindu, prince or beggar, knows no greater honor than to find an ancestor back in some shadowy forest—a humble priest, who has conquered himself.

There is a spiritual root to all progress—a common center for the many widely diverging paths; but, in the end, they all lead to the one infinite ocean of Love. Call it God; call it Nirvana; call it what you will: it is the goal of the Universe.

ANNA JOSEPHINE INGERSOLL.

New York.

AN INTERPRETATION OF THE VEDANTA.

> All this universe is Brahma; from him does it proceed; into him it is dissolved; in him it breathes.— *Chandogya Upanishad*, III., 14.

AMONG the many important results which sprang from the World's Parliament of Religions at Chicago in 1893, none is more significant than the propagandism of the Vedanta philosophy. The Swami Vivekananda, one of the most striking figures in that parliament, soon became a popular lecturer and was followed by other exponents of the great Oriental system. Regular societies for the study of the Vedanta have been founded, books and papers devoted to the subject have been issued; and the Swamis have been given a very prominent place on the programs of summer schools founded in the interests of universal thought. Aside from the mere fad — hundreds have followed, if not worshiped, the Swamis, because of their novelty — it is evident that the philosophy has taken a firm hold of the minds of highly developed people. Some have seemed to care more to hear a great truth stated awkwardly by a Hindu than to hear the same truth expressed beautifully and logically by an American. But all this admitted, there is a meaning in the propagandism, and while the people of our country are far from accepting, or even listening to, the Vedanta with the enthusiasm with which we are credited by the magazines of India, yet the Vedanta has had its place, and its presence is not to be ignored. Perhaps, then, we have had the Swamis with us long enough to form some estimate of their teaching, and to judge the fundamental principles of the Vedanta in accordance with the criteria of Western thought. To make such an estimate, undertaken in the spirit of broad fellowship and the love of universal truth, is the purpose of this article.

The term Vedanta signifies "end of the Vedas," which are the sacred books of the Brahmans. The fundamental prin-

ciple of the philosophy founded on these sacred revelations, is that there is but one existence—the Atman, Self, Brahman. One cannot see this being, for it is that by which all seeing comes; one cannot formulate it, since it is beyond all definition. It is *ekam advitiyam*, one without a second. "Where one sees nothing else, hears nothing else, understands nothing else, that is the Infinite." It is described in the Brihadaranyaka Upanishad as "unseen, but seeing; unheard, but hearing; unperceived, but perceiving; unknown, but knowing. There is nothing that does but it, nothing that perceives but it, nothing that knows but it." This One is both subject and object; the beholder and the thing seen are one. It is all that ever existed or ever will exist, self-sufficient, all-embracing, unattached, unfettered, attributeless, actionless, feelingless, and perfect.* If you try to define it as this or that, to describe this ultimate entity, the invariable reply is, "*niti, niti*"; not this, not this.

Some of the noblest passages to be found in any literature, voice this sublime transcendence of the One, the eternal spirit, the great All. The reader forgets all else in momentary oneness of spirit with the universe, in worshipful contemplation of the Ineffable, the Perfect Whole.

Yet sooner or later, the mind turns again to the finite to ask, What of that? Granting that reality is One, indivisible and indefinable, what is this world we see, and what are we who perceive it? The answer of the Vedanta is, It is *maya*, it is unreal, the play of the spirit, the "show" of the infinite. There is in reality only one soul, sunk into seeming difference, only appearing to be divided into the souls of men and animals. In truth there are no finite individuals, for "in reality they cannot exist. . . . how could it be that I am one, and you are one? . . . We are all one, and the cause of evil is the perception of duality."†

The physical universe and the human soul cannot be explained as creations of the One, because we would then be

*See "The Advaita Philosophy," by N. Vaithianather.

†Swami Vivekananda, Address before The Graduate Philosophical Society of Harvard, p. 14.

predicating of him the attribute of creation. "You cannot ascribe any motive to the Absolute," says the Swami Saradananda,* "without making him imperfect." Accordingly, the world arose, not through purpose or plan, but is due to *maya* (illusion), and this in turn is due to our *avidya* (ignorance). We are bound by ignorance, egoism, attachment, aversion, desire, and the limitations of space and time, which we misapprehend as realities. We think we are beholding reality, or we deem the visible world a manifestation of reality. But the real Existence is without manifestation. The real being in each of us is this one Self, "our individuality is God." You are this One, I am It, all is God. We seem to be separate, you and I, but the separation is due only to name and form; this separation will continue only while name and form endure. When these illusions vanish, we shall return to the true Self, from whose infinity of bliss and wisdom we wandered through ignorance. Hence the goal of all existence is to throw off illusion, to gain freedom from the world, and return to true life. For each soul is potentially divine, and may obtain oneness or divinity through "work, worship, psychic control, or philosophy; by one, or more, or all of these."†

The first impulse of the Western mind is to reject such statements as these as highly unsatisfactory. But let us not be deceived by words, but seek the truth in this difficult doctrine of maya. We may hope to grasp its significance only by making repeated attempts. For the Vedanta is the profoundest of all spiritual monistic philosophical systems, and no one should expect to grasp its true meaning until he shall have penetrated beneath the letter to the spirit, beneath the Sanscrit terms, which are often mistranslated, to the deep spiritual insight which prompted their use.

Shoshee Chunder Dutt,‡ attempting to explain this doctrine, says:

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*"The Journal of Practical Metaphysics," February, 1897.

†See "Râja Yoga Philosophy," by the Swami Vivekananda; Walter Goodyear, New York.

‡Quoted by James Freeman Clarke, "Ten Great Religions," Vol. I., p. 118.

"Dissatisfied with his own solitude, Brahma feels a desire to create worlds, and then the volition ceases so far as he is concerned, and he sinks again into his apathetic happiness, while the desire, thus willed into existence, assumes an active character. It becomes maya, and by this was the universe created, without exertion on the part of Brahma. This passing wish of Brahma carried, however, no reality with it. And the creation proceeding from it is only an illusion. . . . The universe is, therefore, all illusion, holding a position between something and nothing. It is real as an illusion, but unreal as a being. It is not true, because it has no essence; but not false, because its existence, even as illusion, is from God. The Vedanta declares: 'From the highest state of Brahma to the lowest condition of a straw, all things are delusion.'"

This explanation, however, does not carry us very far. Vivekananda informs us* that maya is mistranslated "illusion," since illusion would also have to be explained by illusion, and that by some other illusion. Maya is not a mere abstract term, but a statement in regard to life as we find it today. The present life is only the mystic twilight of real existence. We are but half awake, and all our knowledge, our religion, science, philosophy, betrays the haziness of this dreamy existence. In the world of physical sensation we see nothing as it truly is. We were born into this mystical realm; we live, think, and dream in it, all the time seeking to grasp it as it really is, but constantly failing. From the Vedantist's point of view, it is impossible while within maya, or this dream life, fully to know its meaning. For the intellect cannot apprehend reality; it is bound by unconquerable limitations; it sees all things in the form of a paradox, a contradiction. It perceives or represents things under the forms of space and time, but cannot for that reason know things as they are, or in themselves, outside of space and time. The intellect separates, divides, analyzes, but the reality of things is One. We are under the spell of this encompassing maya, "which is the belief which your dreaming self has, for a time,

* See "The Brahmavadin," May 8, 1897.

in the independent or separate existence of the vision,—as a thing apart, with an objective existence about which you think or feel. It is this mystic peculiarity of thought hiding its real character and assuming an aspect which gives rise to an independent world of material existences, that is maya."*

We must not then attribute any ultimate significance to maya. It is that from which we are to seek absolute escape. It is no part of the one existence, nor does it manifest the One. "The Absolute does not come within maya."†

Creation is but an illusion and has made no noumenal or real addition to the one permanent entity which alone comprises the universe.‡ Ignorance creates in us the false conviction that this is a real, substantial world. With the destruction of this ignorance all its creations disappear.§ We do not know how this ignorance came into existence and acquired such power for evil, and why Brahman permitted himself to be conditioned by avidya (ignorance) and entered upon the work of creation.‖

Yet the statements of exponents of the Vedanta are not always consistent on this point. First we are told that the world is purposeless, and does not manifest the One, then a meaning is attributed to it. A writer in "The Dawn," August, 1897, translates a passage from the Gita (Chap. iv., sl. 9). as follows:

"Even though I am unborn (having no birth), even though I am imperishable, even though I transcend the elements, yet through maya (the power of making things appear what they in reality are not) I incarnate myself."

Again,** we are told that the Vedanta teaches that the Infinite has become the finite, that the universe is the Absolute under limitations; it is Brahman trying to express himself in the finite. But a time will come when he will find that this is impossible and will "beat a retreat." This beating a re-

* "The Dawn," August, 1897.
† Swami Vivekananda, Harvard Address, p. 29.
‡ "The Advaita Philosophy," p. 7. § Ibid., p. 6. ‖ Ibid., p. 8.
** "The Brahmavadin," August 4, 1897.

treat will be the beginning of the real discovery of his true self. There is a degree of reality, therefore, in maya, for it is in truth the One Existence, perceived through the limitations of finite consciousness, precisely as we seem to be groping after something in our dreams, something that is ever intangible while we dream.

"All that we call the world is really the Brahman, because nothing else exists; but we do not see it as it really is, on account of our 'ignorance.' The world we know is not real, nor is it unreal. We may compare it to our view of the sun, as we see it from the earth. With a telescope we see it differently, yet it is the same sun. If we can conceive ourselves as gradually traveling towards it, we shall see it apparently changing, until, when we reach it, we shall find it as it really is, and undoubtedly totally unlike the sun it first appeared to be, yet all the time the sun must have remained unchanged, and only our point of view has been the varying factor. So it is with this world of ours. No two of us see it just alike, because of the differences in our points of view. In fact, we literally make our own world, each for himself or herself. The suggestion comes from outside, but that is not the world we see. All we know is the reaction from that suggestion, which we ourselves project and which forms the world for us."*

The Vedanta does not, therefore, say that the world is a mere delusion. On the other hand, the Vedantists say that it is real; nay, that it is eternal. But its reality and eternality are only relative, for it exists and can exist only in and through Brahman, the changeless substance. When Brahman is realized, the world of maya no longer exists, and until then it is an existence which no one should deny. We can call a dream a dream only after we awake; and, similarly, no man should call the world an illusion until he has awakened, realized the Brahman, ceased to be man, and become God.†

From the Vedantist's point of view, then, there is no permanent value in finite experience. All things in our human world are classified together; good and evil, individuality and

* "The Brahmavadin," January 16, 1897.

† "The Prabuddha Bharata," September, 1897.

nature, pleasure and pain, are alike dismissed as products of maya. A man may search the world in vain to find anything continuously satisfactory. "All is vanity and vexation of spirit." Even love shall prove disappointing, illusory.

"Surrounded by fools on every side, we think we are the only learned men. Surrounded by all sorts of fickleness, we think our love is the only lasting love. How can that be? Even love is selfish, and the Yogi says that in the end we shall find that even the love of husbands and wives, and children and friends, slowly decays. Decadence seizes everything in this life. It is only when everything, even love, fails, that with a flash man finds out how vain, how dream-like is this world. . . . It is only by giving up this world that the other comes; never through holding on to this one." *

So long as there is desire, no real happiness can come.† Happiness, peace, and satisfaction come only by transcending all that is illusory and temporary, by entering the superior realm, through *samâdhi* or superconsciousness, where the illusion vanishes. As creation with its accompaniments, misery, transformation, and death, began just at that point where the mind thought, ignorantly of course, that it was separate from the Atman,‡ so freedom shall come again with the return to the former state. "Man comes from God in the beginning, in the middle he becomes man, and in the end he goes back to God."

The truth, then, which this doctrine of maya seeks to express, is that all outer or visible things are perishable. This is not the reality which we taste, and touch, and see. This is not that for which the heart longs, which shall satisfy the soul. It is the appearance, the veil or covering, precisely as the perishable garment worn by your friend is not the real object of your love, but the spirit, the heart, behind this fleshly tenement. The universe is but the representation, the projection of the great All. We are encompassed by a great mist; we behold only fragments of the real being. We

* See Vivekananda's "Râja Yoga Philosophy," p. 162. † Ibid., p. 82.

‡ "The Awakened India," April, 1897.

cannot see or know anything as it really is, because we are unable as yet to see all things at once, to dispel the fog and rise to the limitless vision. But, meanwhile, there is that One without a second, that Essence lying in eternal repose, of which we now dream, and toward which we aspire. All that now is, shall pass, and we shall know even as we are known; for in deepest truth there is somewhat behind all this maya. Maya is not mere emptiness, not absolute deception; but a transitory vision, "as in a glass darkly," of an eternal selfhood existing behind.

The same illusion or impermanence applies also to rebirth or reincarnation. It may surprise some to learn that this theory of rebirth, usually deemed a central doctrine of the Vedanta, is not regarded as a part of the real truth of life. It is deemed true only of our sense life. From this point of view, reincarnation is said to explain the injustice, the inequality of human life, and to account for all our suffering. We are personally responsible for our misery; it is futile to charge it to some one else, to believe it the work of Providence, who has seen fit to send it upon us. Ignorance is the sole cause of our bondage, the only reason we are compelled to work, to be born again and again. We suffer and accumulate misdeeds, or bad karma, because we erroneously deem ourselves separate beings, because we do not yet know that we are Brahm. In reality, we are eternal and perfect, and have no need of rebirth.* When we learn this great truth, we attain the true vision of ourselves; then shall our self-imposed misery cease; then shall we be no longer slaves, but free; then shall all karma cease, and with it all that now keeps us apart from the infinity of peace and bliss, the eternal oneness which all along has been the only reality, the true existence.

Reincarnation is only a working hypothesis, an attempt to account for a phase of our dream life or maya, while we are still bound by it. "It is not a dogma that must be believed in order to obtain salvation. The various *yogas*, or methods

*See "The Prabuddha Bharata," May, 1897.

of reaching liberation, can be pursued successfully by any earnest and sincere follower without his ever having heard of reincarnation. The Advaita, or the purely philosophical side of Vedanta, throws this doctrine entirely out of the question, as being, at best, only an explanation of the apparent, and as having no place at all in the real, which is One and not many." *

"Again,† there is no change in the soul whatsoever. . . . Neither can there be any birth or death. Dying and being born, reincarnation and going to heaven, cannot be with the soul. These are different appearances, mirages."

I have quoted thus at length from recent expositions of the Vedanta in order to avoid all possibility of misconception, and to let the doctrine speak for itself, for it is practically impossible for the Western mind to grasp the full significance of this philosophy unless it be expressed in our own terminology. The fact that this has been done so successfully by the Hindus themselves, may be taken as an evidence of the universality of the Vedanta. On the other hand, the constant employment by the Swamis of the terms and data of Western science is a tacit confession that our science is a distinct advance on that of the Orient. It is also a noteworthy fact that the pessimistic and fatalistic elements of the Vedanta are left in the background. There is a tendency to adopt the more hopeful doctrine of the West. A wise man has said, that if a Swami should live six years among us, those years would witness a marked change in his views.

It is important, therefore, to remember that the expositions of the Vedanta, which we have recently heard in this country, state the doctrine of the Vedas in a somewhat modified or advanced form. For the original doctrine, shorn of modern terminology, we must turn to the sacred books themselves; while in the works of Schopenhauer, and his disciple Deussen, we may read the pessimistic phase of the Vedanta, where "the will to live" is carried out to its logical consequences, and the

* S. E. Waldo, in "The Brahmavadin," March 27, 1897.

† "The Brahmavadin," May 22, 1897.

whole vast fabric of nature is treated as a representation of our transitory intellects projecting a phenomenal universe through the (Kantian) forms of space and time.* A more thorough study of the Vedanta would, therefore, lead us to consider this philosophy in its relation to Kant and post-Kantian idealism, to the modern doctrine of evolution and the latest results of psychology and psychical research, concluding with an analysis of its pessimism as brought out by Schopenhauer, and its pantheism as interpreted by Emerson.

Without attempting this more technical analysis, I pass now to a consideration of a few inadequacies of the Vedanta, looked at from our Western point of view, a prejudiced point of view if you will, but, at the same time, a point of view and a growing one. I approach this part of my paper, however, with considerable hesitation; for one dislikes to speak adversely of a doctrine whose hymns and sacred books are of so high a character. Surely, nowhere on this earth has a higher spiritual revelation been given than in India, and one feels its spirit to such a degree that one is sometimes tempted to say, It is all true, after all. And yet, and yet—is it infallible? Does the spiritual vision reveal all that is good and real? Does it solve all problems and absolutely account for the mystery of life? If not, there is every reason to ask wherein it fails, to apply the tests of reason, to persist in the belief that reason can solve the great mystery.

In the first place, let us apply with Professor James,† the test which is coming to be regarded as the ultimate criterion of philosophy, What effect does it have upon conduct? It inspires peace, tranquility, passivity, contemplation of the Absolute; surely a noble result, and we cannot have too much of this spirit in our nervous Western world. But will this attitude solve the social problems which press so appealingly for solution? Max Müller in his lectures on the Vedanta says, that the self of the Vedanta has but three qualities: it is, it perceives, it rejoices; the Anglo-Saxon believes that the

* See Deussen, "Elements of Metaphysics"; Macmillan and Co.

† "Philosophical Conceptions and Practical Results."

self also *acts, progresses*, that "the world belongs to the energetic man," as Emerson puts it. If it be true that *aham brahmâsmi*, I am Brahman, then I am perfect, absolute, and why should I break my repose to succor suffering humanity, whose sufferings after all are unreal? For, if I have once accepted the Advaita or non-dualistic philosophy, that there is only "One without a second" and that I am he, there is no incentive to finite action, no room is left for individual existence, regarded as a life of ultimate ethical and spiritual value.

The inspiring doctrine that each of us exists for a purpose, and may contribute permanently to the moral and spiritual order, has no place. Consequently, there is no vigorous stirring to life, no reason for the emphasis of individual thought, the cultivation of genius, the expression of self through art, literature, and conduct, or a better social state. The Vedanta holds out no inducement to the human heart, eager for personal fellowship, love, marriage. It does not encourage the scientific interest; it does not stimulate the traveler's spirit, the inventive genius, the creative impulse. All this is rather to be avoided; for it passes, and proves disappointing. The true individuality is God, each of us is really God, and instead of cultivating individual genius or separateness, we should cultivate oneness or Godness.

The Vedanta says unqualifiedly that you and I are God. We are not parts of God, appointed to stand for separate gifts, thereby adding glory to him. Says Vivekananda, "You and I and everything in the universe are that Absolute; not parts, but the whole. You are the whole of that Absolute."* "*Tat tvam asi*, Thou art That, Thou art one with this universal Being, and every soul that exists is your soul, and every body that exists is your body."†

Under the Swami's famous pine at Greenacre, Vivekananda said: ‡

"I am neither body nor changes of the body; nor am I

* "Greenacre Voice," I: xxii.

† "The Brahmavadin," May 22, 1897.

‡ "Greenacre Voice."

senses nor object of the senses. I am Existence Absolute. Bliss Absolute. Knowledge Absolute. I am It. I am It.

"I am neither death nor fear of death; nor was I ever born, nor had I parents. I am Existence Absolute. Knowledge Absolute. Bliss Absolute. I am It. I am It.

"I am not misery nor have I misery. I am not enemy nor have I enemies. I am Existence Absolute. Bliss Absolute. Knowledge Absolute. I am It. I am It.

"I am without form, without limit, beyond space, beyond time; I am in everything, I am the basis of the universe — everywhere am I. I am Existence Absolute. Bliss Absolute. Knowledge Absolute. I am It. I am It."

The confusion of the part with the whole, is, therefore, a fundamental objection to the Vedanta. "It first says, truly, 'There is nothing *without* God.' It next says, falsely, 'There is nothing *but* God.'"* It is thus pure monism or pantheism, the absolute identification of subject and object, with no room for the splendidly elaborate system of nature as the realm of divine manifestation. It endeavors to put off the creation of the world upon man, but he proves unreal. It tries to put it upon Brahm, but cannot, because that would imply imperfection. Thus our fair world, infinitely rich in design, which has ever been the wonder of men, is put off with no one to father it, unreal, because it is not God, yet existent because it is not pure delusion. The Vedanta thus fails to *explain* the world, and thus failing, it puts aside as too difficult the great problem we are all trying to solve.

"Oriental pantheism," says Sterrett,† "is justly the horror of our religious mind. Instead of making God the spiritual, ethical unity of all things, it makes him either the quantitative sum total of them, or denies any reality to them. In either way it makes far too little of the place, and worth, and destiny of men. Consciousness is conceived as a temporary, finite, unsubstantial phase of the immobile Brahm."

Again, it subordinates human reason. The motive of all

* James Freeman Clarke, "Ten Great Religions," I: 83.

† Hegel's "Philosophy of Religion," p. 205.

Western philosophy is the endeavor to explain the universe, to rationalize it in accordance with a universally valid intelligible principle. "Whatever is real, is rational; whatever is rational, is real," says Hegel. But the Vedanta assumes that the reverse is true. "The very fact that we have a knowledge of the material universe," says N. Vaithianathen,* "presupposes its unreality; for, if real, it cannot be known." Reality is, therefore, unknowable, and we have on our hands all the inconsistencies of the conception long ago rejected — except by followers of Spencer — as an absurdity.

The Vedantist first assures us that no attribute can be predicated of Brahman: "attributes belong to perishable illusions and perish along with them." He then proceeds to describe Brahman, namely, that you and I are "That." He is such that he could not create with a purpose, yet permits himself to be "covered over with blinding maya." "From his state of eternal bliss, he descends to the act of creation only when the pre-existing maya envelops him in utter darkness." "He is the spectator of his creative work and stands unaffected by it. He perceives the world as we perceive it, but does not fall into the illusion that it is a true entity, as we do."†

"This universe is one connected mass, so that if you start from the external you come to the internal, and *vice versa*. It has come out from the infinite ocean and will go back into it again. The creation is as eternal as the Creator himself. It sometimes remains in the manifested state and sometimes in the seed form — an eternal flow of evolution and involution — the play of the infinite."‡

It is clear, then, that there is either a glaring inconsistency here, or a marked divergence of opinion among exponents of the Vedanta. That the latter is in part the explanation of the discrepancy is evident from the fact that there are many different systems of thought in India. A writer in "The

* "The Advaita Philosophy," p. 10.

† Ibid., p. 21.

‡ Swami Saradananda, Metaphysical Club Address, December 15, 1896.

Brahmavadin" of January 2, 1897, explains that according to Sankara, the great expounder of the Vedanta, the Brahman is ever one and the same, the diversity of nature being due to our ignorance; while according to Râmanuja, the Brahman is the real source of the marvelous variety which we behold all about us. Sankara's "ultimate reality is a unity without plurality; Râmanuja's reality is a unity in plurality, a potentially composite unity, . . . endowed with all imaginable attributes and excellencies, and comprehending within himself all power. . . . The universe is regarded as one mighty and majestic organism fully permeated by the spirit of God." The "one without a second" is the potential condition, out of which all souls and worlds eventually proceed.

Here we have evidences of a more advanced intellectual system, approaching the Western ideal. But the Vedanta in its pure form is emphatically monistic and paradoxical. The Advaitist declares that "the Brahman alone exists; it is all-embracing, attributeless, and unknowable." The world is an illusory fabric "reared by *avidya* (ignorance) upon the false testimony of the senses," and is an "*absolute* illusion." Yet the world is also declared to be the work of "ultimate causes." "The Creator has to adapt his creative work to the results which necessarily belong to the karma of each soul, and creation is but an evolution out of the germs, material and spiritual, embedded in the conglomerate maya."*

According to the Vedanta, however, these inconsistencies are of slight consequence, for one should not expect to know reality through reason, or that in us which seeks consistency. Vivekananda knows enough about the "unknowable" to state positively that "God does not think; he does not reason; why should he? Is anything unknown to him? . . . When you step beyond thought and intellect and all reasoning, then you have made the first step towards God."†

But why, the critic might ask, is it not right to reason about the universe, and deem it rational, if, as Vivekananda

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*"The Advaita Philosophy," pp. 9, 19, 26.

†"Râja Yoga Philosophy," p. 102.

assures us,* the universe is "the Infinite Existence projected into the plane of consciousness," and since "the universe is harmonious, it must be the manifestation of one will"? The Western mind insists that whether the universe sprang from purpose or from caprice, whether real or illusory, it is still capable of being understood in accordance with one rational principle. There is nothing which shall not yield to reason, though it be irrationality itself; for rationalization of things is systematization in the light of their origin. If, therefore, we really *know* that the world is either maya or a purposive system of self-manifestation, we know something about Reality as the rational ground of the world. Or, if we know with Vivekananda,† that "the real existence is without manifestation," once more our knowledge is rational, and on this basis we can develop a system.

But the objections to the Vedanta are not alone philosophical; it leaves room neither for ethics nor for morality, or ethics in practise. This seems an astonishing statement, one which lovers of the Vedanta and of the Swamis would at once emphatically deny. "No one," says the Swami Saradananda,‡ "can rise to the highest stage of spirituality without being perfectly and absolutely pure and high in morals." No one would dispute this. I would not for a moment doubt the high purpose which inspires the Swamis. One of the gentlest, sweetest, most broadly sympathetic and spiritual men of my acquaintance is a Swami (master), who once declared to me that if he ever found a larger system than the Vedanta he would at once accept it. But it is one thing to inculcate and practise morality in a universe of maya, and quite another to regard the entire *real* universe as moral, every human soul as an ethically distinct self, and the moral law as supreme purposive worth to the living God.

If we say with Vivekananda, "you are all God. . . . Is not the whole universe you?" what ground is left for righteous conduct, the basis of which is responsibility to a superior

* "Râja Yoga Philosophy," pp. 124, 136.

† Harvard Address, p. 46.

‡ "The Brahmavadin," December 5, 1896.

Power, to a high moral ideal or sense of duty? The Vedanta replies that one ought not to injure one's neighbor, because one would be injuring one's self. "If a man cuts your throat, do not say no, for you are cutting your own throat." * "In loving anyone, you love yourself." But this is egoism. The essence, the beauty of love is *to love another*, to deny one's self for another. The moral ideal is that which inspires me to rise above myself.† It is a duty, an obligation. The existence of the moral law implies that there are at least two beings in the world. It implies that individual, ethical man really exists, not merely seems to exist; that he possesses powers of choice and will; that he acts separately; that his acts are right or wrong, not in maya, but as judged by an eternal law, or by the higher Being who imposes the obligation. Of what meaning would all this be if we only seemed to act,‡ if our moral life is to pass away with the decay of the intellect? Why should we strive, why not at once give up the attempt?

Let us hear from an authority whom the Swamis quote because of his hearty acceptance of Vedantism and of the philosophy of Schopenhauer.

"There can be no such thing as duties toward ourselves. For all duty . . . rests on an express or tacit contract according to which I freely undertake to perform certain things. If I do not fulfil these, I do wrong, unless the other releases me from my obligations. Now, if I am that other myself, no release is necessary. Thus it becomes clear that the conceptions wrong, right, and duty can have a meaning only in reference to others." §

Again, an ethical authority of the highest standing, James Martineau, says, ‖ "Nothing can be *binding* on us that is not higher than we; and to speak of *one part of self imposing obligation on another part* — of one impulse or affection play-

* Swami Vivekananda, "Râja Yoga Philosophy," p. 246.

† See "Ethical Religion," by W. M. Salter; Little, Brown and Co., Boston.

‡ See the February Arena, p. 164.

§ Deussen, "Elements of Metaphysics," p. 258.

‖ "Types of Ethical Theory," Vol. II., Introduction, 5.

ing, as it were, *the god* to another — is to trifle with the real significance of the sentiments that speak within us. . . . I am deeply persuaded that no monistic scheme, whether its starting-point be Self, or Nature, or God, can ever interpret, without distorting or expunging, the facts on which our nature and life are built."

It is absurd then to say, "Do not tell a lie," if you are really telling a lie to yourself. You, of course, know the truth, and therefore cannot lie to yourself. A lie becomes such only when told to another who is deceived by it. Is not this *fact* of ethical separateness worth more than all the speculation in the world? Is there any real basis of philosophy but this actual, present, struggling world of finite beings, conscious of right and wrong, and living in a beautiful world of nature, thinking, searching, evolving, trying to formulate the conception of a Being who is achieving some high purpose through nature and through our moral conflicts? Is there any reason in the nature of things as actually revealed, why God may not be dependent on us so far as his plan for each of us is concerned; any reason for thinking that he is not moving forward with us?

Again, if all existence is one "block," * to borrow Professor James's terse expression, what ground is left for freedom, for chance or possibility? How can anything new appear? How can there be moral choice? Why should the world exist at all?

The Vedanta tries to escape from this difficulty by an appeal to the same inconsistency which we have noted throughout. Freedom is declared to be the very essence of karma. One should obey the precept of the great lawgiver Manu, "Think not on destiny, but act thyself." Karma is, therefore, an incentive to action and is opposed to fatalism, which means the denial of ethics. But "the doctrine of the freedom of the will is only the exoteric doctrine of the Vedanta. For free will depends on self-consciousness, or false individuality, the destruction of which is the one lesson

* See "The Will to Believe"; Longmans, Green and Co.

of the Upanishads. The individual soul is really a figment of nescience (maya), and when it realizes its falsity and loses itself, like a river in the sea, into the one Reality; in other words, when the truth of such sayings as, 'O Svetaketu, that art thou,' 'the self is all this,' and the like is realized, the individual will disappears and with it its freedom and its bondage." *

Of what value then is our freedom, if it belongs to our dream life? Is freedom truly such unless it be eternal? Is the ethical individual of any consequence if he be a figment of maya? If we really knew this to be so, we might try to escape from the present life of duty, precisely as we are told to throw off the bondage or necessity of rebirth. But this would be to hold ethics in slight regard; egoism would be more laudable than altruism. This conclusion follows irresistibly if we first agree that all existence is One. The Western mind, however, proposes another alternative: Granted that the present life is a dream life, may not we who dream be real moral individuals whose future or waking state shall be, not less, but more, moral than the present existence? † Surely, if we are real, ethical beings, partaking of a dream life which shall presently give place to true vision of things as they are, monism is disproved, and, as the veil of maya falls from our eyes, we shall be more distinctly ourselves, the variety of the universe shall be richer, and all that maya revealed shall be there, not in mystical sameness, not in an infinite ocean, but in an ideal society, in the diversified republic of God.

It is easy to say that I have utterly failed to understand. But I am simply stating the demands of Western thought, with the suggestion that these demands are worthy the consideration of those who deem the Vedanta superior at all points to Occidental philosophy. The demand of the Anglo-Saxon is for a heaven which shall give ever freer scope to his longing for individual action. The Vedanta proposes *Karma-*

* "The Prabuddha Bharata," September, 1897.

† See "Possibilities of the Moral Law," in the April Arena.

yoga,* or the life of action suited to those in whom the active nature is predominant, and it offers an admirable doctrine of self-mastery and introspection. One admits that many of our precepts must be adapted to needs of the transitory existence. One agrees that the inner life is the real life, and that one should not become too strongly attached to the present order. It is probable that a large part of our activity is misspent energy, and life will surely appear very different to us when maya ends. But admitting all this, admitting that in some respects the Western mind misunderstands the Eastern, we must accept one of two alternatives, either these present duties are of ultimate worth, reason is to be trusted, and one is to believe in one's *finite* self; or, having concluded that all is God, one is to make all else correspond. For no man can serve two masters. We must decide and we must act. And if we decide that the meaning of life is to be found in individual ethical conduct, we must proceed on the basis of the real separate existence of our fellow mortals, the belief that even our dream life is purposive, and that the universe is the real existence of an ultimate Being, in whose diversified nature, the ground of all variety, of all individuals, and all worlds, is to be found.

But it is an ungracious task to criticize. Vedantists may have some way of meeting all these objections, so that from their point of view all is harmonious. One should not expect all truth to come from one source. The Vedantists have symbolized the great universe as it appeals most strongly to them. The chief beauty of the Vedanta, as expounded by the Swamis, is in the diversity of their interpretations. I think all who have heard the three Swamis who have thus far come to us would say that each produced a Vedantic poem whose specific beauty was attributable in the last analysis to personality. People cared more for Vivekananda than for his metaphysics, and so the Western point of view receives fresh emphasis from these Eastern men.

They are specialists in the interpretation of the spiritual

* See an admirable book on this subject by Vivekananda.

synthesis of things. For knowledge of the wonderfully wrought world of nature we must turn to the Occidental specialist, just as in the study of the moral law we should follow ethical philosophers of the highest order, such as Martineau, Green, Kant. * There is the art world, the literary world, the world of human society. These must be interpreted by the artist, the literary man, the father and mother; not by one who has never lived in a home where woman holds highest place.

If we are true to this larger ideal, and do not become mere Orientalists or mere Occidentalists, if we still believe in and try to express *unselfish* love, while looking beyond all finite approximations to the One who is in deepest truth all love, all beauty, and all reason, we may yet verify in one great philosophy all that is noblest in both hemispheres of thought and life. Thus shall dawn the universal Christ consciousness, a realm of life toward whose comprehension the seers of all ages have contributed their share; not Jesus alone, nor the Hindus, but Socrates and the other great Greeks, Kant and his followers, the life of the Anglo-Saxon and the spiritual gentleness of the East. In the East this great light has dawned. In the West its full glory shall shine.

HORATIO W. DRESSER.

Boston.

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* Récéjac has developed a system of mysticism founded on the ethics of Kant, true to reason, to the heart, and God, which avoids the objectionable conclusions of the Vedanta: "The Bases of the Mystic Knowledge," translated by S. C. Upton; Scribners, New York.

CRIMINALITY IN CHILDREN.

I. AS TO CAUSES.

THE warfare against sin and crime is as old as the race. Yet the victory of virtue over the powers of evil is still but a beautiful dream. The rack, the gallows, and the executioner's axe, the prison and the torture-chamber, and the multitude of solemn judges, grave juries, and of the less dignified beadles and jailers, which have for so many centuries been employed in the fierce and merciless struggle against sin, by what is commonly called the administration of justice, have not succeeded in exterminating her. She triumphs now as ever. Some of our *opinions* as to what is right or wrong have changed somewhat in the course of ages; but wrong itself still exists.

Will this go on forever? The philosophy of pessimism answers "Yes." "We may," says Schopenhauer, "demonstrate to the egoist that he can gain larger profits by foregoing small gains; to the malicious, that causing pain to others will bring suffering upon himself; but we can never hope to succeed in eliminating selfishness and malice, as little as we can ever persuade a cat to give up mousing. . . . We may enlighten the head, but the heart will remain untouched. That which is fundamental and fixed, in the province of morality, no less than in the intellect and the physical constitution, is born with us; educational influences can only mitigate, never radically change." *

What Schopenhauer says is true enough; but is it the whole truth?

The well known story of the painter's model may serve to illustrate a point in question. An Italian artist met with a child of exquisite beauty, and wished to preserve its features, for fear he should never see such loveliness again. So he painted the charming face upon canvas, and hung it upon the

* "Die Kunst kann ueberall nur nachhelfen."

walls of his studio. In his most somber hours that sweet, gentle countenance was like an angel of light to him. Its presence filled his soul with the purest aspirations. "If ever I find," he said, "a perfect contrast to this beauteous face, I will paint that also, and hang them side by side, as ideals of heaven and hell." Years passed. At length, in a distant land, he saw, in a prison he visited, the most hideous object he ever gazed upon,—a fierce, haggard fiend, with glaring eyes, and cheeks deeply furrowed with lust and crime. The artist remembered his vow, and immediately painted a picture of this loathsome form, to hang beside the lovely boy. The contrast was perfect. His dream was realized. What was the surprise of the artist, on inquiry into the history of this horrid wretch, to find that he was once that lovely little boy! The demon had once been the angel: the innocent beginning and the sad ending of a tragic romance of life.*

Was this evolution inevitable? Is Schopenhauer right in maintaining that education could only have mitigated, but never changed, this course? Was the angel predestined to degenerate into a demon, to end his life as a convict?

There are three explanations of the apparent change: was there a mistake in the first judgment? The boy's face was that of an angel, the artist thought. What do we call angelic? Features that are merely beautiful, regular, and bewitching in outline? Blue eyes, rosy cheeks, ringlets of golden hair? Is an expressionless face angelic? A child's face looks untouched, undisturbed, inexperienced, so to say. It may move us because of this very absence of character, when we think of what furrows time and sorrow will engrave on this velvety skin. But does such an untouched face imply that behind it there dwells an angelic soul? Indeed not; a child's is an untried soul; his possibilities are as yet unawakened. It requires a knowledge of human nature, rather than a mere enjoyment of childish beauty, to understand a child. For the development of an angelic character, there is often need of a long life of trials and self-conquest. The features of a ripe

* Cf. John W. Kramer. The Right Road.

old man or woman may be more truly angelic than those of a budding child. Or were there bad influences—an unwholesome environment — which ruined an originally well-disposed heart? Or, is it possible that a good child, endowed with fine qualities of character, can suddenly change and become a different being, as it were? We may find that such reverses are not infrequent during the pubescent period, when atavistic traits are apt to manifest themselves and to alter the course of a child's life.

These questions, however, indicate plainly in what manner alone we can hope to gain an insight into the nature of criminality, to wit, by investigating the causes and influences that make for crime. Psychology and anthropology must be our guides ; they prove that the thing needful is not so much a strict penal system for the *punishment* of offenders, as *curative measures* for the extirpation of *defects* which, under the now existing social conditions, appear as criminal tendencies, but which were not so considered in past ages ; defects which indicate, in the majority of cases, arrested development.

In one sense, crime is an anomalous condition — a degeneration of the perfect type ; a disease of the mind, which has very distinct symptoms and causes. On the other hand, the criminal class represents an undeveloped type, one that has not kept pace with the normal evolution of the race — a savage condition of the mind. Criminals of this class belong to a social stratum which has never been reached by the progress of civilization ; whose psychic development had come to a standstill many generations ago, or who are continually lagging behind. By investigating the causes of these two conditions — the pathological type and the savage type — we shall better understand the real nature of criminality.

The two great factors that determine our existence are *heredity* and *environment*. They also affect our moral life. Environment includes all those elements that influence us after birth, of which example and education are the most powerful.

There is, then, first the *criminal by heredity*. There may

either be a direct transmission of criminal tendencies, or merely a transmission of degenerative traits which may develop into criminality in the children, even though the parents were otherwise defective.

Little doubt is entertained at present that there is such a thing as criminal neurosis, i. e., a transmissible constitutional condition of the nervous system, which prevents the development of a wholesome moral sentiment, of will power, and of self-control. We may be reminded of the well known Juke family. The progeny of five sisters consisted of 540 individuals; of these, 76 per cent. were criminals, 20 per cent. paupers; only 4 per cent. were not a burden to society. Another criminal woman, studied by Dr. Elisha Harris, had 623 descendants; among them two hundred criminals, the others mostly drunkards, idiots, paupers, and prostitutes. Up to 1883, of all the girls admitted to the Michigan Industrial Home for Girls, one-seventh had insanity in their parentage; one-third had criminality, and two-thirds had intemperance in their parentage. This shows what a fatal rôle intemperance plays in the production of criminal neurosis, or at least of general degeneration.

G. E. Dawson, in a valuable study of youthful degeneracy,* arrives at this conclusion: "Crime, insanity, idiocy, and pauperism . . . . happen as virtue, health, intelligence, and prosperity happen, because some antecedent conditions have produced them."

There is, then, a *criminal class*, and among them, there are such individuals who are incurable and irredeemable, from whom the dependent and criminal classes are being constantly recruited.

Of criminals born from criminals there are relatively few. More numerous are the representatives of an indirect criminal heredity. Thus we have criminals born from intemperates, paupers, defectives of all kinds. Their abnormality is due to a mind inherited by them, which is infested with inherent weakness, containing unstable elements. But even these un-

* Pedagogical Seminary, December, 1896.

fortunates are not in many cases criminal from birth. Accessory factors are needed to develop in them true criminality. In other words, there is some weakness or defect present which makes these individuals less effective and potentially criminal, but always more or less *dependent.*

Intellectual weakness is a frequent symptom indicating also moral weakness, and it has been observed that intellectually abnormal children incline to criminal offenses. Weakness of the mind involves an insufficient grasp on the relation of cause and effect — a feeble comprehension of consequences; it marks an undeveloped, animal type. Idiocy has been called an atavistic backsliding into savagery — closely related to criminality, i. e., to manifestations which in reference to our state of civilization appear criminal, while they were perfectly normal at the savage stage. Investigations have established the fact that idiocy is preëminently a hereditary phenomenon, the following hereditary causes having been pointed out: (1) Neurosis in the family of one or both parents; (2) Intemperance in the family of one or both parents; (3) Excessive strain (by physical or mental labor, or worry) on the part of the mothers; also their lack of preparation, physical, mental, and moral, for motherhood.

The point mentioned last is especially significant as it is only too often disregarded. M. A. Pinard * testifies to the greater influence of the mother in the determination of the future well-being of the child. Landor says, "Children are what their mothers are." E. W. Bohannon, in his investigations of peculiar and exceptional children,† comes to this conclusion: "The influence of the mother in transmitting peculiarities is greater than that of the father, is greater for girls than for boys, and about equal to that of the father for boys." The mother represents the conservative, type preserving element; man the variable element — for better or for worse — in the reproductive process. But how often is not a girl's preparation and fitness for motherhood problematical; how often is not her body debilitated by overwork or overstimu-

* Pedagogical Seminary IV., 1, p. 50.
† Pedagogical Seminary IV., 1.

lation of some kind, her nervous system depleted, her mind superficial and frivolous—how often is not the lot of woman, especially in the poorer classes, that of a drudge who almost succumbs under the pressure of her manifold burdens and duties. This wretched condition is responsible for much of the idiocy, or at least some sort of deficiency, observable in the offspring.

Researches based upon data on a large number of children possessing peculiar traits have shown beyond doubt that *physical*, *moral*, and *mental* deficiencies are intimately related to one another, being largely due to causes and influences which date back into remote family history. For, as is well known, it is not always our immediate progenitors from whom we inherit our peculiarities; the life-germ of an individual is a compendium of his family tree with all its branches; it contains potential energy in manifold composition and varying proportions of all the different elements which have been transmitted to our time from our ancestors. Indeed, we recapitulate, in a certain abbreviated form, during the years of embryonal life and childhood, our entire family history, from the dawn of human existence, in consecutive culture-epochs; and in the same measure as the younger years reproduce the earliest stages of human civilization, we pass consecutively through stages of greater differentiation—race, nation, kin, —and at the age of puberty, the family traits proper will assert themselves with especial vigor. It is not a rare occurrence that at this stage, all of a sudden as it may seem, new characteristic traits will crop out, an inheritance from this or that ancestor, probably long forgotten, and which may modify very materially the nature and course of the child. In consequence of such a constitutional revolution, we may then observe the unexpected appearance of an ancestral neurosis, i.e., of a defect based upon an inherited weakness which only now reveals itself and which may eventually lead to crime.

While we are, to a certain extent, helpless in dealing with the effects of a decidedly criminal heredity, a consideration of the *factor of environment* presents a much more hopeful

case. And yet as things are, it is a chapter of intense human misery and wretchedness which we now enter upon and which must be studied with the most serious attention.

In reviewing the life conditions of children who develop criminal tendencies, we find, as was stated in the beginning, that the dependent classes are the main source of crime. Even if children should escape the burden of hereditary influences, there are factors in their environment which tend to affect their development abnormally. Evidently, we must admit that criminality is in a large measure the *product of social conditions.*

Dr. Bayard Holmes* says: "The greater portion of our defective classes acquire their defects after birth, either through (1) improper environment, (2) through disease, (3) through the machinery of society and industry." One who knows the wretchedness of life conditions which are the portion of so many thousands of our fellowmen will understand and appreciate this assertion. Dawson, in his study of youthful degenerates, quoted above, says: "Nearly 58 per cent. of the boys and 46 per cent. of the girls come from poor homes, that is to say homes in which poverty and drunkenness were the rule. Twenty-three per cent. of the boys and 30 per cent. of the girls appear to have had no regular home at all. They either were inmates of public or private institutions, or they were practically vagrants. The most of the cases had poor educational advantages, either because of parental or social neglect. Practically all of them had bad associates, and were allowed to run the streets in idleness." The average industrial or reform school does not seem to have a good showing in these figures. Dawson continues: "The first elements to be noticed in the early surroundings of these delinquent children are the poverty and improvidence of the parents. These things mean improper and insufficient food in infancy and childhood. . . . If the children of immoral and improvident parents suffer from semi-starvation physically, much more do they suffer from intellectual starvation.

*Child Study Monthly, October, 1895.

Mental growth is not favored by conditions that constantly tend to impair physical vitality, by irregular attendance at school, or by general parental or social neglect to supply incentive and stimulus. . . . As regards morality, the disadvantages of bad environments are equally obvious. Whether moral sensitiveness be regarded as innate or as a development like any other quality of mind, it depends for its fullest and best expression upon circumstances. In the language of Strahan, '*As surely as the blush of health fades before starvation and disease, so does moral loveliness fade in the presence of vice and degradation.*' A man of large experience in dealing with delinquents recently said to the writer, 'Perhaps there are some people who would be moral under any circumstances, and others who would be immoral under any circumstances; but most people are moral or immoral as circumstances make them so.'"

Who will dare to refute this assertion? "Judge not, that ye be not judged!" Who will ever sound the human heart to its deepest depths? Can anyone among us boast of never having felt the promptings of evil? He that is without sin among us, let him first cast a stone at the unhappy creatures whose childhood was a curse and a martyrdom, and who may end their luckless lives in a prison cell. It is so easy, in a cozy home, surrounded by love and care, or at the joyous feast of plenty, to forget the hungry and shivering and to be hypocritically scandalized over the fallen.

There are three main adversaries of virtue that are constantly at work attacking the walls of righteousness and breaking down its ramparts, so that crime may triumphantly enter through the gap; (1) insufficient nutriment, (2) fatigue, (3) disease.

These physical causes of evil are often the effect of the life conditions of the unfortunate classes; but they are also not infrequent guests in the homes of the well-to-do.

Proper nutrition is a much more essential factor in the well-being of children no less than of adults, than most people suppose. The preacher in the pulpit, the teacher in the

school, have no surer determinative influence upon the ethical development of our national life than has the cook in the kitchen. And yet the "new woman" fancies household duties to be beneath her dignity and just about good enough for menials and slaves. The hearth was sacred to our ancestors; it ought to remain a sacred place in every home to our children and children's children. Not only is man's heart most safely reached through his stomach, as the saying has it, but the welfare, the mental and moral salvation of the children, of the generations to come, depends very largely upon rational nutrition. The French physician, Dr. F. Hallager, in "De la Nature de l'Epilepsie," maintains that epilepsy is anæmia, and that lack of nutrition is a potent irritation. The capacity for normal mental work is determined in a large measure by the character and quantity of food. There is certainly much malnutrition in the homes of the poor. Poverty is only one cause among others of this deplorable condition; ignorance and improvidence do the rest.

But, as Prof. M. V. O'Shea says: "It happens frequently in the homes of the well-to-do, where the expense can have nothing to do with the matter, that the children are permitted to live almost wholly upon those foods which seem to delight the palate, as cookies and cakes in a variety of forms, but which contain relatively little nutrition, the principal ingredient being starch in the form of wheat flour. It is often the practise to begin in the early months of a child's life to feed it highly seasoned and sweet foods, thus establishing an appetite which later is not satisfied with the simple nourishing meats, grains, or milk. . . . Albumin is brain food. . . . In the poorer homes, in our cities particularly, many are unwise in the expenditure of what money they can spare for food, purchasing mainly starchy foods, which, although of relatively little value anyway, are yet more suited for the adult engaged in out-of-door labor, than for a child at mental work in school."*

It needs to be emphasized that it is not advisable to give

* "When Character is Formed." Appleton's Popular Science Monthly Sept. '97.

children the same fare as the adult. The needs of children are essentially different from those of their parents. Here is a fruitful field of study for the conscientious mother, much more important and momentous than the study of Greek in "ladies' colleges." It is a study, too, requiring a high degree of common sense, science, and art. What is needed is not the filling of the stomach with an indifferent mass of palatable dainties, but the provision of really nourishing substances such as are needed to build up the tissues consumed by the life process in the various activities pertaining to human existence and development. Insufficient nutrition, while interfering seriously with normal mental activity, also produces moral defects. "That imperfect nutrition is the cause of much of that emotional estrangement in childhood which is called irritability, ugliness, viciousness, or something of that sort, has been satisfactorily evidenced to the writer as the result of a number of observations which he has been able to make upon young children."*

These morbid symtoms disappear as soon as rational nutrition is provided.

The pitiful conditions which are the lot of the pariahs of society, which prevail among the children who work in factories and coal mines, in shops and stores, as newsboys or bootblacks,—who suffer from chronic fatigue and overwork—are well enough known. Fatigue is caused by a variety of causes, among which, indeed, malnutrition must again be enumerated, so that this first mentioned enemy of virtue is doubly dangerous. There are, however, a number of other hygienic causes active at home, in school, wherever we are: lack of the proper amount of light and air, of order and cleanliness, of warmth and comfort, of rest and recreation, as well as of moderate diversion and amusement: and, furthermore, those numerous overstimulations and overtaxations which are characteristic of the modern rush and bustle of life, even in the so-called "best" classes—in the salons and academies, at theaters, restaurants, and ball-rooms, and in a

*O'Shea, loc. cit.

thousand other ways. Many children, from whatever cause, are really in a more or less chronic state of fatigue all or most of the time, and there are not a few adults, too, who can keep themselves on their feet in the mad rush of business or professional duties, only by resorting to artificial stimulation. None of these are normal, and of "tonics" there are untold numbers. Fatigue, it has been shown, produces a relapse into the animal method of reasoning, or rather non-reasoning; it interferes with the keenness and integrity of the intellectual processes; the memory becomes halting and uncertain, and reason grows illogical and erratic.

As before pointed out, fatigue is often the result of overstimulation. Such overstimulation begins not infrequently in the nursery, when mothers are ignorant of the simplest laws of nursery hygiene. "Infants of a few months as well as children of maturer years are permitted to be in the presence of the older members of the family much of the time. Guests always expect to see the baby, to hold it and to stimulate it in all sorts of ways to see how prettily and intelligently it reacts. . . . Few people seem to appreciate how such treatment taxes the nervous strength of an infant. . . . The young child with its fresh, innocent ways, is not infrequently regarded as a plaything for the entertainment of its elders, and so is teased and tormented in all sorts of ways because its response is so novel and interesting. . . . The evil effects of overstimulation are evident also in the attempts of parents and teachers to hasten as rapidly as possible the intellectual development of the children under their care."*

Many parents consider it perfectly legitimate to make the children recite, sing, and perform on the slightest provocation for the friends and visitors of the family, or to "show off" at more or less public entertainments, without special care that pedagogical and hygienic precautions be not neglected. It is a common practise, too, especially among the poorer classes, to take young children to various public places and make them stay up late, and go home, or be carried home, in

* O'Shea, loc. cit.

a more or less sleepy condition, at dead of night, in crowded and ill-ventilated public conveyances. Few mothers consider it their solemn duty rather to forego for a time such amusements than to expose their tender babes to the evil effects of such educational and hygienic transgressions. The consequences, common as they are, are pitiably serious.

During the various *critical periods* of the child's life, of which there are at least three, hygienic neglect and overstimulation are fraught with particular danger. This is especially true of the period of pubescence and adolescence. Physical neglect, caused by ignorance and false modesty, is apt to breed untold sufferings, to impair the equilibrium of the nervous system, and health and strength generally, and to result finally in the ruin of thousands of constitutions, particularly of girls. Again, impairment of health predisposes for all kinds of deviations from the code of morals. Concerning the hygiene of the pubertal period, much enlightenment is still needed. Adolescence is an epoch in the life of every young person that requires the most careful and intelligent treatment; it is a time when old and narrow modes of thought are broken up and old ideas are being revised; when the flexibility of mind, resulting from a peculiar development of the brain occurring at this time, promotes the formations of new associations and ideals. Out of the ruins of unconscious childhood, there rises the new personality, the consciousness of independent thought and power. The ripe fruit severs itself from the parent tree and begins its individual life. This process is often painful; it may cause friction and unhappiness for both parent and child, and sometimes leads to an outspoken rebellion against once respected and revered authority and order. From the chaos of contending emotions, there emerges an individual character. This is the age when the young man (or woman) becomes aware of the tremendous variety of life possibilities—when he tries many of these, and finally chooses those that fit his individuality best; and these will become his permanent possessions and activities. In this confusion of ideas and aspirations, the straight and

even path is sometimes lost sight of, and there appear symptoms of seeming moral trespasses which, though not always of a very serious import, nevertheless require the strictest attention of the educator. Truth and falsehood are at times confused in these young struggling souls; especially young girls of this age are frequently given to untruthfulness and prevarication, without palpable cause or reason. Even in otherwise perfectly normal children of this age, we may come across distinctly criminal tendencies. Says Tolstoï in his autobiography: "I have read somewhere that children between twelve and fourteen years of age are especially apt to become murderers or incendiaries. When I recall my own adolescence (and the state of mind I was in one day), I can understand the incentive to the most dreadful crimes committed without aim or purpose, without any precise idea to harm others — done simply out of curiosity, out of an unconscious need of action." And E. G. Lancaster states in his valuable treatise on "The Psychology and Pedagogy of Adolescence"*: "On the moral side there is a new and tremendous access of possibilities. The young person awakens to the fact that he can commit crimes of which he never dreamed before. There are numerous expressions of intense surprise at the awful thoughts of crime that go rushing through the mind at this time."

We tremble, in reading these statements, to picture to ourselves what the consequences would be if from some cause, the mental and moral development of adolescents, passing through this stage, were checked, especially in the absence of educational advantages which could act as a corrective, so that this condition of their minds would become the permanent one through life. Such things do occur — more frequently, indeed, than one cares to believe; and it is probably due to some form of arrested development during the pubertal age, or to some unchecked impulse to realize in action the demoniac promptings of adolescent fancy, that we have so large a percentage of criminals of pubescent age.

* Pedagogical Seminary, V. 1.

Of 7473 prisoners in France in 1883, under twenty-one years of age, there were 4718 boys and 1063 girls, or a total of 5781 (77.36 per ceut.) of children of from twelve to eighteen years of age. Out of 26,000 evil-doers arrested in Paris in one year, 16,000 were less than twenty years of age.*

Fatigue is in the last instance a pathological phenomenon, and is often caused by disease, or will in turn produce diseased conditions. Impaired health, as has been shown in the preceding paragraphs, is responsible for many abnormal symptoms in the life of the soul, and modern child study has collected a great number of surprising data. Selfishness, for example, a common fault in children—and parents,—and which is a very evident stimulus for criminal tendencies, is in many instances occasioned by ill health, and will disappear as soon as a normal physical equilibrium is reëstablished.

Certain diseases leave the body in a depleted and weakened condition of a very specific kind and which is the source of much intellectual and moral anomaly. Reference is here made to disorders of the visual and auditory centers. The percentage of children whose vision is abnormal or whose sense of hearing is more or less impaired, is surprisingly high. Upon perfect sense training, however, depends the possibility of reliable observation and conception; and thus it becomes very plain that sense impediments must necessarily interfere with the normal intellectual development of the children. Soon we may observe graver disturbances — apparent indifference, disobedience, laziness, and a number of other seemingly moral defects.† If not speedily diagnosed, recognized, and cured, such phenomena may indeed lead to truly moral inefficiency. Helot shows that when these cases *are* cured, a large number of children are transformed, so to speak, both from a physical and a moral standpoint. Yet about twenty-five per cent. of all children suffer from defects of hearing, adenoid vegetations and the like alone. What a field for exact observation and curative measures!

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* A. Corre, "Crime and Suicide."

† Cf. "A Working System of Child Study for Schools," Groszmann, p. 32.

That these troubles are so wide-spread, is largely due to the almost criminal negligence with which even in educated families, infectious diseases are handled, such as measles, scarlet fever, etc., which often leave these defects behind, though the attack itself may have been mild. It requires the greatest amount of energy on the part of school and health authorities to guard against the spread of infection among the pupils of schools, in places of public amusement or meeting, in street cars and railroads, etc. Few care to be restricted in their personal liberty, and the danger of infection and the spread of disease germs is usually underrated. All these factors, nevertheless, contribute to keeping the general health of the community on a low level, and to thus making possible a more or less universal, intellectual and moral inefficiency.

Besides these more or less physical elements which influence the child after birth, and aid in the determination of its future, we must consider the educational effect of the environment. Educational effect is really caused by everything that surrounds the child; and it is by *example* that the most powerful impressions are produced: the example of the persons who constitute his immediate society, no more than the example of the street where he spends the plastic years of his childhood; the example of parents, teachers, brothers, sisters, and schoolmates, of relatives and friends; the example of the milkman and the scrubbing woman, of the cook and the railroad conductor; the example of the pictures which beautify his home, and that of the glaring posters which advertise theatrical performances or patent medicines; the example of the books and newspapers which are tolerated or cherished in the home, as well as of those which find an illegitimate way into his hands and interest. Even a very essential portion of the direct training at home and in school is a matter of example: the child is made to imitate what his elders do. The first potent factor in education is the imitativeness of children. Children possess surprisingly little logic; rationality and really independent opinions are the

result of long experience and a vigorous adolescence. "Imitation," says Lindley,* "is the great means by which the mind gets experience." Thus is shown the tremendous responsibility of parents and teachers, whose example rather than precept will work its way determinatively into the child's soul. The trouble is, that the child is apt to imitate what is pernicious as well as what is beneficial, being yet unable to discriminate. "Folly is always infectious; epidemics of sense are rare," says a German humorist. If we could only place our children in an environment where all examples make for righteousness! The millennium would then not be far away. But alas! we live in a world where deceit and duplicity have the upper hand; where public and private administration and business are based largely upon falsehood; where conventional lies mar even the sacred integrity of the home. How few of us are really frank toward one another!

And in such an atmosphere our children are brought up. We preach to them a sincerity and charity which we do not always practise. Dare we wonder when the carelessly scattered seed of evil takes root and sprouts forth in many an unwary young soul.

That children are imitative is a trite fact. And yet, few of us realize *how* imitative they are. Wondrous tales may be told of the so-called suggestibility of childhood. We may be reminded of the influence of companions and chums, which is often much greater than that of the parent and teacher. Dawson, in his study of youthful degeneracy, quoted before, found that in the case of every boy and almost every girl, some chum, or several chums, had played a more or less important part in their lives.

How necessary, then, is a careful supervision and guidance of our children—how essential it is that we eliminate from their environment as much of bad example as we can control, even though it be at the sacrifice of our own convenience!

The problem of right education, so that the product be an

* E. H. Lindley, "A Study of Puzzles," American Journal of Psychology, July, 1897.

ethical character, is truly a difficult one. Much of urgent import can be said on this score. Our present so-called educational system deserves this name only in a very modest measure. It stimulates the intellect at the expense of character; it develops shrewdness rather than wisdom. It implies more drill than development; it grafts upon the real nature of the child an artificial, conventional substance. Often it conflicts with the most fundamental instincts, and thus causes an instability of character, a vacillation of will impulses, as will become sadly manifest in moments of trial and temptation. Much in our present education is artificial, mechanical, arbitrary; and its product is only too frequently a living, conventional lie.

Thus we have a society wherein many factors coöperate to intercept the healthy growth of virtue, and to favor the development of moral defects and criminal tendencies.

MAXIMILIAN P. E. GROSZMANN, Ph.D.
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(*To be continued.*)

EDGAR ALLAN POE—AFTER FIFTY YEARS.

WHEN Rufus W. Griswold, "the pedagogue vampire," as he was aptly termed by one of his contemporaries, committed the immortal infamy of blighting a collection of Edgar Allan Poe's works, which he found ready at hand, by supplementing his perfunctory labors with a calumniating memoir of the poet, nearly fifty years ago, there were many protests uttered by the poet's contemporaries at home and abroad. Charles Baudelaire, the Poe of French literature, in his tribute to the dead poet, indignantly wrote: "What is the matter with America? Are there, then, no regulations there to keep the curs out of the cemeteries?" In view of the fact that the Griswold biography of Poe has been incontestably discredited, and proved to be merely a scaffolding of malevolent falsehoods —the outcome of malice and mendacity—the deference paid to Griswold and his baleful work in the memoir accompanying the latest publication of Poe's writings seems well-nigh incomprehensible. Professor Woodberry excuses the detractions of Poe's vilifier, "in view of the contemporary uncertainty of Poe's fame, the difficulty of obtaining a publisher, and the fact that the editorial work was not paid for." Most amazing reasons, indeed, in justification of Griswold's interposition as the poet's biographer—an office that had been specially bequeathed by the dying genius to his bosom friend, Nathaniel P. Willis. Had Willis shirked this responsibility, there might have been some excuse for Griswold and his horde of gutter-snipes, who wreaked their venom upon the name of Poe, outraging every tenet of common decency; but Willis performed his delegated duty reverently, sympathetically, and adequately. No publisher with any sense of justice would have presumed to include any other memoir than that of Willis in the original edition of Poe's works.

The Griswold memoir was, on its face, a piece of officious audacity—not only a libel upon Poe's fair fame, but an insult

to the best standards of literary biography. It is certainly to be wondered at that so enterprising a city as Chicago should have been unable to find fresher material at hand for a biography of America's most original genius than a *rechauffé* of the scandalous estimate of "the Catullus of American literature," voiced by one who frankly wrote, forty years ago, speaking of his attitude toward Poe: "I was not his friend, nor was he mine."

It may be safely answered that, in the present instance, the "editorial work" of this malicious biography, which accuses the poet of "a habit of intoxication," which no literary expert in his sober judgment can honestly believe existed, was, probably, not given to the publishers without adequate compensation, however Griswold may have fared with his disingenuous original memoir. The calumnies of puritanical bigots, like the late Charles F. Briggs, should not be permitted to stand against the poet's own analysis and the testimony of many near associates, during his life—as N. P. Willis, Thomas Cottrell Clarke, William Gowans, and George R. Graham.

Poe's own defense of himself from the attack upon his character by William E. Burton, which, unfortunately, was not made known by the late Dr. J. E. Snodgrass until long after Griswold's memoir of Poe was published, cannot with impunity be ignored in any printed record of the poet's career. In a long and exhaustive reply to Burton's charges, Poe writes to Dr. Snodgrass:

"In fine, I pledge you before God the solemn word of a gentleman that I am temperate even to rigor. From the hour in which I first saw this basest of calumniators to the hour in which I retired from his office in incontrollable disgust at his chicanery, arrogance, ignorance, and brutality, nothing stronger than water ever passed my lips. It is, however, due to candor that I inform you upon what foundation he has erected his slanders. At no period of life was I ever what men call intemperate; I never was in the *habit* of intoxication [the italics are Poe's]; I never drank drams, *et cetera;* but for a brief period, while I resided in Richmond and edited the *Messenger,* I cer-

tainly did give way, at long intervals, to the temptation held out on all sides to the spirit of Southern conviviality. My sensitive temperament could not stand an excitement which was an every-day matter to my companions. For some days after each excess I was invariably confined to bed. But it is now quite four years since I have abandoned every kind of alcoholic drink—four years, with the exception of a single deviation that occurred shortly after my leaving Burton, and when I was induced to resort to the occasional use of cider with the hope of relieving a nervous attack. You will thus see, frankly stated, the whole amount of my sin.

"The accusation (Burton's) can be disproved by each and every man with whom I am in the habit of daily intercourse. I have now only to repeat to you, in general, my solemn assurance that my habits are as far removed from intemperance as the day from the night."

And this was also the consensus of opinion of those who knew Poe intimately up to the time of his death. He had unquestionably an abnormal sensitiveness to drink—a single glass of the mildest liquor would affect him to the point of stupefaction; but he was in no sense a habitual drinker or a dissolute man, as he has been painted by his detractors for fully half a century—since his untimely death at the hands of the political "repeaters" of Baltimore. Alas, poor Poe! Was not your punishment in life, your poverty, your anguish of privation, a sufficiently terrible expiation for your occasional lapses of will, that your memory should be held up to the execration of posterity by those unfit to loose the latchets of your shoes?

To-day we honor Willis, who in life fraternized with Poe as a companion and a gentleman, worthy of the friendship of the ideal Chevalier Bayard of his time. We concede the laurel of genius to the lamented Poe, but we stab him in the back while proffering it, and prelude the study of his matchless genius with materialistic and abhorrent pictures of his personal character.

We are told that a Poe propaganda, which will reform all the injustice that has been done to the immortal author of "The

Raven," is to illumine the closing hours of the waning century. We who honor not our own prophets, but have given most liberally of our tribute to the memorials of English authors and have aided in preserving the homes of Shakespeare, Carlyle, and other luminaries of the mother tongue, are asked to believe that public interest will, at no distant day, be awakened in "the unhappy master whom unmerciful disaster followed fast and followed faster."

In the half-century that has passed since the spirit of Poe "conquered the fever called living" in his untimely death at Baltimore, the world of letters has awakened to a realizing sense of the majestic proportions of this chameleon-like genius —"this diamond that sparkled even in the darkness," as the late Edwin P. Whipple has said. And when another decade has rounded out a full century since his birth in that eventful year (1809) which also gave to the literary world a Charles Dickens and an Oliver Wendell Holmes, we may look for a recognition of the great Southern poet that shall be worthy of his peerless genius.

WILLIAM FEARING GILL.

Paris, France.

HOW "PROGRESS" STOPPED.

FOR a long time there had been heard the rumbling of a coming storm (but the Upper Classes mistook it for the humming of the wheels of prosperity). The mob had broken out again and again, and been shot down. The impunity of the deputy sheriffs at Homestead, and later at Lattimer, where unarmed men were slaughtered, encouraged such violence. The hands of authority had been strengthened. By flattering local pride and conceding appropriations for armories, militia regiments had been increased. After the Spanish-American war various scares were carefully nurtured by the monopolistic newspapers, and the standing army and navy were greatly increased. The propaganda of the socialists, the philosophic anarchists, and the single-taxers, however, had been vigorously carried on during the whole time. But people at large never seemed to take any interest in the choice of judges, so that, when strikes occurred among the miners and rapidly spread over various mining districts, injunctions covering every possible act toward the continuance of the strike were promptly issued by Judge Showalter, Judge Allen, and others. The strikes, in the face of such orders of court, backed by deputy sheriffs in the employ of the coal roads, seemed hopeless, and Mr. Carnegie, whose counsel had been sought by the mine operators, announced in an interview given to the New York *World* that the back of the strike was broken.

The miners, however, peaceably but persistently, and in great bodies, ignored the injunctions. They were arrested in crowds by the deputy sheriffs paid by the State, but nominated under the law of 1897 by the mine-owners. The deputies were well drilled, and when the Lattimer plan was repeated not one of the marching strikers escaped. The popular indignation was unbounded. Even the deputies were appalled by the slaughter made by their weapons. As usual, little confidence was felt in the militia; therefore, federal troops were called out to pro-

tect the sheriff and his men. So great was the uneasiness on the part of Monopoly that General Miles himself took command. A howl of joy went up from the subsidized press, but there were some who felt that the time for such heroic measures was inopportune.

Many of the clergy, led by Dr. Rainsford of New York, protested against military violence, but in vain. A conflict was provoked by the sheriff in person, and he and his party were wiped out by the sheer force of numbers of the dis-employed hungry workers, although after frightful massacre. The soldiers were hurried to the scene. To the horror of the plutocracy, however, the soldiers refused to shoot.

The President of the Pennsylvania Railroad, the principal road directly interested, advised a cessation of hostilities. He pointed out that the police had failed in the draft riots in New York in 1863; that the militia had proved unreliable in the Pittsburg riots in 1877; and urged that the experience of Chicago in 1893, when the strikers were allowed to couple cars guarded by troops, should have shown that it was rash to play the last card of repression.

In vain; the soldiers were promptly court-martialed, and twenty of them condemned to die for mutiny. Their comrades refused to execute the sentence. Roosevelt only added to the sentiment against violence by offering to lead a troop of horse against the mutineers.

At the suggestion of J. Pierpont Morgan, the forces of plutocracy united, and most of the factories were shut down—on the plea that it was dangerous to bring the working classes together, in their present temper.

The payment for the poorest sort of houses all over the country stopped. Most people had no resources, and the few who had money saved it. Seeing the rows of vacant buildings, they refused to pay rent. The district court calendars were choked with dispossession cases, every one of which was cared for by young lawyers, ambitious of political preferment. The judges, unwilling to add to the confusion and distress, and bidding for their reëlection, allowed every technical defense, and, although

without authority, always granted time to dispossessed tenants to move. There was difficulty in finding marshals to execute, in the face of frequent resistance, the warrants that were granted. Capital became frightened, and a tremendous panic set in, beginning in Wall street. Hardly any money remained in circulation, and a system of barter, store orders, and individual and corporate checks sprang up, the usual prohibition of which under the ten per cent. "State Bank Tax" the United States District Attorney had no means of enforcing. Most of the leading men and of the very rich had fled to Europe or retired to their country homes.

The stocks of merchandise became exhausted, and, as nearly all production had ceased, the prices of everything rose enormously.

The workers, seeing the unsatisfied demand for goods, began to organize into groups and to get the use of factories for themselves. This self-employment was greatly facilitated by the use of electric power for small and isolated industries.

Employers generally began to weaken. The corporations were afraid to trust arms in the hands of even their private detectives and special police. Their condition was becoming desperate. Sales of real estate had ceased; the courts were already overcrowded with foreclosure suits. The distress in the middle and ordinarily well-to-do classes set them thinking. The charities and poor-houses, and especially the jails, were overburdened, insomuch that it was impossible to find room for the prisoners. The magistrates and governors discharged every one they could, and the police ceased to make arrests.

When spring arrived, destitute workers began to cultivate unused lots. The entire force discharged from the Hocking Valley and Calumet mines began to take coal and copper from the idle mines. It soon became apparent that the authorities were unable to enforce the laws for the protection of such property. However, life was safe, and there was far less moral delinquency than usual—a fact that caused no little comment and comparison with a similar experience during the reign of the communalists in Paris.

The lack of currency was readily made up by the organization of mutual guarantee associations among those whose checks and orders were circulating as currency. The superiority of notes so guaranteed was so evident that all issuing them were shortly forced into a central association. Gradually it dawned upon the workers that they were succeeding without the "employers." They began to see that they could employ themselves if they were only left what Nature had supplied, and the mines began to fill with the old hands, who, appointing such superintendents as were necessary to avoid confusion, established a new order of things. "Why," said they, "should we wait for the nod of the mine 'owner,' who levied the blackmail of rent upon our labor? If we pay gratuities to any one, let them be to the poor among us, not to the rich." So, at a great meeting held by the representatives of the workers, it was decided to lay aside for public purposes a certain amount out of the proceeds of each ton mined.

As to the reimbursement of the original mine-owners, there was at first a feeling that they should be paid for their "property"; but Eugene V. Debs pointed out that the original title to all these lands was obtained through trick and fraud, either from the Indians or through an "imperial" charter to some faithful courtier. The community had been a loser by the private ownership of land for all the many years past. No one could be found to stand up for the landed "proprietor." The miners urged that the cost of even their very tools had been extorted by Monopoly from Labor, and that they were but reclaiming their own. Later, however, to silence complaint, the owners were given certificates for the value of their machinery and "plant," redeemable in produce; these were paid off in a few months.

The question of transportation soon became a vital point of attack. The companies operating the various lines of road had, first of all, refused to carry any product of the miners, and finally stopped running completely, in order further to demoralize the new labor community. But, the employees of the road appealing to the recently established General Labor Bureaus

of the State, it was decided that, inasmuch as it was for the public welfare that the workingman should be employed, the companies should resume work. The companies flatly refused, and the roads were finally seized for the interest of the community. Compensation was granted to the holders of railroad securities, based upon the actual cost of the rolling stock and plant; and this was generally approved, as it gave all really innocent holders whatever they could justly claim.

By the very act of seizure, the union of the classes was strengthened and confidence bred. Laborers began to think that, in the working of the mines and in the public ownership of the rail-highways, they were not only improving their general welfare but actually adding to the wealth of the country instead of that of a few individuals; and when men think hard they generally develop something. Seeing their power, the people turned out to the primaries, and elections took on a new aspect. New judges, upright men of the people, soon occupied the benches formerly held by "disturbers of the peace," as the old magistrates were dubbed. Everything made by labor was exempted from local taxation and execution for debt, and sufficient income for the general government expenses was derived from taxing corporations and special privileges. The demand for labor created by the anxiety of land-owners to get something out of their buildings with which to pay the high taxes gave the people practical certainty of the uselessness of a tariff, which was abolished by the plan of an annual reduction extending over four years. The general disregard of land-titles, where land was held unused and for speculation, forced capital into productive enterprises. Occupation and use of land, with the payment of yearly assessments based on the public value of the same, gave every one who preferred it opportunity to labor for himself—rather than to take a place in the mills, factories, or offices of the great cities.

An attempt was made to import Slavs and Huns as "defenders of Society," and to organize them as deputy sheriffs, special police, and laborers; but the influence of our course, coupled with the concessions to the people in Europe, due to the fall of

the Spanish throne, was found to be so decided that no influx of immigrants could be relied upon, and the few who came quickly joined the ranks of free labor or struck out for themselves.

The threat of those formerly in power, that "Progress would stop," was answered. Progress stopped for the few, to be sure. But the mine-toilers rather than the mine-owners, the community rather than the few railroad bond-owners, the many landless rather than the landlords, found that Progress had begun when the Deputies' rifles were fired in the final strike.

BOLTON HALL.

New York.

THE BUGLER IN THE REAR.

[TO RUDYARD KIPLING.]

STRONG bugler, whose deep-chested strain
Has cheered the march of man
From Simla to the coast of Maine,
From Cork to Kordofan,
Oh, tell me, while your rhythmic flow
Still fascinates my ear,
Why is it that you choose to blow
Your bugle in the rear?

For clarion notes like yours should sound
The order to advance—
The prophet's thunder-words profound
That voice the prophet's glance—
The prophet's glance that first beholds
The new-born day appear:
You spy not what the future holds,
A-bugling in the rear.

Your bugle-note is that which calls
Rameses to the fight,
Sculptured on Karnac's crumbling walls
At twenty times his height.
Again you blow his ancient horn,
That pigmy tribes may fear.
You're harking back to times out-worn,
A-bugling in the rear.

Like you, the narrow Jew looked down
Upon the Gentile bands;
Like you, proud Romans used to frown
On broad, "barbarian" lands;
And Attila and Genghis Khan
Knew well your bugle bold;
For pagan, Jew, and Mussulman
Have heard its blare of old.

And so the Norman, when he came
Across the narrow wave,
And made the Anglo-Saxon name
The synonym for "slave";
And so the Corsican who hurled
His bolts like hell unpent,
And won the hatred of the world
To soothe his banishment:

These, all of these, from times remote,
In every land and clime,
Have heard your ancient bugle-note
Of war and waste sublime;
And ere man's footstep ever fell
On mountain, plain, or shore,
It echoed in the tiger's yell
And in the lion's roar.

Know, then, that man shall not return
And seek the brutish past.
The jungle he has left—to learn
To scale the heights at last.
And this shall ever be the sign
To mark the leader true:
The poet is the man divine
Who tells us something new;—

The man who tells us something new.
And points the road ahead;
Whose tent is with the forward few,
And not among the dead.
Then come, strong bugler of the rear,
And lead us in the van,
And blow this blast, as pioneer,
"The Brotherhood of Man!"

ERNEST H. CROSBY.

New York.

EDITORIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS.

THE same call and the same opportunity for larger human service that led me a year ago to take up the task of conducting THE ARENA now lead me to lay down that task. Each of us has his part to perform in bringing in the Kingdom of God. Each must do his own work in his own way, and as he goes on be ready to follow development and leading in new directions.

In devoting myself henceforth entirely to the practise and teaching of metaphysical healing, I obey not so much a new departure as a fuller development of the thought and purpose animating me during recent years. The ideals and objects in the way of social reconstruction which THE ARENA has so long and so steadily championed are not for a moment abandoned. It must be apparent to most of THE ARENA'S readers that the most hopeful of recent tendencies in social reform is that toward a spiritualization of purpose and method. Larger and larger place is accorded in all aspiration and effort to the power of the Spirit ever making for righteousness. This tendency, it seems to me, is to be strengthened and quickened by the demonstration in specific individual instances of the present and practical efficacy of this power when laid hold upon faithfully and exercised in right thinking. Individual regeneration and social regeneration must go hand in hand. In the end, our faith in the power that is to heal the ills of the body politic, restoring order and harmony in the social organism, must be strengthened and understood through actual experience of its work in healing and harmonizing the individual organism.

To the army of readers whose loyal sympathy and support made possible whatever has been accomplished during my editorship toward reëstablishing THE ARENA on a broad basis, I return sincere thanks, heartily commending to their confidence and esteem my successor, Mr. John Emery McLean, widely and favorably known as the editor of *Mind*. The new

editor may be counted on to carry forward THE ARENA on broad lines, developing and strengthening its character, extending its usefulness in the forward movement, and making it more than ever *the people's review*. In this endeavor he should have the fullest support of every friend of freedom and progress. PAUL TYNER.

"The Royalton," New York, Sept. 5th, 1899.

INTRODUCTORY.

IT is not without some diffidence that I drop the editorial reins of *Mind* and take up those of THE ARENA. But the privilege of working in this wider field and of addressing this larger audience should inspire a degree of confidence that I trust will be justified by the outcome of the change in location, ownership, and editorial direction. Some modifications of the policy that has characterized the magazine during the recent years of its history—commendable and successful as this record has been—have also been determined upon. The future issues will consist wholly of signed essays—fiction and poetry being omitted, as a rule. And the "departments" will be superseded by symposia, presenting legitimate views of all sides of the questions discussed.

Under its new management, THE ARENA will be in every intellectual sense what its name implies—an open court in which accredited advocates of opposing principles will find a fair field and no favor. When the editor has anything to say that he feels may interest his readers it will appear in the form of a contribution over his own signature; and at this point his responsibility for utterances that find place in these pages will cease.

The publishers of this famous periodical have no ulterior purposes to exploit, no hobbies to ride, no fads to develop, and no theories to defend. Their sole desire is to aid in promoting the social and civic welfare of the race through a search for the Truth that is wholly free from predilections and preconceived opinions. The editor is only the gate-keeper of THE ARENA—

its independence will never be called in question by the dominance of a single personality. It will be absolutely non-partizan and non-sectarian—without creed or platform.

It is our belief, however, that what is called the "New Thought" of to-day has a possible application that is practical, concrete, and objective—in contradistinction to the theoretical, abstract, and transcendental speculation that constitutes so large a part of our modern metaphysics. It seems highly desirable that this philosophy should be introduced more widely into popular literature, which, with our conceptions of politics, finance, education, ethics, and religion, has reached an undeniably transitional stage. *To teach the masses to think,* therefore, is our dominating purpose; and to those among them who are already capable of making ethical distinctions our appeal shall be especially addressed.

In the growing unrest of civilized peoples, the gradual lowering of the ideals that should actuate those in power and authority, and the crystallizing of communities into "classes" based on material wealth and other ignoble distinctions, it would seem that such a periodical as the one herein briefly outlined were needed. As THE ARENA is wholly untrammeled by influences of corporate or individual wealth or position, by sordid political considerations, or by the dictum of church, school, or party, we are encouraged to count on the coöperation and support of free minds everywhere in our endeavors to promote the cause of justice and enlightenment among men.

I feel that with ample modesty I can promise that the literary standard called for in a first-class magazine will be maintained at all times, for THE ARENA shall be a vehicle for the best thought of the best minds. Mechanically and typographically, it will leave nothing to be desired. I invite a continuance of the sympathetic interest and appreciation with which my predecessor was favored, and heartily thank Mr. Tyner for his commendatory words. I feel that in wishing him abundant success in his humane new calling I but voice the sentiment of his many personal friends and of all readers of THE ARENA.

JOHN EMERY MCLEAN.

"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them.
They master us and force us into the arena,
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."
—HEINE.

The Arena

VOL. XXII. NOVEMBER, 1899. No. 5.

CHURCH AND STATE.*

WHAT an extraordinary thing it is! There are people who seem ready to climb out of their skins for the sake of making others accept this, and not that, form of revelation. They cannot rest till others have accepted their form, and no other. They anathematize, persecute, and kill whom they can of the dissentients. Other groups of people do the same; and others, again, do the same. So that they are all anathematizing, persecuting, and killing—demanding that every one should believe as they do. And it results that there are hundreds of sects—all anathematizing, persecuting, and killing one another.

At first I was astonished that so obvious an absurdity—so evident a contradiction—did not destroy religion itself. How can religious people remain so deluded? And really, viewed from the general, external point of view, it is incomprehensible; it seems to prove irrefragably that every religion is a fraud, and that the whole thing is superstition—as the dominant philosophy of to-day declares. Looking at things from this

*Translated by Aylmer Maude, from a Russian MS. by Count Leo Tolstoy.

general point of view, therefore, I inevitably came to acknowledge that all religion is a human fraud. But I could not help pausing at the reflection that the very absurdity and obviousness of the fraud, and the fact that nevertheless all humanity yields to it, indicate that this fraud must rest on some basis that is not fraudulent. Otherwise we could not let it deceive us—it is too stupid. The very fact that all mankind that really lives a human life yields to this fraud obliged me to concede the importance of the phenomena on which it is based. And, in consequence of this reflection, I began to analyze the Christian teachings, which, for all Christendom, supply the basis of this apparent fraud.

That is what was evident from the general point of view. But from the individual point of view — which shows us that each man (and I myself) must, in order to live, always have a religion to show him the meaning of life —the fact that *violence* is employed in questions of religion is yet more amazing in its absurdity. How can it, and why should it, concern any one to make somebody else, not merely have the same religion as himself, but also profess it in the same way that he does? A man lives; he must, therefore, know *why* he lives. He has established his relation to God; he knows the very truths, and I know the very truth of truths. Our expression may differ: the essence must be the same—we are both men. Then why should I—what can induce me to —oblige any one or demand of any one absolutely to express his truth as I express it? I cannot compel a man to alter his religion either by violence or by cunning or by fraud (false miracles). His religion is his life. How can I take from him his religion and give him another? It is like taking out his heart and putting another in its place. I can only do that if his religion and mine are words, and are not what gives life; if religion is a wart, and not a heart. Such a thing is impossible also because no man can deceive in such a case, or compel another to believe what he does not believe; for if a man has adjusted his relation to God, and knows that religion is the relation in which man stands toward God, he cannot desire to define

another man's relation to God by means of force or fraud. That seems impossible; yet it is being done, and has been done everywhere and always. That is to say, it can never really be done, because it is in itself impossible; but something has been done, and is being done, that looks very much like it. What has been and is being done is that some people impose on others a counterfeit of religion, and others accept the sham.

Religion cannot be forced and cannot be accepted for the sake of anything—force, fraud, or profit; therefore, what is so accepted is not religion, but a fraud. And this religious fraud is a long-established condition of man's life. In what does this fraud consist, and on what is it based? What induces the deceivers to produce it? What makes it plausible to the deceived? I will not discuss the same phenomena in Brahmanism, Buddhism, Confucianism, and Mohammedanism, although any one who has read about those religions may see that the case has been the same in them as in Christianity; but I will speak only of the latter—it being the religion known, necessary, and dear to us. In Christianity, the whole fraud is built up on the fantastic conception of a "Church"—a conception founded on nothing, and which as soon as we begin to study Christianity amazes us by its unexpected and useless absurdity.

Of all godless ideas and words there are none more godless than that of a *Church.* There is no idea that has produced more evil, none more inimical to Christ's teaching, than the idea of a Church. In reality the word *ekklesia* means an assembly, and nothing more, and it is so used in the Gospels. In the language of all modern nations the word *ekklesia* (or the equivalent word "Church") means a house of prayer. Beyond that, the word has not progressed in any language—notwithstanding the 1500-year existence of the institutional fraud. According to the definition given to the word by priests (to whom the Church fraud is necessary), it amounts to nothing else than a preface that says: "All that I am going to say is true, and if you disbelieve I shall burn you, or denounce you, and do you all manner of harm." This concep-

tion is a sophistry, needed for certain dialectical purposes, and it has remained the possession of those to whom it is necessary. Among the people, and not only among common persons but also in educated society, no such conception is held at all—even though it *is* taught in the catechisms. Strange as it seems to examine this definition, one has to do so because so many people proclaim it seriously as something important, though it is absolutely false. When people say that the Church is an assembly of the true believers, nothing is really said (leaving aside the fantastic inclusion of the dead); for if I assert that the choir is an assembly of true musicians, I have elucidated nothing unless I say what I mean by "true musicians." In theology we learn that true believers are those who follow the teachings of the Church, *i. e.,* belong to the Church.

Not to dwell on the fact that there are hundreds of such true Churches, this definition tells us nothing, and at first seems as useless as the definition of "choir" as the assembly of true musicians. But then we catch sight of the fox's tail. The Church is true, and it is one, and in it are pastors and flocks; and the pastors, ordained by God, teach this true and only religion. So that it amounts to saying: "By the Eternal, all that we are going to say is real truth." That is all. The whole fraud lies in that—in the word and idea of a Church. And the meaning of the fraud is merely that there are persons that are beside themselves with desire to teach their religion to others.

Why are these people so anxious to teach their religion to others? If they had a *real* religion they would know that religion is the understanding of life—the relation each man establishes to God—and that, consequently, you cannot teach a religion, but only a counterfeit of it. But they want to *teach.* What for? The simplest reply would be that the priest wants rolls and eggs, and the archbishop wants a palace, fish-pies, and a silk cassock. But this reply is insufficient. Such is no doubt the inner, psychological motive for the deception—that which maintains the fraud. But as it would be insufficient

—when asking why one man (an executioner) consents to kill another against whom he feels no anger—to say that the executioner kills because he thereby gets bread and brandy and a red shirt, so is it insufficient to say that the Metropolitan of Kieff, with his monks, stuffs sacks with straw* and calls them relics of the saints merely to get thirty thousand rubles a year income. The one act, also the other, is too terrible and too revolting to human nature for so simple and rude an explanation to be sufficient. Both the executioner and the Metropolitan, in explaining their actions, would present a whole series of arguments based chiefly on history and tradition. "Men must be executed; executions have gone on since the world commenced; if I don't do it another will; I hope, by God's grace, to do it better than another would." So also the Metropolitan would say: "External worship is necessary; since the commencement of the world the relics of the saints have been worshiped; people respect the relics in the Kieff Catacombs, and pilgrims come here; I, by God's grace, hope to make the most pious use of the money"—thus blasphemously obtained.

To understand the religious fraud it is necessary to go to its source and origin. We are speaking about what we know of Christianity. Turn to the commencement of Christian doctrine in the Gospels, and we find a teaching that plainly excludes the external worship of God, even condemning it; and with special clearness it repudiates *mastership*. But from the time of Christ onward we find a deviation from these principles laid down by Christ. This deviation begins from the time of the Apostles, and especially from that seeker after mastership—Paul. And the further Christianity goes the more it deviates, and the more it adopts the methods of external worship and mastership, which Christ had

*The celebrated Catacombs of the Kieff Monastery draw crowds of pilgrims to worship the relics of the saints. It is said that a fire once broke out in one of the chapels, and that those who hastened to save the "incorruptible body" of one of the saints discovered that the precious relic was merely a bag stuffed with straw. This is only a specimen of many similar tales, some of which are true and others invented.—*Tr.*

so definitely condemned. But in the early times of Christianity the conception of a Church was only employed to refer to all those who shared the beliefs that I consider true. That conception of the Church is quite correct if it does not include those who make a verbal expression of religion instead of its expression in the whole of life—for religion cannot be expressed in words.

The idea of a true Church was also used as an argument against dissenters. But, until the time of the Emperor Constantine and the Council of Nicæa, the Church was only an idea. At that time the Church became a reality, and a fraudulent one—the fraud of Metropolitans with relics, priests with the eucharist, Iberian Mothers-of-God,* synods, etc., which so astonish and horrify us, and which are so odious that they cannot be explained merely by the avarice of those who perpetuate them. The fraud is ancient, and was not begun merely for the profit of private individuals. If that were the only reason, no one would be such a monster of iniquity as to be the first to perpetrate it. The reasons that caused the thing to be done were evil. "Ye shall know them by their fruits." The root was evil—hatred, pride, enmity against Arius and others; and another yet greater evil—the alliance of Christianity with political power. Power, personified in the Emperor Constantine, who in the heathen conception of things stood at the summit of human greatness (he was enrolled among the gods), accepts Christianity, gives an example to all the people, converts them, lends a helping hand against the heretics, and by means of the Ecumenical Council establishes the one true Christian religion.

The Catholic Christian religion was established for all time. It was so natural to yield to this deception that to the present day there are people who believe in the saving efficacy of that assembly. Yet that was the moment when a majority of Christians abandoned their religion. At that turning-point the great majority of Christians entered the heathen path that they

*The Iberian "Mother-of-God" is the most celebrated of the miraculous *icons* in Moscow.—*Tr.*

have followed ever since. Charlemagne and Vladimir* continued in the same direction. And the Church fraud continues until now. It consists in this: that the conversion of the "powers that be" to Christianity is necessary for those who understand the letter but not the spirit of Christianity; but the acceptance of that system without the abandonment of power is a satire on and a perversion of Christianity. The sanctification of political power by Christianity is blasphemy; it is the negation of Christianity. After fifteen hundred years of this blasphemous alliance of pseudo-Christianity with the State, it needs a strong effort to free one's self from all the complex sophistries by which, always and everywhere (to please the authorities), the sanctity and righteousness of State power and the possibility of its being Christian have been pleaded. In truth, the term "Christian State" resembles "hot ice." The thing is either a State not using violence, or it is not Christian.

In order to understand this clearly we must forget all those fantastic notions in which we have been carefully brought up and must ask plainly, What is the purpose of such historical and juridical sciences as have been taught us? Such sciences have no sound basis—their purpose is merely to supply a vindication of the use of violence. Omitting the history of the Persians, the Medes, etc., let us take the history of that government which first formed an alliance with Christianity.

A robbers' nest existed at Rome. It grew by theft and violence, thus subduing nations. These robbers and their descendants, led by their chieftains (whom they sometimes called Cæsar and sometimes Augustus), robbed and tormented nations to satisfy their desires. One of the descendants of these robber-chiefs—Constantine, a reader of books and a man satiated by an evil life—preferred certain Christian dogmas to those of the old creeds. Instead of offering human

*Vladimir adopted Christianity A.D. 988. Many inhabitants of his capital city, Kieff, were disinclined to follow his example, so he "acted vigorously" (as a Russian historian remarks); *i. e.*, he had the people driven into the Dnieper to be baptized. In other parts of his dominions Christianity was spread among the unwilling heathen population "by fire and sword."—*Tr.*

sacrifices he preferred the mass; instead of the worship of Apollo, Venus, and Zeus, he preferred that of a single God, with a Son (Christ). So he decreed that this religion should be introduced among those under his power. No one said to him: "The kings exercise authority among the nations, but among you it shall not be so. Do not murder; do not commit adultery; do not lay up riches; judge not; condemn not; resist not him that is evil." But they said to him: "You wish to be called a Christian and to continue to be the chieftain of the robbers—to kill, burn, fight, lust, execute, and live in luxury? That can all be arranged." And they arranged a Christianity for him, and arranged it very smoothly—better even than could have been expected. They foresaw that, reading the Gospels, it might occur to him that all this (*i. e.*, a Christian life) is demanded—and not the building of temples or worshiping in them. So they carefully devised such a Christianity for him as would let him continue to live his old heathen life unembarrassed. On the one hand Christ, God's Son, only came to bring salvation to him and to everybody. Christ having died, Constantine can live as he likes. More even than that—one may repent and swallow a little bit of bread and some wine, and that will bring salvation and all will be forgiven. Furthermore, they sanctify his robber chieftainship and say that it proceeds from God, and they anoint him with holy oil. And he, on his side, arranges for them the congress of priests that they wish for and directs them to say what each man's relation to God should be—and orders every one to repeat what they say.

And they all started repeating it and were contented, and now this same religion has existed for fifteen hundred years. Other robber chiefs have adopted it, and they have all been lubricated with holy oil—and they were all ordained by God. If any scoundrel robs and slays, they will oil him and he will then be from God. In Russia, Catherine II., the adulteress who killed her husband, was "from God"; so, in France, was Napoleon.

To balance matters, the priests are not only "from God" but

are almost gods themselves, because the Holy Ghost sits inside them as well as inside the Pope, and in our Synod with its commandant officials. As soon as one of the anointed robber chiefs wishes his own and another folk to begin slaying each other, the priests immediately prepare some holy water, sprinkle a cross (which Christ bore and on which he died because he repudiated such robbers), take it up, and bless the robber chief in his work of slaughtering, hanging, and destroying.* And it all might have been well if only they had been able to agree about it, and the anointed had not begun to call each other robbers, and the people had not begun to listen to them and to cease to believe either in anointed people or in depositaries of the Holy Ghost, and had not learned from them to call them as they call each other—by their right names, *i. e.*, robbers and deceivers.

But we have only spoken of the robbers incidentally, because it was they who led the deceivers astray. It is the deceivers, the pseudo-Christians, that we have to consider. They became such by their alliance with the robbers. It could not be otherwise. They turned from the road when they consecrated the first ruler and assured him that he, by his power, could help religion—the religion of humility, self-sacrifice, and the endurance of evil. All the history, not of the imaginary but of the real Church—*i. e.*, of the priests under the sway of kings—is a series of useless efforts of these unfortunate priests to preserve the truth of the teaching while preaching it by falsehood and while abandoning it in practise. The importance of the priesthood depends entirely on the teaching it wishes to spread. That teaching speaks of humility, self-sacrifice, love, poverty; but it is preached by violence and wrongdoing.

In order that the priesthood should have something to teach and that they should have disciples, they cannot get rid of the teaching. But, in order to whitewash themselves and justify

*In England we do without the holy water, but an Archbishop draws up a form of prayer for the success of the Queen's army, and a chaplain is appointed to each regiment to teach the men Christianity.—*Tr.*

their alliance with political power, they have, by the most cunning devices, to conceal the essence of the teaching; and for this purpose they have to shift the center of gravity from what is essential to what is external in the teaching. And this is what is done by the priesthood—this is the source of the "religion" taught by the Church. The source is the alliance of the priests (calling themselves the Church) with the "powers that be," *i. e.*, with violence. The source of their desire to teach a religion to others lies in the fact that true religion exposes them, and they want to replace true religion by a fictitious religion arranged to justify their deeds.

True religion may exist anywhere except where it is manifestly false, *i. e.*, violent. It cannot be a State religion. True religion may exist in all the so-called sects and heresies, but it cannot exist where it is joined to a State using violence. Curiously enough, the names "Orthodox-Greek," "Catholic," or "Protestant" religion, as those adjectives are commonly used, mean nothing but "religion allied to power"—State religion, and therefore false religion. The idea of a Church as a union of many—of the majority—in one belief, and in nearness to the source of the teaching, was in the first two centuries of Christianity merely one feeble, external argument in favor of the correctness of certain views. Paul said: "I know from Christ himself." Another said: "I know from Luke." And all said: "We think rightly, and the proof that we are right is that we are a big assembly—*ekklesia,* the Church." But only beginning with the Council of Nicæa, organized by an Emperor, does the Church become a plain and tangible fraud—practised by some of the people who professed this religion. They began to say: "It has pleased us and the Holy Ghost." The "Church" no longer meant merely a part of a weak argument: it meant *power* in the hands of certain people. It allied itself with the rulers and began to act like them. And all that united itself with power, and submitted thereto, ceased to be religion and became a fraud.

What does Christianity teach—understanding it as the teaching of any, or of all, of the Churches? Examine it as

you will—compound it or divide it—the Christian teaching always falls into two sharply separated parts. There is the teaching of dogmas—from the divine Son, the Holy Ghost, and the relationship of these persons, to the eucharist, with or without wine and with leavened or with unleavened bread; and there is the moral teaching—of humility, freedom from covetousness, purity of mind and body, forgiveness, freedom from bondage, peacefulness, etc. Much as the doctors of the Church have labored to mix these two sides of the teaching, they have never mingled, but like oil and water have always remained apart in larger or smaller circles.

The difference in the two sides of the teaching is clear to every one, and all can see their fruits in the life of men, and by these fruits can conclude which side is the more important and (if one may use the comparative form) more true. One looks at the history of Christendom from this aspect and is horror-struck. Without exception, from the very beginning to the very end, till to-day, look where you will, examine what dogma you like—from the dogma of the divinity of Christ to the manner of making the sign of the cross* and to the question of serving the communion with or without wine—the fruit of mental labors to explain the dogmas has always been envy, hatred, executions, banishment, slaughter of women and children, burnings, and tortures. Look on the other side: the moral teaching—from the going into the wilderness to commune with God to the practise of supplying food to those who are in prison—the fruits of it are all our conceptions of goodness, all that is joyful, comforting, and that serves as a beacon to us in history.

People before whose eyes the fruits of both sides of Christianity were not yet evident might easily be misled. And people might be misled who were sincerely drawn into disputes about dogmas, not noticing that by such disputes they were serving not God but the devil, and not noticing that Christ

*One of the main points of divergence between the "old believers" and the "Orthodox" Russian Church was whether, in making the sign of the cross, two fingers or three should be extended.—*Tr.*

said in effect that He came to destroy all dogmas. Those also might be led astray who had inherited a traditional belief in the importance of these dogmas, and had received so perverse a mental training that they could not see their mistake. Again, those ignorant people might be led astray to whom these dogmas seemed nothing but words, or fantastic notions. But for us, to whom the simple meaning of the Gospels, repudiating all dogmas, is evident, and before whose eyes are the fruits of these dogmas in history—we cannot be so misled. History is for us a means—even a mechanical means—of verifying the teaching.

Is the dogma of the immaculate conception necessary or not? What has come of it? Hatred, abuse, irony. And did it bring any benefit? None at all. Was the teaching that the adulteress should not be sentenced necessary or not? What has come of it? Thousands of times people have been softened by that recollection. Again, does everybody agree about any one of the dogmas? No. Do people agree that it is good to give to him that has need? Yes; all agree. But the one side—the dogmas, about which all disagree and which nobody requires—is what the priesthood gave out, and still gives out, under the name of religion; while the other side—about which all can agree, and which is necessary to all, and which really "saves" people—is the side that the priesthood, though they have not dared to reject it, have also not dared to set forth as a teaching: for that teaching repudiates them.

Religion is the meaning we give to our lives. It is that which gives strength and direction to our lives. Every one that *lives* finds such a meaning, and lives on the basis of that meaning. If a man find no meaning in life, he dies. In this search man uses all that the previous efforts of humanity have supplied. And what humanity has reached we call revelation. Revelation is what helps man to understand the meaning of life. Such is the relation in which man stands toward religion.

LEO TOLSTOY.

Jasnaja Polyana, Russia.

NOTE BY THE TRANSLATOR.—The above article is prohibited in Russia, and though written several years ago has never been

printed in Russian. I once asked Tolstoy about this article, in which it seemed to me that the truth was told somewhat roughly and even harshly. He explained that it was a rough draft of an article he had planned but had not brought into satisfactory shape. After it had been put aside for some time, in favor of other work, a friend borrowed it and took a copy, and it began to circulate from hand to hand in written or hektographed form. Tolstoy does not regret the publicity thus obtained for the article, as it expresses something that he feels to be true and important.

A translation, made probably from an incorrect copy, or from the French, has already appeared in English, but a re-translation is not the less wanted on that account. A little book, professing to be by "Count L. Tostoi" and entitled "Vicious Pleasures" (a title Tolstoy never used), was published in London some years ago. It consisted of translations, or perhaps I should rather say parodies, of five essays by Tolstoy. But, to borrow from Macaulay, they were translated much as *Bottom* was in "A Midsummer Night's Dream," when he had is the Church or the State, or both, that are "vicious pleasures." on an ass's head. In many places it is impossible to make out what the essays mean. One does not even know whether it The translator evidently had some qualms of conscience; for he concludes his preface with the words: "If fault be found with the present translator for the manner in which he has reproduced Count Tolstoi's work in English, he would ask his critics to remember that he, too, like Kant, dearly loves his pipe." If that be really the explanation of the quality of the work, "Vicious Pleasures" should be of value to the anti-tobacco league—as a fearful warning. Excepting for that purpose, I doubt whether the work can be of use to any one.

One often meets people who say they cannot understand Tolstoy's writings; that he seems to them not really to know what he means himself, or that he expresses ideas that are evidently absurd. In such cases, it is well to ask in what form they have tried to read him; for seldom has any author been worse treated by his translators. Some even of those who put their name to their versions have evidently not understood what they were at work on; but it is especially among the anonymous translators that we find work that is not merely inadequate but even unintelligible, or that says something that Tolstoy did not say. Under these circumstances, no apology, perhaps, is needed for offering a version that will, I hope, be found intelligible by those who approach it with an open mind.

AYLMER MAUDE.

THE UNITED STATES AND THE PHILIPPINES.

I. THE AMERICAN ATTEMPT AT CONQUEST.

BUT a few months ago Spain was a terrible example of medievalism surviving in an age of popular education, of manhood suffrage, and of government, not by divine right, but by the consent and expressed will of the governed. For the understanding of present-day problems it is illuminating to recall the Spanish-Cuban situation of fifteen, eighteen, or twenty months ago. The Cubans were in revolt against government sent to them behind bayonets and from across seas. They were fighting for Cuba Libre, for national autonomy, for the right to make laws as well as to obey them, for freedom from a foreign military occupation, for all that is summed up in the goodly phrases, "national independence" and "home rule." The Cubans were not unanimous in this venture, but such division as appeared in their ranks was on lines of wealth rather than of race or education. Many of the rich were for the settled rule of Spain—for that law and order which, to paraphrase the words of Wendell Phillips, do give "increase of property even at the sacrifice of principle." All the poor and most of the moderately well-to-do, as well as some of the wealthy, were found under the standard of revolt. The majority of the insurgent forces were of black skin and of negro or mixed blood. The admixture of blood was mostly Spanish, although some of it came from the Saxon-Norman stock of our own Southern States, where the ancestors of many of these soldiers of freedom were once held by us as slaves. In addition to the negro and mulatto majority of the insurgent forces, there was a large fraction composed of Spanish immigrants fighting the despotism of the mother country, as well as numbers of those adventurers who flock to every war from every nation, no matter what the cause; and there were besides a few of those noble spirits who, like Kosciusko in our Revolution, or Byron in Greece, are always to be found fighting on the ragged side in

such struggles. Such were the insurgent forces as we saw them from the land made sacred by Henry, Washington, Jefferson, Adams, Phillips, John Brown, and Lincoln. For the most part we forgot the color of their skins, and the strain of their blood, and remembered only the righteousness of their cause. We admired their slow and steady courage, a courage that refused pitched battle and wisely, by guerrilla tactics, met force by wit, and which, while winning little, suffered no great defeats, thus making ultimate victory possible through the exhaustion of their more powerful enemy. In spite of their poverty and mixture of blood, their guerrilla tactics and lack of standing as a nation, the American people recognized them and their cause as kin to us and ours, and definitely took sides with them. There was nation-wide sorrow over the death of the great mulatto Maceo; there was nation-wide exultation over the startling and brilliant forays of Gomez; there was execration from all for Weyler, who fought the insurgents in the only way left him by their tactics—with the blockading squadron, the trocha, the reconcentrado camp, isolation, and starvation. So much for the Cuban war as we saw it.

Now for the Cuban war as Spain, from across the Atlantic, saw it. The Cubans were rebels against lawful sovereignty, against the "manifest destiny" which had placed upon Spain the duty to the world of keeping order and peace in the island. The Spanish statesmen were agreed—just as one party of English statesmen had once been agreed about the Yankees—that the Cubans were unfitted for self-government, and that Providence had clearly placed their keeping and the responsibility for their good behavior in Spanish hands.

It may be safely said that no assertion of a determination to govern has ever been couched in any but phrases of deepest religious devotion, and of unbounded solicitude for the welfare and final enlightenment of the governed. When Henry II., of England, nearly seven hundred and fifty years ago, sent his troops to reduce the Irish kings to vassalage, he followed a fashion even then ancient among conquerors by proclaiming that his purpose was to "enlarge the bounds of the Church, to

restrain the progress of vices, to correct the manners of the Irish people, and to plant virtue among them and increase the Christian religion." He engaged with Pope Hadrian to "subject the people to laws, to extirpate vicious customs, to respect the rights of the native churches, and to enforce the payment of Peter's pence." The Pope indorsed this appeal to piety and thrift as being prompted by "the ardor of faith and the love of religion," just as modern churches in later days have indorsed similar enterprises as being good for civilization, commerce, and missionary work.

Another instance of despotism cloaking itself in piety, and fairly reveling in unctuous phrases descriptive of its regard for the welfare of the dominated and subjected, is to be found in the literature of the pro-slavery advocates of our own country. The slaveholders, as may easily be discovered by a perusal of some of their writings, always placed self-interest last and the welfare of the slave first. In an elaborate defense of slavery, published in 1856, Professor Albert T. Bledsoe, LL.D., of the University of Virginia, considered this very point. Professor Bledsoe's book is entitled "Liberty and Slavery," and in it he sought to prove that liberty and negro slavery are in reality one. As to the good of the slave being the justification of slavery, he said: "Surely, no one who has looked at both sides of this great question can be ignorant of the fact that the legislation of the South proceeds on the principle that slavery is beneficial, not to the master only, but also, and especially, to the slave. . . . This ground, or principle, is set forth in every defense of slavery by the writers and speakers of the South." The professor then proceeded to argue that the Golden Rule was being literally fulfilled to the blacks by the whites, because, slavery being good for the blacks, it was the thing they would choose for themselves if they knew enough to choose. As they did not know enough so to choose, "destiny marked out the path of duty" for the whites to choose for them.

The Spanish statesmen, it will be seen, had precedents for their position that the dominance of Spain was good for the

Cubans; and they were not the first to believe themselves to be providentially chosen to carry the blessings of civilization to a benighted and inferior people. So they sent their troops on a holy mission—and Weyler sent home false reports of victories won, false tales of the enormous number of the enemy slain, and false enumerations of his own losses, in order that the mothers and fathers whose bone and blood were paying the price of following where the statesmen said Providence was directing might not know the cost of the enterprise and force an abandonment of it. The reports from the seat of war were censored, the people were misled, and the nation followed its statesmen's reading of the Divine Will until utter ruin came at last to prove that it had been a devilish and not a divine business.

Now, all this infamy is being reënacted, with the United States and the Philippines as the principals, instead of Spain and Cuba. We are attempting to set over the Filipinos a government of our making, and are using sword and rifle, shot and shell, the blockading squadron, and the military encampment to reduce them to submission to our plans. I have recalled the leading aspects of the Spanish-Cuban war because it affords a parallel, even in its smaller features, of the American-Filipino war. If we are right to-day, Spain was right a year ago. If the Cubans were right a year ago, we to-day are wrong and the Filipinos are right. Our title to the Philippines, our "sovereignty" there, is identical in its nature with the "sovereignty" of Spain over Cuba. Indeed, it is the same; for we bought it of Spain, and we are conducting operations there only by such right as she could sell. It is true that our statesmen have had little to say of the Spanish origin of our title and much of its providential sanction; but these are the worn-out phrases of the Spaniards themselves, bought, we may suppose, with the balance of the paraphernalia of the Spanish right of sovereignty.

To sum up, it needs only to be said that men and nations are not always right because they say they are right, nor providentially guided because they claim the direction of "manifest

destiny." King Philip, of Spain, after whom these islands were named, hailed their accession to the Spanish possessions as evidence that God had chosen him to extend to them the "true faith." President William McKinley, of the United States, in his Home Market Club speech at Boston, said that "until Congress shall direct otherwise, it will be the duty of the Executive to possess and hold the Philippines, giving to the people thereof peace and order and beneficent government, affording them every opportunity to prosecute their lawful pursuits, encouraging them in thrift and industry, making them feel and know that we are their friends, not their enemies, that their good is our aim, that their welfare is our welfare; but that neither their aspirations nor ours can be realized until our authority is acknowledged and unquestioned." Between the phrases with which we come to the Filipinos and those used by King Philip it is difficult to discern great difference.

But the parallel does not end here. Not only are our phrases similar, but, except for some minor details of cruelty which added little to the Spanish crime of conquest and despotism, our acts are the same as were those of the Spaniards. Spain was not out of place in her colonies because she was medieval in some of her punishments, but because she was governing the people against their will. We are attempting to do the same thing. As the President says, "our authority must be acknowledged and unquestioned." No king has ever asked more of any people; not many kings have asked so much. King James I., of England, in his statement of the doctrine that kings govern by divine right, and must not be questioned by those whom Providence has placed in their hands, said only that "as it is atheism and blasphemy to dispute what God can do, it is a presumption and a high contempt in a subject to dispute what a king can do, or to say that a king cannot do this or that." King James, it will be seen, asserted only that his authority should be "acknowledged and unquestioned" by his subjects, and he claimed that the right to make this assertion came to him directly from Providence.

Mr. McKinley is ready with exactly the same claim. At Boston he said: "The Philippines, like Cuba and Porto Rico, were intrusted to our hands by the war; and to that great trust, under the providence of God and in the name of human progress and civilization, we are committed. . . . Congress may declare war, but a higher power decrees its bounds and fixes its relations and responsibilities." This is simply a renewal of James's assertion of a divine right to govern. It sounds no more convincing to thinking Americans now than it did three hundred years ago to the thoughtful Englishman who said: "If the practise follow the position, we are not likely to leave to our successors the freedom we received from our forefathers."

But let us return to our historical parallel. Spain kept a press censor at Havana, and the reports sent to the Spanish people of the military operations in Cuba were uniformly untrue. The same thing is being done by the American military authorities at Manila. Recently, we were regaled from day to day with reports of the "crucial engagements," the "splendid victories," and the "decisive gains" made by General Wheaton's troops. A little later a despatch from Manila (via Hong Kong, uncensored) brought the news that the previous despatches had been untrue; that no great battles had been fought nor victories won; that only minor skirmishes had taken place, and that the accounts of great engagements and tremendous slaughtering of Filipinos had been sent by the correspondents in deference to the expressed desire of the censor. From Manila came the news that Ilo Ilo had been captured by General Miller with scarcely any damage to the city at all. Then came the news that the insurgents had burned a portion of the Chinese quarter before running away. Then the news was revised to include all the Chinese and native quarter. Then came the truth—or, at least, the last word that has been uttered on the subject—which told us that the business quarter and the warehouses were the portions of the city destroyed, estimated the damage at millions, and announced that the foreign residents charged the Americans, not the insurgents, with having fired the city: and this, too,

while negotiations for surrender were under way, hours before the time set by them for the bombardment to commence. According to the Manila despatches, the people of the island of Negros received our troops with rejoicings. According to the uncensored despatches from Singapore—the truth of which is now admitted from Manila—they did nothing of the sort, and are now preparing for and waging war. A mail correspondent of the Minneapolis *Journal*—A. A. Law, a captain and assistant surgeon of the Thirteenth Minnesota Infantry—writes of finding fifteen American dead in one place; of the complete wiping out of Company M of his regiment, twenty-six of its number having been killed, with the list of the wounded embracing the entire company roster; of the wounded dying on the surgeon's table, and this even after having had their wounds dressed. He counted forty-nine in the dead-room of the hospital. His letter indicates still greater slaughter, but these figures of the dead which he has seen exceed those that were reported by cable. General Otis's official list of the dead up to February 7, the date of Captain Law's letter, put the number at only fifty-one. It is quite like the old days of Weyler and his extremely unveracious typewriter—with the American people, not the Spanish, being fooled and deluded concerning affairs about which they have a right to know the entire and exact truth. If Weyler had deceived the government of Spain, as well as the subjects of that government, it is fair to presume that he would have been reprimanded and recalled. General Otis is deceiving the government of the United States; for here the people, not the crown, are the government. He thus passes from a loyal and dutiful soldier to a semi-independent military adventurer, playing, with certain other servants of the people at Washington, a bold, false, and treacherous game, the end of which no man can foresee. Inasmuch as the game is fraudulent at the beginning, it must needs be evil at the end.

Of course, the instant reply to all this will be that America is not Spain, and that, as our nature is altogether good, and our motives are altogether just and disinterested, our rule will

be as good as hers was bad. To this several answers may be made. The first is, that Spain has always been equally ready to say as much for herself. No nation has ever claimed to be anything less than god-like in its motives as it advanced to the work of conquest; and the claim is as false as it is old, no matter who makes it. A second reply is, that right is right and wrong is wrong, regardless of nationality. "Righteousness exalteth a nation." No one has yet succeeded in finally changing this to: "Our nationality so exalteth unrighteousness that, when we do it, it becometh righteousness." If the enterprise was bad for Spain, it is bad for us. If it is bad for any one, it is bad for every one; and it will change *our* nature, rather than having *its* nature changed by us. A third answer is that American institutions are not being sent to the Philippines. It is not proposed that they shall be. General Merritt, as he sailed through the Golden Gate, on his way to be governor-general of the ten million people of the Philippines, told a reporter that "military law is the best sort of law known." That is treason to all the institutions that may be regarded as peculiarly American. It is not to be wondered at that the same gentleman, in a speech in the East after his return from a somewhat fruitless endeavor to institute military law over the Filipinos, made another speech, in which, finding the Constitution a bar to his program of foreign dominion, he waved that instrument aside as "out of date." Military law is a survival from feudalism, under which the will of the prince or the noble was the law of the land. Its power comes always from above, never from below. It knows no inalienable rights in the individual. *Habeas corpus,* the right of suffrage, the right to trial by a jury of one's peers, the right of petition, the right of free speech, the right to institute a new government and select new officers when old ones are unsatisfactory—these are all unknown to military law. It is a government of privates by officers, of inferior officers by superior officers. It is the antithesis of democracy, of government by the people, of Americanism. The rights it denies are the essence and vitality of a free government.

They have all been won from military law itself, and are limitations, denials, and reversals of it. We sent military law to the Philippines, not American institutions; feudalism, not democratic republicanism. This, in fact, is the only kind of government one people can send to another. Acting under its inspiration, the nearest our commissioners can come to promising liberty to the Filipinos, as a reward for doing as we say, is, to quote the language of their proclamation: "The amplest liberty of self-government will be granted which is reconcilable with just, stable, effective, and economical administration, and compatible with the sovereign rights and obligations of the United States." Self-government which is "granted," which is bound by the granting power to be, in the judgment of that power, just, effective, economical, and compatible with its sovereignty, is not the American brand of self-government. Those who think it to be such should read the Declaration of Independence. Self-government cannot come from without, nor owe allegiance to anything but itself. Democratic institutions, like all other virtues, must come from within, and can never be evoked by force, domination, or anything but example and freedom.

I have purposely omitted all reference to the financial side of the Philippines enterprise. If, as argued by such eminent commercial authorities as John J. Valentine, president of the Wells-Fargo Express Company, or Andrew Carnegie, the great iron manufacturer, it is bound to result in the loss of hundreds of millions, this can add nothing to the weight of the argument from principle. If it would yield returns beyond the dreams of even Colonel Denby, of the President's Philippines Commission, who says, "We are after markets—the greatest markets now existing in the world"; or of the San Francisco *Examiner,* which has promised new opportunities in the Philippines for the rapidly disappearing American middle class; or of the San Francisco *Post,* which looks to the Philippines as the safety-valve which, by receiving our unemployed as soldiers and workers, is to save us from an outbreak of discontent at home—even if the prophecies of all these

advocates of military expansion should prove true, it could make no difference. It is only the fool who says in his heart there is no God; the eternal rights and wrongs must be known and respected by the nation that would preserve its existence, the liberty of its people, or even that minor good—abundance of worldly wealth.

It is generally agreed by the advocates of subject colonies, as dependencies upon the Republic, that the provisions of the Constitution in defense of individual liberty do not extend to these new acquisitions. Their people are not heirs of the rights that the Declaration of Independence asserts to be inalienable in all people. Indeed, the Supreme Court has placed the sanction of its approval upon this doctrine by holding that such possessions may be governed as Congress may prescribe, either by military law or by any modification of the civil law. This is an exact re-statement of the claim of King George III., which caused the rebellion of his American colonies. He, too, held that the rights known in the mother country did not cross seas to dependent shores. The British citizen, it was conceded, must have a voice in the levying of taxes, or the taxes could not be collected. But America, the king and his unwise counselors asserted, was to be governed as Parliament might decide. History now tells us that the successful American resistance to this kingly assertion of the right to govern colonies without their representation or consent saved the day for liberty, not only in America, but in England as well. Unless all men have equal rights there is no rule for human conduct. If Americans might have been subjected to the English will, then Englishmen might have been subjected to the royal will, as it was the desire and intention of the king that they should be. So, to-day, who can say how much of our liberty is at stake in our decision as to whether or not we will grant liberty to the Filipinos? All the liberty we have is based upon an idea of the equality of human right to a voice in government, regardless of learning, ability, fitness, or wealth. Once allow our soldiers to shoot that idea to pieces, even though it be in the remotest corner of the earth,

and who can say what changes shall inevitably follow in the structure that has been reared upon it?

Probably the first argument of the imperialistic expansionists in point of time, as it is certainly the most deficient in justice or sense, is the claim that when the blood of our soldiers has been shed upon the soil of any country that country forthwith belongs to the government which provided the bad beef and Chinese-made clothing for the invading army. Over and over again the statement is made that we will never relinquish the soil won by the valor of our soldiers and sailors. This claim is made as if it were a statement of divine law, an indispensable part of the moral ordering of the universe. It thus affords an outlet for the instinct to "have our own way," regardless of the consequences to ourselves or to any one else, by enabling that instinct to wear a religious and sanctified look before our consciences, which accuse us of piracy and murder. None of those who voice this argument have undertaken to make a map of the world as it would appear after being divided on this plan. Our own country would belong to whom? To the Indians? to the Spanish? to the Dutch? to the French? to the British? to the Hessians? to the Mexicans? to the Russians? All have stained the grass and soaked the sod of this land with their blood; while we ourselves, in fighting foreign foes and each other, have poured forth the same red tide which our statesmen are hailing as the title-deed to all it touches. To the Philippines, the ownership would be equally uncertain, but, it would seem, the facts that the natives have shed rivers of blood on all the islands since the unlucky day when good King Philip first undertook to send them religion and civilization, and that they are dying faster than ever since our beneficent rule began, ought to place them first on the list of claimants.

A storm of discussion is raging around the phrase, "fitness for self-government." The entire argument for American control in the Philippines rests upon the assumption that the Filipinos are "unfitted for self-government." The phrase is a curious one to be used at this stage of scientific advancement.

It is still more curious when uttered in America a century and a quarter after the Declaration of Independence. Government is the direction of action, the determination of conduct. A people that directs unwisely, that determines against rather than with the laws of life, will suffer pain, perhaps death. This is the hard school of experience. It is ultimately the school of life, for in it are taught, over and over, the ways of right and the necessity of following in them, until even the dullest and most wayward must understand. Indeed, does not science tell us that ceaseless pain and unending retribution for stupidity impressed this necessity for recognition of and conformity to the laws of the universe upon that which was not brain—upon the undifferentiated creatures from which all life, even human life, has slowly grown? The brain is a product of necessity. It has Liberty for its mother and Responsibility for its father. It is the child of "do as you please" and "take the consequences." It is God's unfinished creation, to which all his other creations follow and act as servants and teachers. It is the distinctively manly part of man. It differentiates man from the rest of all that is. It enables man to be the conqueror and master and very crown of things. It has grown through necessity and use; it still grows by the same process; we cannot see that, in such a world as this, it will ever grow in any other way.

Let us ask the question, What peoples are fitted for self-government? and answer it in the light of this knowledge that science reveals. The only possible answer is: All who would continue in the way of human development. If their ability is little, their suffering will be great; but it will be the just suffering inflicted by passionless, unchanging law; it will be manly suffering, because it is the suffering that makes men. If with ignorant effrontery we intrude ourselves into these processes of the gods, and try to avert this suffering from any people, we shall not succeed; for incompetency can become comfortable only by becoming competent; but we will obscure the workings of cause and effect, render the perception of their relationship more difficult, and so blur the clear sense of self-

responsibility that alone can cause suffering to grow into wisdom. If we enforce our rule over the Filipinos, we, and not their lack of ability, will be charged with all their pain; and so the pain, instead of bringing self-criticism, wisdom, and steady change to wiser ways, will bring hatred of us as tyrants and oppressors. This, of course, will have its wisdom; for it will teach the primal lesson of self-government, the necessity of rebellion for liberty. Why need we spend our blood and treasure to inflict such a lesson upon a people whose manly resistance, whose freedom from traitors, and whose heroic deaths (breaking their guns before they die, lest we should capture them), show that they know it as nearly by heart as we did at Valley Forge, or as any people has ever known it? Such a people will never submit until its heroes are dead, and its mothers of heroes are all buried. When it submits, when it accepts our government as its master and bows willingly to the denial of its right to make its own laws, determine its own taxation, and choose its own rulers, then, indeed, will it be unfitted for self-government; for it will be degraded into unfitness for the life of *man*. It will be a collection of willing slaves and docile underlings. It will be a dead nation. Its only hope for a resurrection, for a reawakening of national consciousness, will lie in the suffering its servility will invite. It will be far lower in the scale of development, with far more to learn, than when it was blessed with wisdom and vitality enough to fight for liberty. To such a state, not to any good end, does successful assertion of forceful tutelage and mastership of one people over another inevitably tend. No possible mistake of a free people can ever be half so deadly to the real humanity, the genuine nobleness of any people, as the certain and inevitable degradation of contented and submissive subservience. No man that loves the right can ever propose to bring such an evil to any people.

Self-government is not a privilege for the elect and fit few, nor for advanced nations only. It is the growing-place of fitness; without it, incompetency grows always to greater helplessness. Self-government, or liberty and responsibility, is the

test of every man and every nation, marking unerringly the height they have attained and rewarding them accordingly; it is at the same time the schoolroom and gymnasium in which fitness is to be achieved. The phrase "fitness for self-government" must be thrown out of the discussion. It claims ground as debatable which is not such. Self-government, more than security for property, limb, or even life, is the first requisite to human advancement.

The immediate outcome of the expansionist's statement that the Filipinos are unfitted to govern themselves, is the claim that it is our duty as a nation to govern them. This has been made by nearly every advocate of the subjugation of the natives. It appeals powerfully to the best and weakest point in the national character—its uneducated conscience. As a people, we want to do our duty to man and to God, or, to put it differently, to the human progress of our time. When the President talks of "destiny marking out the path of duty," and Governor Roosevelt says, "I have no sympathy with the man that cries out against our assuming the burden," and reminds us that "we have got to show the fervent religious spirit characteristic of the majority of the Puritans," too many answer in the language of expansionist sermons that assume to assert the divine and providential guidance of each rifle-ball and explosive shell that we hurl against our late allies. After all this talk of duty, destiny, civilization, and the religious spirit of the Puritans, it may be well to turn to the feelings shown for the people providentially placed in our hands by those of us who are in immediate charge of dealing out our blessings. As far as can be gathered from the despatches from the Philippines, our battle-cry is none of these phrases, so dear to the expansionist at home, but—"Give them hell, boys!" These words have been twice cabled from Manila, once as being shouted by wounded soldiers to their comrades, as the hospital-train was leaving the front for camp, and once as being the cry with which Col. Funston led the Kansas regiment into the Philadelphia of the Filipinos, the rebel capital from which the rebel congress had just been driven. It is characteristic of

our enterprise that the benevolent phrases of our President and his supporters become, when transported to the land of their application, simply "Give them hell, boys!" And perdition it certainly is—denying their national existence, asserting sovereignty over them by right of purchase from thieves, and piling their dead in heaps because they resist our hideous and wicked hypocrisy.

In recent issues of the San Francisco daily papers was published a letter from Private Tom Lynch, of the Third Artillery, written to the private's father, in which the feeling of our forces for the people we claim to be blessing and civilizing is shown in all its barbarous hate and cruelty. Private Lynch wrote, "Every soldier in Manila is just dying to get a chance at the black devils." He adds: "The only good Filipino is a dead one; take no prisoners; lead is cheaper than rice." Also that "the Tennessee men are killing every native in sight, whether a soldier or not"; and that "the boys are enjoying themselves shooting niggers on the run."

The Tennessee men, it will be remembered, allowed their "nigger" hatred some play in San Francisco, but met an insufferable obstacle in the fact that, in California, "niggers" are also *men,* with those "inalienable rights" of citizenship that military law does not recognize, and that we are declining to extend to the Philippines.

Private Lynch continues: "Our own battery and regiment . . . charged a cemetery that was full of natives and piled them up till you couldn't count the dead. The Major rode at the head of the column, urging the men forward and telling them to spare not even the wounded, thrusting his own sword through every wounded insurgent as he passed." This is more horrible than Cromwell in Ireland, Pizarro in Peru, or Alva in the Netherlands, by the fact that it comes from *us,* the nation of democracy and liberty, and that it occurs at the dawning of the twentieth century, when so much more is rightly to be expected of all men than ever before. It is no wonder the President places a censor at the Manila cable-station, and systematically deceives the people of the United

States concerning the deeds that are being done in their name and under their flag.

It is necessary to say, to complete this consideration of the attitude of our troops toward the Filipinos, that not all feel as does Private Lynch. A returned officer of the California volunteers is authority for the statement that ninety per cent. of his regiment are out of sympathy with the course of the government and in sympathy with the demand of the Filipinos for independence. The fact is that the only American love for the Filipinos, among either civilians or soldiers, is felt by those who rejoice in their resistance to our aggressions, who exult in their desperate bravery, and who are saying, to paraphrase the words of Pitt in the Parliament of George III., "Were I a Filipino, as I am an American, I would submit never, never, never!"

It is impossible to understand the Philippines question except by studying it as a part of the long fight between liberty and despotism, between rule of the people by themselves and rule by some one else. Those who win their own liberty are at once faced with the question of their willingness to concede it to others. We all get as much as we give. Those who are willing to own slaves, in the changes of human history soon come to feel the woe that slavery brings. Those who aspire to govern others, as the people of Spain can testify, lose the right to govern themselves.

To-day, in America, the forces of reaction, of slavery, of despotism, are uppermost. The slaveholder's contempt for the man with the black skin finds its new utterance in Senator Tillman, of South Carolina, making the warranted claim that the course of the North in denying the rights to the Kanakas and Filipinos that white men claim for themselves is a justification of the course of his State in virtually disfranchising the negro.

At the beginning of the war with Spain, Mrs. Jefferson Davis expressed surprise that white Americans should go to war for a "lot of Cuban niggers." Recently, in San Francisco, Major-General William R. Shafter, speaking in defense

of the policy of forcible retention of not only the Philippines but of Cuba and of Porto Rico as well, said : "The territory that has been won by the valor of our soldiers and sailors we will hold, no matter what ten millions of niggers may think about it."

The American people are face to face with the test that will determine the national history, not for a single decade only, but for centuries. They must choose either government by divine right, military law, international piracy, and warlike glory, or people's rule, international friendship, and liberty.

It is entirely conceivable that some may reply to all this that democracy is wrong; that science has blundered; that our national history has been a mistake; that it is time for a reaction from popular rule. Indeed, as equal rights in lawmaking are more and more seen to imply and portend equal rights to industrial opportunity, this claim is made. "Too many people vote in this country!" has been said by others than the attorney for the Standard Oil Company. There are many forces that will add to the strength of despotism abroad through their distrust of liberty and democracy at home. But these forces are not fairly to be called American. Their presence is proof that America is not yet completed; that the American idea has still great battles to fight here at home. Those who doubt the central idea of their country's institutions must, of course, be guaranteed entire liberty of thought and speech by these institutions. It is not allowable, however, that they should initiate and carry on a momentous policy directly opposed to that idea and those institutions—while the great mass of the people have not even considered forsaking them.

JOHN H. MARBLE.

San Francisco, Cal.

II. SOME GAINS FROM EXPANSION.

EXPANSION can no longer be regarded as a question for argument; it has become a settled fact of national policy. The time is now past for quareling with the situation. The

only rational course is to accept it, to seek to understand it, and to work to make the best of it.

What are the forces behind the movement for expansion? They are partly sentimental, partly commercial. On the side of sentiment, national vanity and missionary zeal have worked together in support of the new policy. The man who is swayed by the first of these sentiments rejoices that the glorious destiny of the American people is now about to be realized. They are to play henceforth a grand rôle in world politics. They have long been the meek among the nations; and, behold! they are now to inherit the earth. The old hatred of England, which formerly found vent in loud clamorings for war, turns at present toward the prospect of rivaling England in the splendor of colonial empire.

Even more potent than national vanity in forcing expansion upon us has been the sentiment of missionary zeal. The clergy, with but few exceptions, have pronounced with loud voices for the new policy of aggressive evangelization. They are prepared to go into all the world and *shoot* the gospel into every living creature.

It would be a mistake, however, to infer that only missionary zealots have been led by sentimental considerations to declare for expansion. Humanitarian sentiment has influenced many honest and conscientious men, who have been quite free from ecclesiastical domination. The "argument from duty" appeals to a large following. It is held that the nation has assumed responsibilities toward distant peoples which must be met at any cost. "A foundling has been left at our door, which it is our duty to adopt, educate, and govern." Or, as Mr. Kipling has it, we must "take up the white man's burden."

This humanitarian sentiment, in its various guises, is the thing that makes expansion inevitable. Argument is futile here. As the Oberlin professor put it, "you can't argue with a sentiment." It is this that made the situation wellnigh hopeless for the opposition from the beginning.

The sentimental reasons for expansion are reenforced, furthermore, by certain commercial considerations. The policy

seems to be dictated by the commercial interests of the nation. There is a very general conviction that expansion will prove a profitable business venture. "Trade follows the flag;" commercial expansion will follow political expansion. This conviction, in the opinion of Dr. Henry Van Dyke, is "the real spring of the movement for colonial expansion." The same opinion is held by our European critics. The tap-root of expansion, they insist, is American greed. "There's dollars in the job." Undoubtedly the commercial argument for expansion, whether sound or unsound, has had great practical influence. It has fortified in a very potent way the sentimental reasons that made for the new departure.

As a result of these forces, expansion has come inevitably. It cannot be waved back; it must be accepted as a fact. It involves grave difficulties—dangers, if you will. What gain does it promise?

1. Expansion will strengthen the bonds of sympathy between the United States and Great Britain. Already the sense of unity between the two great branches of Anglo-Saxondom has been strangely quickened. The shock of the war broke down forever the barriers of mutual prejudice and misunderstanding that had held the two nations apart. The pursuit of a common colonial policy will draw them still closer together. If expansion promised to do no more than thus to make a war between this country and England an impossibility, that in itself would be sufficient ground for the apologist of the new policy to stand upon. The benefits that may come from this cordial Anglo-American understanding are incalculable. The coöperation of these two nations in the settlement of the Far East will make powerfully for civilization. Professor Franklin Giddings has recently said in this connection: "In the broad sense there is from henceforth but one real political question before mankind. That question is: Are world politics to be dominated by English-speaking people in the interests of an English-speaking civilization, with its principles of freedom, self-government, and opportunity for all; or by the Russo-Chinese combination, with its policy of exclusiveness, and its tradition of irresponsible authority?"

2. Expansion will necessitate a more liberal commercial policy. Isolation fosters protection; expansion promotes free trade. The United States will be forced to keep "open door" in the Philippines. No other policy will be practicable. For our tenure of Eastern possessions is dependent on the support of the English navy. As the condition of her coöperation, England demands the maintenance of free ports in the American colonies. The "open door" in the East will make an irreparable breach in the wall of high protection.

3. Expansion will prevent dangerous tampering with the monetary system. It will fortify the gold standard against the attacks of silver and paper money inflationists. As the nation comes into closer commercial and diplomatic relations with other countries, the folly of pseudo-"independent" monetary legislation will become clearly evident. It is the ignorance born of political and commercial isolation that makes supporters for hare-brained experiments with the currency. The new departure will cure the silver mania. The coming of expansion and the passing of Bryanism are contemporaneous.

4. Expansion will relieve the present tension of the industrial situation by making an outlet for American capital. Excess of saving for investment in this country has resulted in congestion of capital and accumulation of unconsumed goods. This state of over-production is the root of many economic ills. It would be remedied by the opening up of new opportunities for the profitable investment of capital in the countries of the East. This argument for expansion has been worked out most fully by Mr. Charles A. Conant, in a paper on "The Economic Basis of Expansion." He advocates a policy of expansion in order to secure for Western capital the chance to equip the backward peoples of the East with the modern appliances of production and transportation, which they now lack. It is to be observed that this economic argument for expansion is something quite different from "the trade follows the flag" fallacy. Expansion will probably bring no increase of American trade that would not have come in any event. But it will furnish a way of escape for

the surplus capital that is unable to find profitable investment at home.

5. Expansion will improve the character of the American civil service. I am aware that the contrary opinion is held by many gentlemen who are entitled to speak with great authority. The Hon. Carl Schurz declares that expansion must "result in a fearful increase of profligacy and corruption;" for the opportunities of the spoilsmen will be immensely widened. This prediction appears to me to be unduly pessimistic. Mr. Schurz assumes that bossism will be given free rein in the administration of the dependencies. This is precisely what will not be allowed to happen. National pride will lead this country to place its colonial service on the same high plane that the English service now occupies. The alternative will be national disgrace. The example of such a service as I have faith to believe will be developed in the colonial department will react favorably on the internal administration. It will give impetus to reform in the governments of the States and the cities. Political corruption has flourished in the past only by reason of popular indifference. The people have not been aroused to stamp out the abuses. Toward the character of the colonial service, however, the people will not be indifferent. For the eyes of other nations will be upon us. The people will not tolerate corruption and inefficiency where it may be seen of all nations.

The same change in public life may be expected to take place in this country that followed in the wake of imperialism in England. The age of Walpole, an age of uninterrupted peace and internal development, was the most notoriously corrupt period in English history. Every man had his price. The age of Chatham, an age of war and expansion, brought a revolution in the character of English politics. "With the extension of empire and the increased sense of responsibility, the conscience of the nation was stirred against the scandal; and both at home and abroad English public life has been freed from the blighting pest." "For many years past," asserts Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, "there has been no instance in which

a public servant, of whatever standing, has misused his position to his own advantage, or in which the little patronage that still remains to ministers has been used corruptly or to the injury of public interests."

6. Expansion, finally, will elevate the whole tone of the national life. It will stimulate and ennoble the national ambition. It will raise up by the side of the now dominant aristocracy of mercantilism, absorbed in the ignoble pursuit of private gain, a new aristocracy devoted to the honorable career of public service. The young men of America will feel the quickening influence of higher aims and larger responsibilities. The administration of colonies will produce a nobler type of manhood than the management of railways. "To India," declares Sir G. S. Clarke, "England owes in great measure the training of her best manhood. India makes men, though it does not 'grow' them; and the influence, example, and education of the men whom India makes react powerfully on the whole social and political structure of the nation." Who shall say that imperial responsibilities may not work in a similar way for the moral elevation of the American nation?

> "Comes now to search your manhood,
> Thro' all the thankless years,
> Cold, edged with dear-bought wisdom,
> The judgment of your peers."

F. Spencer Baldwin.

Boston University.

III. The Philippine Question Reviewed.

JUST now, when the subject of the Philippines is receiving so much attention from the American public, I feel that a few observations on this absorbing topic from a native of those far-off isles may be found of some interest; for my point of view, as a Filipino, is naturally quite different from that of the Americans and the Europeans, who in a myriad ways have been endeavoring to enlighten the world on the subject.

I am frequently asked, "How will the Filipinos themselves

consider annexation?" To this I reply that the better element among the natives recognize that they are not yet able to govern themselves; that they are not yet fit to assume the grave duties and the arduous responsibilities of citizenship in a republic; that they still have to learn many important lessons in the art of government before they can be free and independent. This conservative element among my countrymen is composed of the educated and the wealthy class, who are naturally averse to an experiment that might mean ruin and social dissolution. But they who have nothing to lose, and to whom any change seems like the promise of a betterment of their sad lot, form the rank and file of the Filipino army that is chasing the will-o'-the-wisp of "independence" through the morasses of Luzon.

Yet it must not be supposed that even these truly represent the attitude of the majority of my countrymen. Aguinaldo's army is officered by the restless members of the bloody Katipunan, the secret order—whose two vows are vengeance and independence—that proved so deadly a foe against the Spaniards. If these have extended the scope of their vow against the Americans, the United States have indeed a mighty task before them. For the Katipunan at one time numbered several hundred thousand members, all bound together by an iron-clad oath that required life itself as a sacrifice to its fulfilment. But the Katipunan Society extended its ramifications through all the islands: how, then, are we to account for the fact that opposition to the Americans has been shown in Luzon alone? I believe it is because in other islands the counsels of other leaders prevail—leaders who are friendly to the idea of American rule, and who doubtless recognize also the final futility of all opposition.

In Luzon, however, there are those among the insurgent leaders who, ever since the advent of Dewey and the subsequent American victories, have been on the alert to protect their own interests. Thus, under the pretense of opposing American aggression, some have been fostering schemes for their own aggrandizement, deluding their humble followers into the belief that they were resisting the encroachments of a new

tyrant. And yet I would not say they are wholly insincere; for it may be true that Aguinaldo was promised much by a certain American consular representative, who ought to have known better—much that has not been performed. And it is, therefore, but natural that the Filipino leader, feeling himself to a certain extent responsible for the liberties of his countrymen, should have asked at the outset for guarantees that were in the nature of things as impossible as they seemed to be absurd.

I therefore cannot but believe that Aguinaldo is to a great extent animated by a spirit of patriotism. It is his misfortune that he does not realize the strength of the foe against which he has now entered the lists, and that he does not fully comprehend the attitude of the Americans. I do not believe that he is actuated by the hope of gain. He has, it is true, been accused of accepting Spanish gold—a charge that he has never denied; for he undoubtedly took all that was offered him. And yet every coin was expended in the purchase of arms and ammunition—to continue what then seemed a hopeless struggle. He felt under no obligation to keep faith with an enemy that had so often broken its pledges. And so I, who know the man well, cannot believe him venal. But it is not patriotism alone that strengthens him in his present attitude. Aguinaldo is ambitious. He sees here a splendid theater for the display of his really remarkable military talents, and the opportunity seems too good to be lost. Whether he succeed or lose, he well knows that the eyes of the world are upon him, and that he is as sure of acclaim as of condemnation. Is he not also the idol of his followers—their hero as well as their leader? He cannot retreat without striking at least a blow for the liberty that has so long been the theme of his ardent addresses. He cannot so soon forget the heroic part he fondly believed Providence had chosen him to assume. And besides, who knows what a sudden turn in the wheel of fortune may not bring forth? He well knows the bitter opposition on the part of certain prominent and influential Americans to the present war, and to United States control in the Philippines. Then, too, other nations might interfere, and save his coun-

try—and his honor: when he would be hailed as the savior of his people and the George Washington of the Philippines. It is for this that the shrewd Filipino is waiting—for he *is* shrewd. Aguinaldo, whatever his faults, is an extraordinary man—a self-made man, who believes in his star no less than did the "man of destiny" of another age. And who can tell how high it may yet mount into the zenith before it shall set?

Aguinaldo is the soul of his army. Once capture him, and his army would crumble to pieces within a week. It is his iron will and splendid constructive genius that have kept it together until now. The Americans should, therefore, it seems to me, use every endeavor to capture him; for as long as he is at large the islands will remain unpacified. And, believe me, he will not give up easily—he has too much to lose. I remember Aguinaldo well while he was a student at Manila, and afterward while he served as a petty officer in the Spanish army, where he learned the methods of his foes—that he might some time therewith crush them. He has surely shown that he has profited by the lessons then so bitterly learned. Then, as now, he always won the confidence and admiration of his countrymen, and even then a great future was prophesied for him. In a harangue he has no equal. He can with his tongue kindle his followers into a fury of madness; therefore, he is entitled to great credit in that he has abused this power so little.

Among his officers are a few men of ability—all, like himself, men of humble origin. Sandico is, I think, the most able. He is respected and feared almost as much as is Aguinaldo himself, and is equally intrepid and dashing. He, too, is a born strategist and has exhibited not a little generalship. Pio Pilar is, in my opinion, however, the most to be feared of them all. He is dangerous because he is an uncompromising fanatic —as ambitious as he is fierce. He hates Aguinaldo only less than he hates the foreigner, and I predict that he will be the last to yield. He has his own following, and as a rule acts independently of his nominal chief; hence, he will probably have to be dealt with separately.

That the insurgent army was to some extent aided by Spaniards and others is doubtless true, though I cannot believe that the number of these was as large as is commonly supposed. The Europeans must know that such conflict can have but one result, and the Asiatics have but little sympathy with the Filipinos. Nor do I believe that any of these were forced to fight against the American troops. Aguinaldo is too shrewd a general to put any dependence on such coercive service. I do not believe that the insurgent army numbers more than twenty thousand men, all told. Nor would I consider these as truly representative of the people, who are weary of war and beginning to appreciate the pacific intentions of the Americans, whom in several provinces they have indeed already received with open arms. If these provinces be now dealt with understandingly and gently, the others will soon follow. It is but natural that the Filipinos, after suffering more than three centuries of Spanish tyranny, should look upon their new rulers with some suspicion.

It seems to me that it should be the policy of the Americans to isolate Luzon at once from her sister isles, for here the revolt is centered. Military posts should at once be established in every province, for such intimidation would be a good preventive of further mischief. Care should also be taken to secure the good-will of the natives, who are easily won by a show of honesty, justice, and kindness. Once friends of Americans, they can be relied on always. Ingratitude is not our national vice.

The insurgent government at Mololos was only meant as a tentative affair. One must, therefore, not judge the governing capacity of the Filipinos by the work of this pretentious but inefficient body. And yet this unpractised make-shift has certainly performed a few of the functions of government fairly well. It has levied and collected taxes. It has done some other things, and was doubtless capable of many more; for there were some able men in the cabinet. But I, in common with the more intelligent classes of my countrymen, do not believe the masses of the Filipinos are yet ready for the duties

of self-government. I would advise the appointment of American governors over all the present provinces—each governor to be assisted by an advisory council of the natives, chosen by their countrymen. All petty provincial offices should also be filled by natives, chosen in the same manner. In this way much friction would be avoided; and my countrymen, having thus for the first time some voice in their own affairs, would gradually grow to a proper appreciation of the functions of Statehood—until, in the course of time, suffrage could be made as universal as it is in America to-day. By this plan, the islands would have all the benefits, not only of American oversight and protection, but also of home rule. Such annexation would also prove of incalculable advantage to the United States, while it would be hailed as the only solution of the problem by the best classes of the natives and by the foreigners established there.

The question is often asked, "But what can the United States do with the Philippines?" To answer this, one has only to consider what the East Indies have been to the Netherlands. America can make of Luzon what Holland has made of Java—a paradise. And this can be done, too, to the enrichment of the ruling country and the betterment of the natives. Holland's signal triumph in colonial government warrants a close study of her methods—a study by which we can profit much, and by which we may save ourselves some bitter experiences. The islands are a virgin mine of splendid possibilities that await developing. Hundreds of thousands of acres yet await cultivation, and immense forests offer a rich harvest to the prospector. I have not space here to go into details to show why I believe the Philippines to be the richest land on the globe. I have already done this in my book, in which I devote four hundred pages to the subject. Yet that the development of such possibilities is bound to benefit both American and native, it would be hard to disprove.

The appointment by the President of the United States of a non-partizan Colonial Commission of ten or fifteen members —men of recognized ability and experience—would, it seems

to me, be an excellent plan. The Commission could make a careful study of the methods of other colonial Powers, and from time to time recommend to the President such methods and changes as might conduce to both the national and the colonial welfare. This would greatly simplify matters, and would soon make of America what I believe she is destined to become—the best colonizer in the world.

One of the first duties of the Americans should be to give to the natives the lands that they have been cultivating for generations. Under the Spanish régime, ownership of land by a native was almost impossible. The whole country was in the hands of the Spanish government and of the ecclesiastical corporations. Now that the former has been destroyed, the latter should be curtailed, and the natives should be allowed every privilege of ownership and conveyance in realty enjoyed by the citizens of the United States. The natives are naturally an agricultural people, and I would therefore suggest that the government give them all public lands for the clearing. In this way tens of thousands of acres would annually be brought under cultivation—so that within a few years the vast untrodden wilderness would be made to blossom like the rose.

I also believe that the body of laws developed under centuries of Spanish misrule should be abolished, root and branch; and others more in keeping with the principles of reason and of justice should be established in their place. Such changes should, however, be made very carefully, and not too quickly. The crying need of the internal administration of the colony is the reform of the judiciary, which has become notoriously corrupt. A supreme court of high-class natives of integrity, and of competent Americans versed in the Spanish character, should be established without delay. Some steps in this direction have, I am glad to say, already been taken. Such judges should be appointed—the American members by the President of the United States, and the native judges by the governor of the colony, at the instance of his advisory council. In addition to the supreme court at Manila, there should be a superior court in each province. As pettifogging lawyers are the nuisance

of the Philippine courts, measures should at once be taken to weed them out—by a system of severe examination by which the fittest alone should survive. Justice would thus be made at least obtainable, and property, for the first time in the history of the islands, would be safe.

A port should furthermore be established in every island, and a military post in every province. A new highway should be built to every village, for the old roads are no better than mere paths and are absolutely impassable in the wet season. This would facilitate transportation and increase commerce tenfold. There is at present only about one hundred and twenty miles of railroad in the colony. I believe that within ten years from now there will be five thousand miles, and with such development will be a corresponding increase in imports, exports, and production. Such facilities would also give a wonderful impetus to the mining industry, which now languishes for lack of them. Some of the finest gold, copper, iron, lead, and coal mines in the world await exploitation; and it is only a question of a few years when from this source alone a stream of wealth will pour into the islands that will make them the richest colony in the world.

But with the building of good roads should come the establishing of a system of good public schools, by which the children of my countrymen might be made worthy the blessings of liberty. I believe such schools should be made secular; for heretofore the few schools in the colony have had so ecclesiastical a bias that they were necessarily very narrow and superficial. Native teachers, however, will for many years have to be employed. These should be educated under American auspices at Manila. The appointment of a board of public instruction should not be long delayed. The civilization of the future must have its basis in education—and this must be fostered by the government, as the people are too poor to do much for themselves.

The needs of the Negritos and other savage tribes of the interior should also be carefully studied; so far they have been sadly neglected, and, although they are fast dying out, they

should nevertheless be humanely dealt with. At present they form a serious problem—one that will be very hard to solve. There are several hundred thousand of these wild people, hated and despised by Filipino and by Spaniard alike.

But the Mohammedans of the Sulu Protectorate will perhaps be found more difficult to deal with than any others. They were never conquered by Spain, and were always a menace to the peace and prosperity of the colony. These fierce Sulus will require very delicate handling, and their customs and traditions should be respected. A considerable military force in the vicinity will be found an absolute necessity.

I do not, however, believe that when order shall once more be restored, a large American military display will be required in the islands. The natives are quite eager for military service, and under American officers will make excellent soldiers—most effective as police. The natives can thus advantageously be used to govern themselves, and the rulership of a foreign Power will therefore never become irksome. Thus far the United States have had occasion to deal with but a small proportion of the population of the islands; yet if these receive fair treatment, that fact will soon become known to the others, who will hail the Americans as their saviors and extend to them a helping hand in the performance of their arduous duties.

The Filipinos are often indiscriminately characterized as "savages;" yet my race has accomplished much that makes it worthy to be called civilized. We have produced painters, poets, and musicians of world-wide fame. We have scholars, scientists, and lawyers of international reputation. We have our soldiers—it is only necessary to name Aguinaldo. We have everything that you Americans possess, only to a less degree. We have done much that we can justly be proud of; we hope to do much more—and I believe that under Brother Jonathan's guidance we will.

RAMON REYES LALA.*

Manila, P. I.

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TWENTIETH CENTURY DEMOCRACY.*

THE campaign of 1900 is upon us, and all factions are frantically exclaiming, "The reform forces must unite!" When "how?" is asked, unanimity gives way to chaos. Each one wants every one else to "fall in" behind him. This is clearly impossible. What can be done? "Unite on the silver issue," suggests one. We are united on the silver issue to the extent of fusion. Farther than that the silver issue cannot carry us. If we are to have any permanent, any organic union, we must have not only a common issue but a *common policy.* Moreover, such a union cannot be accomplished by either party giving up its vital, fundamental principles. This would be mere bargaining for spoils. While it may be necessary for both parties to compromise, it would be fatal for either to stultify itself.

Is an honorable union possible? If so, on what basis? There are two apparently irreducible elements in the army of reform. The first stands for the liberty of the individual citizen and for his inalienable and equal right with every other citizen to a voice in the affairs of government—in a word, for political democracy. The second stands for the protection of the economic rights of the individual citizen from the tyrannical aggressions of monopolistic aggregations of wealth, by extending the sphere of popular government into the realm of business and industry. This is commonly and somewhat vaguely known as populistic or socialistic legislation; accurately speaking, it is simply business democracy.

The history of the last century the world over has been a history of the growth of these two ideas and their ever-increasing embodiment in the laws and institutions of nations. Are these two great principles antagonistic and irreconcilable? If so, there can be no real union of the democratic and populistic forces of the country; and the most powerful two factors in

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modern history, each with an unbroken record of victory over principalities and powers, millionaires, lords, and kings, must sooner or later join issue with each other and struggle for the final supremacy of the earth. If, however, they be correlative forces, fighting the same enemies and involved in the same great destiny, their union will mean a power for progress utterly irresistible.

The history of the progress of political democracy the world over, from the close of the eighteenth century to the present day, reads like a fairy tale. First came those epoch-making events in the eighteenth century—the formation of our great Republic and the French Revolution. From 1810 to 1825 followed the successful revolutions of the Spanish and Portuguese colonies of South and Central America and their formation into free and independent republics. In 1832, in slow and conservative England, revolution was narrowly averted by granting the franchise to the great middle classes—this work being completed by extending the franchise to the urban and then the rural workingmen in 1867 and 1884. From 1792 until 1870 the history of France is a story of ever-recurring revolutions, of republic after republic subverted by scheming traitors, of convulsions innumerable and indescribable, brought about by a quenchless desire for liberty on the part of the common people and an idiotic inability to submit to the inevitable on the part of "the better elements of society"—ending of necessity in the triumph of the people and the establishment of the present French Republic in 1870.

During our century the transforming power of this same democratic spirit has reorganized on constitutional lines every absolute monarchy in Europe except Russia and Turkey. Prussia granted her people a voice in the government in 1849, Austria in 1860, Hungary in 1867, United Italy in 1870, Spain in 1871, Norway in 1814, Denmark in 1849, and Sweden in 1809. Holland was established as a limited monarchy in 1815, and revised her constitution peaceably in 1848 and again in 1887. Belgium became a limited monarchy on seceding from Holland in 1831 and greatly extended her suffrage in 1893,

when the people rose *en masse,* declared a universal strike, and surrounded the House of Parliament, one or two hundred thousand strong, until their demand was granted. Greece may be said to have enjoyed a monarchy more or less constitutional since 1829, but established the liberties of her people on a much firmer basis with the advent of King George in 1863. As McKenzie says in his history of the nineteenth century: "Sixty years ago Europe was an aggregation of despotic powers, disposing at their pleasure of the lives and property of their subjects. . . . To-day the men of Western Europe govern themselves. Popular suffrage, more or less closely approaching universal, chooses the governing power, and by methods more or less effective dictates its policy."

In 1893, the same year that the Belgians rose in their might and changed their constitution, Brazil, by a bloodless revolution, deposed its emperor and established a republic. Even far-off heathen Japan, feeling the influence of this world movement, abolished her feudal system in 1878, and in 1889 established a constitutional monarchy.

"What is this the sound and rumor;
What is this that all men hear;
Like the wind in hollow valleys,
When the storm is drawing near—
Like the rolling of the ocean
In the eventide of fear?
'Tis the *people* marching on."

Another phase of the development of political democracy, running parallel to this world-wide movement toward representative government, is the effort to prevent representative government from being changed into a meaningless farce through trickery, intimidation, boodling, and corruption. The tyranny of kings overthrown, the tyranny of the "boss" and the "boodler" has come to take its place. Aristocracies abolished, millionaires are beginning to arrogate to themselves the powers once held by the nobility, and the people are again called upon to assert their "divine right" to rule themselves. Different methods have been tried by various countries. The English

ballot-reform act carried through by Mr. Gladstone in 1872, substituting a secret ballot for *viva-voce* voting, was a well-directed blow aimed at intimidation and bribery. The "Australian Ballot System," which has been so universally adopted by our States, is substantially the same law and is generally acknowledged to be a valuable though not an entirely successful bulwark against the coercion and corruption of voters. The stringent "Corrupt Practises Act," passed by Mr. Gladstone in 1883, limits the amount of money a candidate or his agents may spend to secure his election. It furthermore requires him to make a sworn, itemized, public statement of all such expenditures. This method, like the secret ballot, has largely diminished the corrupt use of money in elections. Similar acts, however, in this country, have not proved equally effective, because our laws have been less exacting and our penalties less severe.

The ease and freedom with which nominations are made in England tend to minimize the power of the "rings" and political "machines." All that is required is that a candidate's name shall be written on an official blank and left at the clerk's office, together with the name of his "proposer" or "seconder" and the names of eight other citizens. His name then goes on the official ballot. The French system of having a second election, unless some one receives a majority of the votes cast and at least a quarter of the votes registered, likewise has a tendency to prevent machine politics. The first ballot is usually scattering and is nothing more nor less than a democratic method of nomination. On the second ballot all rally to the support of the candidate of their party who has received the highest number of votes.

"Proportional representation," sometimes known as "minority representation," has been tried with the most encouraging results in Switzerland. Limited trials of the same principle in the United States and England have produced satisfactory results as far as they have gone. It is not opposition that has prevented its rapid spread, but the lack of any powerful interests behind it to push its claims with enthusiastic determination.

"Primary reform" has been largely advocated and widely legislated upon. Most of our States have laws on the subject, but none are effective. The Missouri and Kentucky laws have been less unsuccessful than the rest; but in every State, to a greater or less degree, party machines still control the primaries and dictate nominations.

"Civil-service reform" has become almost a fad among the better elements of society, but has always been more or less of a farce in American official circles. It cannot be denied that something has been accomplished in this direction, nor can it be disputed that more has been accomplished by almost every civilized nation than by the United States.

The history of the initiative and referendum possesses great interest. The principle of the referendum is an inheritance from our Teutonic ancestors. In medieval times no law was valid among the Franks and Longobards until it had been approved by the people. All decisions of their parliaments, in order to have legal force, had to be announced to the people at their place of assembly and be ratified by them. The fact that the law had been so ratified was always specially mentioned in the edicts promulgating the laws. This appeal to the people to obtain their consent is called in the records "interrogatio populi." It is embodied in the charter, or "capitularii," of Charlemagne, who ruled over both France and Germany. This coöperation of the people was even necessary, among the Longobards, for all decisions of the kings sitting with the counts in judiciary matters. Later on this custom seems to have died out everywhere except in the Swiss cantons of Uri, Appenzall, and the two Unterwalds. The same principle was used from time to time, however, by different Swiss cities. For instance, the city of Berne is said to have taken sixty referendums from 1469 to 1524. The referendum reappeared in rudimentary form in the cantons of Grabunden and Valais. The old federal diet, the assembly of the Swiss confederation, likewise made use of the referendum. In 1802 the constitution of the Helvetic Republic was referred to a popular vote, as have been most of the Swiss cantonal constitutional changes. The canton of St.

Gall adopted the referendum in 1831, Rural Basle in 1832, Valais in 1839, Lucerne in 1841, Vaud in 1835, and Berne in 1846. Thurgau and Schaffausen followed; and in 1874, when the national referendum was adopted, every canton except Friburg was already using it. The referendum simply means that if the people do not like a law they have the power to veto it. The initiative means that, if the people want a law and their representatives are opposed to it, they can demand and secure it in spite of them. The New England town meeting, which has been the model of our local governments throughout the United States, is as pure an example of the referendum on a small scale as was the ancient assembly of our Teutonic ancestors under Charlemagne. We use the same principle in every State in the Union when adopting or altering a State Constitution. In fifteen States the capital cannot be changed, in eleven States no law can be passed for the incurrence of debts not specified in the Constitution, and in seven no law can be passed establishing banking corporations, without recourse to the referendum. Many other States make the referendum compulsory for a multitude of different kinds of legislation. The custom of referring to a popular vote propositions of a purely local nature, such as voting bonds to purchase a park or a light or water plant, to build school-houses or what not, is very common in American cities, and is the referendum pure and simple. Last fall the people of South Dakota, by referendum vote, incorporated the initiative and referendum into their Constitution to apply to all future legislation in that State, and the legislatures of Oregon and Utah voted to submit to the people similar constitutional amendments.

The Populists have always advocated this principle. The Republicans and Democrats in Massachusetts both demanded it in their platforms in 1893, and this year the Democrats in Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Kansas, Nebraska, South Dakota, North Dakota, Montana, Washington, Oregon, and California put a demand for it in their State platforms. If it prove successful in South Dakota, other States will hasten to adopt it; and I think I am safe in saying that it will soon be as universal among us as is the Australian ballot system.

The second great movement of modern times, popularly known as the "Populistic" or "Socialistic" movement, is in every country a direct outgrowth of the triumph of political democracy. No sooner have the people rescued the government from the control of political tyrants than they have begun to try to use that government as a weapon with which to secure their liberty from the unjust exactions of those tyrants of the business world known as monopolies, trusts, corporations, and banking syndicates. In England, after the passage of the great Reform bill of 1832 conferring the franchise on the middle classes, an era of reform opened up never before equaled in English history. The Factory Acts of 1833 and 1843, regulating hours of labor and protecting children and women; the provision for free education of the poor; the Land Acts and Crofters' Holding Acts, which reduced rents in Ireland and Scotland, gave tenants the right to purchase their farms, and authorized the government to loan them the purchase-money; the Act prohibiting women and little children from working in the mines; the Artisans' Dwelling Act; the Truck Act (preventing payment of wages in kind); in 1839, the establishment for the people of cheap penny-postage irrespective of distance; the establishment of postal savings-banks in 1861; the purchase of the telegraph lines by the government in 1868; the establishment of government express, known as the parcel-post, in 1883; the provision by Mr. Gladstone in 1844 for the strictest control and ultimate purchase by the government of the railroads—these and a host of other populistic reforms have been brought about as a direct result of giving the ballot to the common people.

The British colonies in Australia and New Zealand, beginning life toward the middle of the nineteenth century with democratic English political institutions, and from time to time since then evolving new and more democratic ones of their own, such as woman's suffrage, have made even more wonderful progress than the mother country in those populistic reforms that lead to business democracy. Government railroads, telegraphs, and telephones; government insurance and postal sav-

ings-banks; an eight-hour law; a government employment-bureau and government farms for the unemployed; an income tax; an inheritance tax; a graduated land tax bearing more heavily on large alien holdings—these constitute, perhaps, the more important steps they have taken in this direction.

In Germany, where government is less under popular control than in England or Australia, much has already been done to improve social conditions. The German program of social reform is, however, an indirect, not a direct, result of popular government. It has been brought about by the Emperor himself as a compromise with democracy, and is inspired largely by fear. The government measures of reform adopted are undemocratic in essence. They are something handed down to the people from above—in a word, they are strictly "paternalistic." Government insurance, stringent usury laws, government ownership of railroads and telegraphs, and all the other measures of reform elaborated by the German governments—national, state, and municipal—are but so many attempts to steal the thunder of the socialists: to take the wind out of the sails of the ever-increasing, oncoming hosts of "social democracy." And what are the demands of the populists and socialists in Germany under these peculiar circumstances? Evidently not government railroads and telegraphs—they have them; not government insurance—they have that; not municipal ownership of public utilities—they have largely attained that. In fact, the government has already acquired such splendid control of natural and artificial monopolies that the next demand of the people is *absolute control of the government by the people*—in a word, political democracy, such as exists in Switzerland.

Switzerland is the oldest existing republic. It has the lowest percentage of illiterate citizens of any nation. The great principle of local self-government has there produced the splendid system of proportional representation. The federal courts are not allowed to interfere with the legislative departments by declaring laws "unconstitutional." The referendum gives the people the power to veto all vicious legislation. The initiative gives the people the right to demand and obtain any law they

want, no matter what their legislators think about it. Thus they have in fact as well as in theory "a government of the people, by the people, and for the people." The people are the government, *and the government is the people in their united or corporate capacity.* Therefore, whatever the government does for the people *they* are really doing for themselves. This makes all such help "self-help," not "paternalism." Thus in Switzerland the people insure themselves and run their own railroads, telegraphs, telephones, banks, express companies, mail service, and many other branches of industry by means of their government. If these great industries were under private monopolistic control in Switzerland, as they are in the United States, we should find there the same tyranny of trusts and combines under which we now suffer. But the Swiss have substituted democracy for tyranny in these great branches of the business world, with the following satisfactory results: low rates; first-class service; profits taking the place of taxes; no corruption of politics by wealthy boodling syndicates; a growing federal fortune instead of a growing national debt, as with us—likewise the states and municipalities owning vast amounts of property instead of owing vast amounts of bonds, as do most of *our* States and cities. I cannot emphasize too strongly or too often, however, the infinite difference there is between Swiss democracy and German paternalism. In Germany the government is something over and above the people—placed there by "divine right" and held there by military might. The German State owns the telegraphs, telephones, and railroads; but the State is neither "of," "by," nor "for" the people. The State insures the German workingman as a father would his children, or rather as an employer would his "hands," not as in Switzerland, where the people come together in their governmental capacity and *insure themselves.* Germany is monarchy applied to business; the United States is aristocracy applied to business; Switzerland is democracy applied to business.

The same forces that have wrought these changes in England and her colonies, in Germany, and in Switzerland, have been

and still are achieving similar if not equally important results in every civilized country. Every civilized nation except the United States owns its own telegraphs. All but the United States and England own their own railroads, wholly or in part. Almost every country of importance has an inheritance tax. A majority of the Aryan nations have an income tax, and the United States again stands alone in not having national, State, or municipal savings-banks. Even little Japan, the wonder of the closing years of our century, owns and controls her own railroads, telegraphs, telephones, savings-banks, insurance and loan departments, express companies, and canals.

And when we come to "Municipal Socialism," we find a movement so widespread that a volume could but briefly describe it. The following examples illustrate the general trend:

Consul Boyle of Liverpool says that municipal ownership of street railways is so common in England that American electricians seeking English contracts need no list of cities with such public enterprises, "as nearly every city and town of importance in Great Britain has such work under progress or in contemplation, . . . and those interested can hardly go astray by addressing the city engineer of any large city in England or Scotland; and the same suggestion holds good to a limited extent for Irish and Welsh municipalities."

Says Professor Bemis:* "Of the fifty largest cities in the United States, forty-one have public water-works. . . . In England and Wales, forty-five of the sixty-four great towns and county boroughs own their own water-works, as do all the large towns in Scotland, and Dublin, Belfast, and Cork in Ireland. . . . The rapid development of municipal electric light has also been noted in the United States, the number of plants having grown from 200 in 1892 to nearly 400 in 1898."

Professor Parsons has shown in a table† that the telephones are owned by either the State, the municipality, or by co-operative societies in Germany, Württemberg, Belgium, Switzerland, France, Luxemburg, Austria, Sweden, Norway, Finland, England, New Zealand, New South Wales, and Victoria.

*"Municipal Monopolies," p. 673. By E. W. Bemis.

†*Ibid.* Page 302.

These three instances are but straws, but they are indicative. In the way of generalization it is safe to say, first, that more has been achieved in the direction of Populism in municipal affairs the world over than in national or State institutions; secondly, that the movement in that direction is constantly increasing both in extent and velocity.

Thus we see as in a mighty panorama a century's onward march of the forces of democracy. Over kings and aristocracies and armies they come—ever poor, ragged, cold, ill armed, ill fed, and often ill commanded, yet ever and irresistibly triumphant. Through blood and tears and death they move with their eyes upon the future—every victory a triumph of mind over matter, of future right over present wrong, of the ideal over the real. Some people, by no means ignoramuses in the ordinary sense of the term, who even pompously term themselves "pessimists" and "practical men," take great delight in deriding and hooting at all proposed reforms as "chimerical schemes of well-meaning idealists and dreamers." Every really well-informed student of the subject knows, however, that every decade during the last hundred years has seen the common people emerge triumphant from some conflict with tyranny, bearing priceless and deathless reforms as their bloodstained tokens of victory. Does any sane man really think that these resistless hosts are going to stop now—renounce their ideals, forget their faith, cast aside their manhood, and bow down to our intellectual (?), refined (?), delicate (?), and heroic (?) aristocracy of pork-packers, stock-gamblers, "bosses," bondholders, and railroad magnates? No! The power of this new world force, *the people,* is not at flood tide. Every minute it is rising higher and higher.

It is clear now in the light of history that all the different sorts of tyranny come from one source—monopoly. No king was ever able to play the military tyrant until he "controlled the supply" of soldiers. No "boss" ever yet tyrannized over a political party until he had "a corner on" the politicians of that party. And any man can be a tyrant who can monopolize, "corner," or "control the supply of" any necessity of life.

Having destroyed competition he can regulate prices to suit himself—subject only to the limitation of "what the market will bear," as the sheep-shearer "must shear, not skin, his sheep," if he would have a crop the next year. Thus he can levy tribute or taxes as successfully by mere economic force as any military despot ever did by force of arms. The struggle is to the death, then, between democracy and monopoly—self-government and tyranny. Each political party must take its stand squarely and without reserve on one side or the other. No compromise is possible.

The battle-cry of the party of reform must be both conservative and constructive—simple enough to be easily comprehended by the masses and fundamental enough to meet the exigencies of the situation. Such a battle-cry can never be evolved from any individual man's brain. It must be the joint product of man and God working together in human history. Here is such a cry, with a hundred years of success already behind it:

Down with tyranny! Long live democracy! Down with the political tyranny of kings, aristocracies, bosses, irresponsible courts, and purchasable legislatures! Down with the business tyranny of trusts, combines, corporations, banking syndicates, and every race and breed of monopoly! All hail the rule of the people—in government and in industry! All hail the advent of democracy, political and business!

One-sided democracy is lop-sided, illogical democracy. A democracy that is content to endure the oppression of any class of tyrants, either political or industrial, is unworthy the name. Which is worse—a plain, old-fashioned tyrant, or an oily, up-to-date corporation tyrant? A common, every-day, bull-headed baron, or a cunning, unscrupulous coal baron? A king hedged in and bound down by constitutional limitations, or an anarchistic oil king who respects no law of God or man? No amount of theorizing and splitting of hairs about the "sphere of government" can get around this fact—that wherever tyranny shows its head it must be slaughtered and the banner of democracy unfurled in its place. There must be no sphere whatever

allowed to tyranny. Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson enunciated some great principles. It is for us, if we would be worthy to succeed them as custodians of those principles, to keep awake and apply them to the problems of to-day—as they applied them to the problems of their times. Let us remember that like a rising flood the last century has seen the progress of the world move forward in two great waves—political and business democracy. What pusillanimous pigmy of to-day, like Canute of old, will dare to place himself in the path of this oncoming tide and order it not to wet his feet?

Will the Populists be satisfied with a platform demanding nothing but unalloyed democracy—political and industrial? Yes! Because this is exactly what they have always demanded. What is the difference, then, between the Populist and the Democratic parties? It is simply this: The Democratic party became stagnant, fossilized, and asleep. The world moved on; the Democratic party remained stationary. The Populist party did nothing more nor less than take good old Simon-pure Democratic principles, as enunciated by Jefferson and Jackson, apply them to present-day conditions, and carry them to their logical conclusions. Populism is nothing more nor less than *Democracy up to date.* When the Democratic party once more comes to a full realization of present-day problems, and devotes all its energy and brains to their solution in accordance with the fundamental principles of Jeffersonian, Jacksonian Democracy, the Populist party will have accomplished its destiny as a distinct and separate political organization, and willingly will become an aggressive wing of the victorious hosts of the rejuvenated Democracy.

The Democratic party having once committed itself to the policy of *substituting democracy for tyranny,* what logically are the first steps to be taken in that direction? "We cannot do everything at once!" No; but *we must do something at once.* We must take *at the very least* one step toward both political and business democracy.

The next step in the progress of political democracy is evidently direct legislation by means of the initiative and referen-

dum. This reform will destroy at a blow the tyranny of the "boss" and the "boodler," the tyranny of ignorant or corrupt legislatures, and the tyranny of that almost omnipotent but far from divine power known as the Supreme Court.

The next step in the progress of business democracy is evidently the conquest of the trusts. Every party platform in 1900 will, of course, reek with senile vituperation and impotent protest against trusts. But the people are at last thoroughly aroused. They are determined to have something more than words. They will flock *en masse* to that party which offers them a definite, concrete, and feasible plan for completely subduing those combinations. It is known to students of the subject that the transportation combine is the father and the money power is the mother of the other lesser trusts. It is further known that no amount of denunciation, no number of "prohibitory laws," can rid the world of trusts while these two powerful and fecund monsters are persistently sustaining the old and hatching new ones. It follows that the only sane way to conquer the trusts is to conquer their two great creators and perpetuators—the railroad combine and the money power—by securing government ownership of railroads and bimetallism.

Is the Democratic party brave enough, sincere enough, and wise enough to make the history for the next generation? It has the opportunity. I believe it will rise to the occasion.

CARL VROOMAN.

Parsons, Kan.

THE ENGLISH DREYFUS CASE.

THE facts of the Dreyfus case are the common property of the race, and the curtain has dropped on the most interesting and dramatic tragedy of modern times. It is only five years since Captain Dreyfus was court-martialed and sentenced. While his trial was going on, large numbers of French people believed him innocent; but the army had its way, and Captain Dreyfus was banished to Devil's Island. The usual result followed. It began to be talked among the French people that Captain Dreyfus had had his trial and had been found guilty; and the more it was discussed among them the numbers grew larger who believed him guilty—and the numbers of those who believed him innocent continually less.

The Dreyfus family, with considerable wealth and indomitable perseverance, were untiring in their efforts to unearth the facts of his unjust persecution, and reports reached the public that the friends of Captain Dreyfus were about to make known new and important facts. In the meantime the prejudice against him grew stronger and stronger. It seems not to matter how unfair the trial and how flimsy the evidence, if a prisoner has been tried and condemned the multitude finally grow into a belief that the prisoner was guilty. In due time Zola's attention was called to the great injustice, his letter of accusation followed, and the results of his fearless and persistent efforts are in all men's minds.

The result of the Rennes court-martial has thrown the whole civilized world into indignant protest, especially the Anglo-Saxon portion of it. The press of England and America has teemed with maledictions, has breathed of retributions to come, and has talked of boycott for the Paris Exposition as a means to emphasize the condemnation of the unjust sentence. The pulpit has grown eloquent over it, and it has furnished a theme with which to point a moral and adorn a tale for essayist and editor alike. One would think that such a miscarriage of jus-

tice could not happen in England, whose government is heralded before all nations as the lover of fair play and the upholder of justice. In the following pages may be found a history of an English Dreyfus case that calls to mind the folly of throwing stones while living in glass houses.

Many readers of THE ARENA are conversant with the main facts of the Maybrick case. Florence Elizabeth Maybrick, an American, was arrested and tried for the murder, by poison, of her husband, an Englishman named James Maybrick, in Liverpool, in August, 1889, and was condemned and sentenced to be hanged on August 27, 1889.

This trial attracted great attention. Full reports of it were given in the daily press throughout Great Britain, and great indignation was felt at what was then almost universally conceded to be the unfairness of the trial. The judge, Sir James Fitzjames Stephen, an honored and influential member of the Judiciary, in the trial of a case three months after the Maybrick trial showed unmistakable symptoms of insanity and imbecility, and was forced to resign from the bench in consequence. His conduct at the Maybrick trial ought to have been then recognized as sufficient cause for his removal. He was unfair in his rulings, harsh in his language, dictatorial and self-assertive to the jury; and his summing up was afterward stigmatized by Sir Charles Russell as a "plea for the prosecution." This was so plain to the intelligent readers of the newspaper reports of the trial, and so shocking to the sense of justice and fair play of the people there assembled, that it moved the crowd outside the court-room, at the conclusion of the case, to vent its indignation on the judge, who was hooted and hissed and with difficulty reached his carriage without violence. So great was the general indignation that public meetings were held and petitions signed by thousands during the fourteen days the Secretary had the matter under advisement. The entire Bar of Liverpool sent a protest against the sentence. Such a fury of prayer, demand, and remonstrance as is seldom witnessed in law-abiding England inundated the Home Office and moved the then Secretary, Mr.

Mathews, to commute the sentence to penal servitude for life—giving as a reason therefor that, after a careful investigation of all the facts, he had come to the conclusion that there was a reasonable doubt whether in fact James Maybrick's death was caused by poison.

The medical experts, witnesses at the trial, declared that the symptoms led away from rather than to arsenical poisoning; and two of the most celebrated of the government's experts, Dr. Tidy and Dr. Paul, agreed that it was a clear case of gastro-enteritis.

Lord Russell, the present Lord Chief Justice of England, has been active in pressing for Mrs. Maybrick's release. He has declared over his own signature that Mrs. Maybrick was "unfairly tried, ought never to have been convicted, and ought to be released;" and his argument for a revision of the case is on record in the Home Office.

This is a brief statement of the efforts made in England at the time to reverse Mrs. Maybrick's sentence. While there is a general knowledge of the facts, many readers of THE ARENA are not aware of what has been done for her release in this country. Mr. Blaine was very active in his efforts during the last years of his life, and one of the last things he did was to send a cable message to the Baroness De Roques, Mrs. Maybrick's mother, concerning the case. Gail Hamilton's enthusiastic and able efforts are well known. She entered into the defense of her unfortunate countrywoman with all the energy of her great, strong nature. Secretary Gresham, who was thoroughly acquainted with all the facts, was very earnest in his efforts for Mrs. Maybrick's release, as was also Secretary Olney. Mrs. Harrison wrote an appeal to the Queen in her behalf, which was signed by the wives of the members of Mr. Harrison's Cabinet, asking for her release; and the Vice-President also joined in the request.

To all these efforts we have had for answer either silence or insult. This is a matter all the more difficult to understand when it is remembered that we have extended to the English government similar courtesies on several occasions—once

during the civil war and twice during a recent administration—and when it is remembered that this favor was asked by England as a matter of international courtesy, without comment or criticism, and without raising the question of guilt or innocence. Especially is this true since undoubtedly there exists a warm friendship between the two countries.

Probably a still smaller number of readers are aware of the very deep interest that has been taken by President McKinley in Mrs. Maybrick's case. After learning its details, which he went into thoroughly with the Hon. Mr. Hitt, of California, and Judge Yarrell, of Washington, D. C., he cabled a request to the Home Office, through Ambassador Hay, asking that she be released, as a matter of international courtesy and without discussing the question of innocence or guilt. This also was refused. Not discouraged by the failure of Ambassador Hay, President McKinley instructed Ambassador Choate to continue efforts for her release. Because of Mr. Choate's peculiar fitness for such a mission—himself a great lawyer, a democrat pure and simple, and in no fear of effacement by the glamour of royalty—the friends of Mrs. Maybrick took a fresh hold on hope. They have been waiting these long, weary months for an answer from the Home Office, but as yet no direct reply has come to the request thus made.

To a question put by Michael Davitt to the Home Secretary during the summer, Sir Matthew White Ridley gave the usual evasive reply that he could give no hope of a speedy release. No reason; no explanation; and with an attitude that says: "We have the power to keep her, and we neither intend to release her nor to give any reason therefor." To every petition, request, and appeal from whatever source—from the Lord Chief Justice to the President of the United States—the same stolid, unyielding front has been presented. Either silence or insult has been the only answer given. The proceedings are of the star-chamber order. In England Captain Dreyfus could have had no retrial: there is no court of cassation there.

The Medico-Legal Society of New York last summer

memorialized the Queen, urging Mrs. Maybrick's release. The committee that drafted the memorial were legal men, from various States, who after an examination of the testimony at the trial and other circumstances attending the case believed in Mrs. Maybrick's entire innocence. The committee consisted of the following persons: Clark Bell, of New York; Judge Charles G. Garrison, of New Jersey; Judge L. A. Emery, of Maine; Judge Michael H. Hirschberg, of New York; Judge Pardon E. Tillinghast, of Rhode Island; ex-Judge Abraham H. Dailey, of Brooklyn, and ex-Judge A. J. Pittenhoefer, of New York.

In view of all these facts it becomes an interesting study of international comity and policy. There is probably not another case on record in which so much influence has been brought to bear upon a nation by a foreign government, without success, to secure a re-hearing or the release of a citizen from prison.

It has long been a cause of wonderment to all conversant with the case why England is so determined in her refusal to let this woman go. All sorts of subterfuges and excuses have been urged from time to time. It is claimed that Mrs. Maybrick's marriage makes her an English subject, and therefore it is no concern of ours. This claim has been thoroughly gone into by Judge Yarrell, of Washington, who shows conclusively that she *is* an American citizen—by the laws of America, no matter what the English law may be. Mrs. Maybrick belongs to a long line of illustrious names in American history. She is in all real senses an American, and the American people have a deep interest in her fate. By birth she belongs to generations of the educated and refined, and she cannot be robbed of her lineage and citizenship by a marriage with an Englishman.

It is well understood by all who have had anything to do with this case that Mrs. Maybrick is the victim, not only of legal injustice, but of a conspiracy formed at the time of her arrest, which has followed her through the trial and pursued her to the Home Office when the case was being considered there. Its venomous trail has been seen during all these years of her

imprisonment, whenever and wherever an effort has been made for her release. She has been assailed by every form of slander, in which her heroic mother also has been involved. When she was ill nigh unto death, the story was started that she had inflicted injuries upon herself to excite sympathy, and that she had swallowed needles to produce a hemorrhage. When this was refuted, the scandal was started that she had given birth to a child in prison, fathered by a high official. This story was circulated and discussed through all the clubs in London, gained admission to the columns of *Figaro,* and was spread throughout the English-speaking world. Notwithstanding the fact that her mother obtained from the Home Office a reluctant denial over the signature of the Secretary, these stories are periodically revived and circulated with vigor. The officials of the Home Office say to those who come to plead her cause that she has a very bad record—a story based upon the above falsehoods, which are still on record in the Home Office and still stand against her when occasion for their influence is needed. It has so far been impossible successfully to expose or circumvent this conspiracy.

In a conversation with a prominent member of the American Embassy in London, whose efforts for the release of Mrs. Maybrick were fruitless, I asked what in his opinion was the obstacle that prevents Mrs. Maybrick's release, and he replied: "The opposition of the permanent officials; they say at the Home Office that her record is bad—that she is disobedient and insubordinate." It requires only a little knowledge to let in a world of light on such a charge. When it is known that Mrs. Maybrick has been in the star class for nine years, and still remains there, it is absurd for them to charge her with being disobedient and insubordinate. To any one who knows the severe rigor of the discipline in English penal prisons it becomes ludicrous. She would soon be stripped of her insignia of good conduct if she fell below the demanded high standard.

The attitude of the Home Office in England, under whose control the prison system is, is the most conservative of all

the governmental departments. It has the least tendency to change or reform. Its attitude is always against the accused. When it investigates a case it calls as witnesses the police who secured the indictment, and who are always rewarded for convictions, and the judge who tried the case. Seldom a Home Secretary goes beyond the report of these witnesses. The question of an innocent person being convicted does not seem to them a possibility; whereas it is an ascertained fact that there is quite a percentage of innocent persons convicted every year. As soon as a prisoner is convicted there arises a wall of suspicion and prejudice, which it is almost impossible to pierce.

My experience with the prison system of England during the years I have wrought for Mrs. Maybrick's release confirms the opinion expressed by the officer alluded to above—that the obstacle to the release of Mrs. Maybrick is the opposition, or rather the prejudice, of the permanent officials in the Home Office. A late experience with that department is an illustration of the spirit that rules it. I recently wrote to the Home Secretary making a request for permission to send a book to Mrs. Maybrick. I had read "All's Right with the World," by Charles B. Newcomb, and I thought its delightful and helpful philosophy would be very comforting to her. I was informed in reply that a book cannot be given to a prisoner as private property, but that I might send it to the Home Office for examination, and "if proper it would be forwarded to the Aylesbury Prison Library, where Mrs. Maybrick could read it." The following is a copy of the answer I received:

"Home Office, Whitehall, S. W., November 17, 1898.

"Madame: I am desired by the directors of Convict Prisons to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 13th ultimo, together with the book referred to therein. In reply I am to inform you that the book, 'All's Right with the World,' has been forwarded to 78 Elm Park Road, Chelsea, in accordance with your request, as the work in question is not considered suitable for prisoners. I am your obedient servant,

"E. G. CLAYTON, *Secretary.*"

That there could be anything objectionable in this book is past the comprehension of any one, excepting perhaps an official of the English Home Office. There is nothing in it to offend any sect, class, or church, and it would have been a veritable boon to a wounded spirit. In a letter I received from her several years ago, she said: "It is impossible for me to understand why I should be called upon to suffer so much through this great injustice; but I have faith to believe that God knows, and that some day, if not here, on the other side, where all things are known, I shall understand." As I read the glowing pages of Mr. Newcomb's helpful book, the assurance that, in spite of all the apparent evil surrounding us, some time, somewhere, somehow it will be made known to us that all is well with the world, has been always well with the world, and will be to the end, it seemed to me that they carried a message direct for her. Were it not for my belief in this philosophy such miscarriages of justice would cause me to doubt that a competent Ruler directs the affairs of men.

Among the many commendations and press notices of Mr. Newcomb's book there are names well known in England as well as in this country. I will give a few of them, selected from scores. Frances E. Willard pronounces the book "an inspiration," and said she received from it much "solace of spirit." Julian Hawthorne writes: "It is a worthy and helpful book." John Fiske says: "It is a suggestive and thoughtful book." Prof. A. E. Dolbear, of Tuft College, says: "I am reminded of Emerson on nearly every page. You follow up with Emersonian insight and happy expression." Rev. R. Heber Newton says: "I think it is an admirable piece of work, and ought to have a wide hearing and do great good." Ella Wheeler Wilcox writes: "Your book is full of strength, stimulation, and balm; splendid thoughts, splendidly expressed. It must do much good."

When the nature of this book is considered, the refusal to let Mrs. Maybrick read it becomes a verification of the reputation of the Home Office for severity and indifference to prison abuse. The question naturally presents itself, Can it be possi-

ble that the comfort and hope that it might give her are the reason that they decided that the book in question "is not considered suitable for prisoners"?

There is another person who has suffered in this fearful tragedy, and whose heroism and undaunted courage equal those of any of the world's heroines. I refer to Mrs. Maybrick's mother, Baroness de Roques. I cannot do better in introducing this noble woman to the readers of THE ARENA than to quote Gail Hamilton's estimate—from a letter to Lady Henry Somerset:

"That heroic mother, whom not having seen I revere, has worn the horrors of her situation equally as if they had been honors. She was summoned from the very table of social festivity to the degradation and ruin of her daughter by the British government. By the continuous pillage of that government she was led from a condition of life-long independence, competency, and comfort, down the bitter path of poverty, penury, almost pauperism. She has been assailed by every form and spirit of slander—slanders that have trailed their venomous length to this her own country, where they are known to be slanders and could emit but a stifled hiss. Bidding farewell forever to peace of mind and joy of life, she has personally and unceasingly penetrated, for her daughter's life, liberty, and honor, into every court and office and hall and haunt of men where the smallest hope seemed to lead—subject to the rudeness of the rude and to the cold politeness of the unsympathetic: she, with the subconsciousness of her past and most acutely conscious of her present; and through it all she has borne her unfailing dignity, her unwavering constancy. No queen ever confronted an angry mob of the streets with a loftier self-command than the mother of your victim has brought to an equally unreasoning mob. Strong in the endurance that outwearies wrong, she stands to me for the ideal type and statue of motherhood, the Mater Dolorosa of our time."

England stands in the world to-day for fair play and justice —the foremost representative government; yet she has no court of criminal appeal. Under English law no appeal in a criminal case is allowed from an unjust verdict or sentence, not even in a case of life and death; while in a civil action

where only a bale of cotton is at stake it is possible to appeal from court to court, even to the House of Lords. For the victim of injustice in a criminal case it is impossible to get a judicial revision or re-hearing. The only possible relief is through the sweet will of one man—the Home Secretary. This official alone can recommend to the Queen a pardon for an innocent man or woman unjustly imprisoned; and a pardon is the only method of release—a pardon for a crime never committed! There is absolutely no other way. That such innocent cases do occur is a matter of record.

It is erroneously supposed by many that the Queen has the pardoning power. This is a mistake. Not only has she not the power to pardon, but she cannot exercise the initiative in the matter of pardon. That must come from her Minister, and when he advises a pardon the Queen has no choice but to put her signature to it. The Home Secretary is the autocrat in the matter. He can review, or refuse to review, no matter what the exigencies, whatever new testimony or unfair conduct of the trial may be alleged; he alone is the judge of all questions and claims for clemency or pardon, and his will alone can be evoked. It is regarded as undiplomatic for any other Minister of the Crown to appeal in behalf of a condemned prisoner—it is considered unwarranted interference; yet we see this official influenced, dominated in fact, by the permanent officials—the underlings of the department.

Not long ago a man named Habron was convicted at Manchester for murder and sentenced to be hanged, but his sentence was commuted to penal servitude for life. After serving two years the real murderer, a man named Peace, was discovered, and Habron was "graciously pardoned" by the Queen.

Only a short time ago a man of the name of John Kelsal was tried for the murder of his wife by throwing a lighted lamp at her. There was no testimony against him except that of his wife's sister, with whom she was having a drunken orgy; and the sister, fearing for her own life, swore that Kelsal threw the lamp. Notwithstanding the fact that Joseph Holt, an officer

of the Fire Brigade, after making a careful examination of the premises, testified that the woman probably fell coming downstairs with the lamp in her hand, the man was tried, and upon the woman's testimony alone was convicted of murder and sentenced to penal servitude for life; whereupon the friends of Mr. Kelsal, believing in his innocence, headed by the officer of the Fire Brigade, began an agitation for his release. The woman became remorseful, went to her priest, and confessed that she had perjured herself—that John Kelsal was not there. Upon the advice of the priest she went to the proper official to make known her perjury; but it was with difficulty she obtained a hearing, having to go several times before she could get any one to listen to her. They sent her recantation to the Home Office, where after two weeks' deliberation the officials decided they could see no way in which they could interfere. The friends then took it before a magistrate, who with proper regard for precedent and respect for English law decided he could not interfere with the decision of the Home Office; and it was not until the Lord Chief Justice, having his attention called to the case, ordered the woman arrested, that the facts could be ventilated. She was tried, convicted, sentenced to seven years' penal servitude, and still it was weeks before Kelsal could be pardoned!

It is very difficult to persuade one Home Secretary to reverse the decision of a former incumbent of the office, but occasionally we find an officer rising to the situation. Sir William Harcourt was such a one. When he was Home Secretary a man named Hay, who had been falsely convicted, wrote a letter to the Home Office stating that he was a victim of a conspiracy. Every prisoner is obliged to undergo nine months of solitary confinement when first incarcerated, and is not permitted to write until after the expiration of that term. In this letter he gave the circumstances and evidence of the conspiracy of which he was a victim. His statement seemed reasonable to the Secretary, and instead of referring it to the permanent officials, or calling upon the judge who tried him, he instituted an investigation upon his own lines. Becoming

satisfied of the probable truth of the man's statement, he gave him a "ticket of leave." When released, Hay set about his vindication—that he might secure a full pardon and rehabilitation in his civil rights, which every man loses upon conviction of a crime. Gathering his evidence together, he made an appeal to the Home Office. Very soon after he was approached by a man, a book-maker at races, with an offer to secure his pardon for fifty pounds. Hay demanded some proof of the man's ability to secure it. The man assured him that he would give him his proof in the evening; and he then took him to a house where Hay was shown documents concerning his case and a copy of the letter that he had written to the Home Office, from which he had never heard. Not hearing from his statement he called upon the Secretary at his private residence, confident that he would get a hearing. The Secretary, through his servant, asked his business. Whereupon Hay sent him word that he had written him an important statement, which Hay had felt sure Sir William would have answered if he had received it. The Secretary sent word to him to forward his statement again, addressed to the Secretary's private residence, which was done; whereupon Hay was given an appointment at the Home Office, where he pointed out the document that he had seen, and told of the offer of fifty pounds that had been made to him. The Home Secretary, becoming entirely convinced of the innocence of the man, at once did all the law could do, through a full and complete pardon, to reinstate him, and gave him financial compensation. If we were always sure to have a Home Secretary like Sir William Harcourt it would not be such a calamity to England to be without a court of criminal appeal. But, unfortunately, such officials are very rare.

Sir Matthew White Ridley, the present Home Secretary, is the third incumbent of that office since Mrs. Maybrick was imprisoned. Mr. Henry Mathews, now Lord Landaff, who occupied the office at the time of Mrs. Maybrick's conviction, gave as a reason for commuting the sentence that after a careful examination into all the facts of the case there was reason-

able doubt whether Mr. Maybrick died of poison. He, therefore, constituted himself judge and jury, and in effect tried and convicted Mrs. Maybrick on a new count—that of "attempt"—and sentenced her to penal servitude for life. His action was severely criticized at the time by the press, which was almost unanimous in its condemnation, urging that the Home Secretary was out of order in announcing a doubt of her guilt of the crime for which she had been tried and not releasing her; that if she was not guilty of murder she should have been released and tried for attempt. The London *Times* said she had certainly not had a fair trial; that the most that could be made of it was a case of strong suspicion. Partaking of the prejudice that had been created, and on the advice of the insane judge who had convicted her and of the police who were among the active conspirators against her, a commutation of the sentence to penal servitude for life—a more terrible fate than death for a refined and cultured woman like Mrs. Maybrick—was all the concession that could be wrung from an unwilling official; and, although the matter had been under consideration in the Home Office for a fortnight, this decision was held back until late in the night before the day upon which she was to have been hanged—the gallows having already been erected within hearing of Mrs. Maybrick's cell. The cause of this useless addition to her suffering was said at the time to be the hope that the delay would force from her a confession of guilt.

Mr. Asquith, the successor of Mr. Mathews, from first to last was invulnerable to any plea for her release. He declined to re-open a "question which was deliberately considered and decided by his predecessor;" and yet Mr. Asquith pardoned, during his term, 166 women, and among them murderers for whom no claim of innocence was made! This is only another evidence that there exists some subtle reason that does not appear why such strenuous care is taken that this one woman should be held so firmly behind bars: this woman who—as so many intelligent men, including Members of Parliament, the Lord Chief Justice, and scores of able lawyers, believe—is in-

nocent, has been unfairly dealt with, and ought to be released. The present Home Secretary, when first coming to his office, promised to give the case careful consideration—a promise that he seems never to have fulfilled; at least he has never given any *reasons* for his refusal, which are certainly due to the many influential friends that have asked for her release. The same subtle influence seems also to have him bound; and, while giving no reason, he still refuses to set her free, although he said in a reply at last summer's session of Parliament that he (Sir Matthew White Ridley) was aware of the strong opinion held in America and England as to Mrs. Maybrick's innocence, and that she had been adequately punished.

Sir William Harcourt would soon cut the gordian knot. How? He would investigate the case. He would find, first, that there was doubt of any murder having been committed; second, that the judge's conduct was such as to entitle her to a retrial; third, that there was not a scintilla of evidence that she ever administered any poison; fourth, that Mr. Maybrick was a confirmed arsenic-eater, that no arsenic was found in his stomach, and that only a small portion was found in his liver —no more than is often found in autopsies of arsenic-eaters.

Mr. C. F. Greenwood, a resident of Norfolk, Va., with whom Mr. Maybrick was intimate, has, since the trial, made affidavit that to his personal knowledge Mr. Maybrick was accustomed to take large doses of arsenic; that he once saw him swallow a pill as large as a pea; and that Mr. Maybrick said to him one day, when he was taking one of these pills: "Greenwood, one of these would kill you; but I can take them—in fact I *have* to, I am so nervous."

Even if there be still a doubt in the mind of the Home Secretary of Mrs. Maybrick's entire innocence, he ought to consider that she has served ten years—a longer period than is often given for attempt; and, with this fact and various other extenuating circumstances, there should not be a question of her immediate release. The truth is that she is the victim of a deep-rooted prejudice and misunderstanding. It has never

been possible to get the facts of her case before the people of England. The press has been closed fast as a door at midnight against a discussion of the facts, only admitting what may be classed as news paragraphs—while it has given generous admission to all the slanders against her. She is looked upon as the worst type of woman. She is supposed to have had a "lover." It is also said that there must be something against her that did not come out in the trial or she would long ago have been released with all these efforts in her favor. If there is, then the public ought to know it. That neither judges nor Home Secretaries are infallible we have had ample evidence.

If public opinion in England on the Maybrick case should be made as well informed as it is on the Dreyfus case we would soon see her released. Why? Because it would force an examination into the facts of the case, and it is the *facts* that the friends of Mrs. Maybrick have relied upon for her vindication and release. Moreover, upon the facts, the British government would not desire to keep her. It is ignorance of the facts and the refusal to investigate them that keep her prison doors fastened. Whether or not Mrs. Maybrick shall end her unhappy life in prison, it is certain that some time the facts will be known; and her trial and condemnation and the refusal to investigate her case will make a dark page in the history of English criminal jurisprudence.

France is fortunate in having given birth to two distinguished men of letters who, laying aside for the time their special activities, have used their great power for the vindication of the oppressed. But for Zola, the Dreyfus case would probably never have been revived, and Dreyfus would have been left to die on Devil's Island. Jean Calas, in Voltaire's time, was the victim of as fiendish a conspiracy as that which has engulfed Dreyfus. Voltaire, being made acquainted with the facts, began and carried out an agitation in behalf of the martyred Calas that absorbed public attention in France at that time, and produced as great excitement as has followed the agitation of the Dreyfus case by Zola. Some Voltaire or Zola may arise who will compel England's attention, and

Florence Elizabeth Maybrick's unhappy fate may pave the way to such reforms in English law and prison conduct as martyrdom has ever wrought in the darker periods of civilization—reformation through martyrdom seemingly being still one of the necessary steps in the evolution of the race.

In the French Dreyfus case we have a conspiracy and an innocent person accused, tried, and condemned by a prejudiced tribunal. When the friends of Dreyfus attempted to get a new trial for him, they were confronted by a secret dossier, and by the "honor of the army," which was felt to be at stake. In the English Dreyfus case we have likewise a conspiracy and an innocent person accused, tried, and condemned by a prejudiced tribunal. When Mrs. Maybrick's friends have attempted to get justice done they are confronted with a secret dossier—evidence against Mrs. Maybrick that the officials of the Home Office claim to possess and that they refuse to make public; and, finally, there is the honor of the English government, which *is* truly at stake. In France they have the army staff; in England they have the permanent officials of the Home Office.

HELEN DENSMORE.

Borough of Brooklyn, New York.

THE SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF LIFE.

I. ITS ORGANIZATION AND AIMS.

WE look back over the history of the last fifty years and see very clearly that the American woman—whatever she may have to reproach herself for in the way of mismanagement or failure in some directions—may safely and with justice claim a knowledge, a power, a poise that could only have been gained through strenuous labor and well-directed thought. That it has not always been *wise* thought is but to realize that it has been human thought. That the mistakes have been so few only goes to show the real power behind the effort—the realization of the possibilities of womanhood.

The Suffragists have hewed and hacked their way through the solid phalanx of social opprobrium and selfish or indolent opposition; and the women of to-day, standing on the rising ground of a larger liberty and a more gracious freedom than would have been deemed possible in the past, give a grateful backward glance at their battle-scarred sisters ere they turn their expectant eyes upon the towering glory of a fuller enfranchisement.

The close of the century sees more than the picture of woman mentally armed for her own defense, holding her citadel by power of her inherent strength of will and a tested endurance; it sees womanhood, which has worked so long from without inward, realizing that now the process must be reversed. The heart of things has been reached; but the final emancipation will not be hers alone, but, through her, that of the race. The work must now be from within outward.

The National Congress of Mothers, which convened at Washington three years ago, was a significant indication of the trend of woman's thought at the close of the century. Women, organized at first for egoistic reasons, began after a

time to band together for altruistic purposes. It was no longer a question of self-benefit, or even of mutual benefit, that was the chief thought. The public good, the welfare of humanity—this was the larger and broader horizon that opened itself out before her mental vision. The betterment of social conditions; the reform of abuses: how were these results to be accomplished? Her thought led her inevitably to the conclusion that at the first rung of the ladder of all permanent social reform stood the mother with her malleable child in her arms. So the National Congress of Mothers was started, with all its outgrowth of mothers' clubs and societies, striving with the mighty lever of motherhood to effect the regeneration of the race.

The initial thought of the movement was this: How am I to train this child that he may be better fitted for the battle of life than were his parents? What teaching, what environment shall I furnish, that thereby his mind and heart may be settled into the more perfect way? Just here the mother came face to face with a mighty problem. The child was not a piece of white paper on which might be inscribed the thought of the parent; not a lump of putty to be pressed this way and that until it assumed the desired shape. It came stamped, at times indelibly, with inherited tendencies and predispositions—the outcome of generations of wise or unwise thinking: the result, to a large extent, of the circumstances of conception. She saw that back of the whole question lay the necessity of ideal marriage—a perfect relationship between the father and mother; a relationship in which both should realize their responsibilities in the bringing of a new life into the world, and in which children should be the desired outcome of a perfect physical, mental, and spiritual union.

What are the average conditions of married life to-day? Not such as this, certainly. We see men and women on every side to whom marriage means little more than the legalized right to unrestrained sexual indulgence; who think of parenthood, at best, as a tiresome possibility to be avoided at all cost save that of personal pleasure. Is it conceivable that

children born under such conditions—accidental results of purely selfish and unthinking indulgence—should prove wise, great, large-hearted citizens, or should be the men and women that the race and the world desire? It will scarcely be questioned that the natural, unbiased instinct of woman in sex matters would be a safer, surer standard than that of man. Mr. Edward Carpenter, in one of his books, expresses himself thus:

"Here, in sex, the woman's instincts are, as a rule, so clean, so direct, so well-rooted in the needs of the race, that except for man's domination they would scarcely have suffered this perversion [referring to the spectacle presented by our great cities at night]. Sex in man is an unorganized passion—an individual need or impetus; but in woman it may more properly be termed a constructive instinct, with the larger significance that that involves. . . . It is not difficult to see that women really free would never countenance for their mates the many mean and unclean types of men who to-day seem to have things their own way, nor consent to have children by such men; nor is it difficult to imagine that the feminine influence might thus sway to the evolution of a more manly and dignified race than has been disclosed in these last days of commercial civilization!"

And again:

"In woman—modern science has shown—the more fundamental and primitive nervous centers, and the great sympathetic and vasomotor system of nerves generally, are developed to a greater extent than in man; and, as a general rule, in the evolution of the human race, as well as of the lower races, the female is less subject to variation and is more constant to and conservative of the type of the race than the male. With these physiological differences are naturally allied the facts that, of the two, woman is the more primitive, the more intuitive, the more emotional. If not so large and cosmic in her scope, the great unconscious processes of Nature lie somehow nearer to her. To her, sex is a deep and sacred instinct, carrying with it a sense of natural purity. Nor does she often experience that divorce between the sentiment of love and the physical passion which is so common with men,

and which causes them to be aware of a grossness and a conflict in their own natures. She is, or should be, the interpreter of Love to man, and in some degree his guide in sexual matters."

As Havelock Ells puts it:

"In women men find beings who have not wandered so far as they have from the typical life of earth's creatures. Women are, for men, the human embodiments of the restful responsiveness of Nature. To every man, as Michelet has put it, the woman whom he loves is as the Earth was to her legendary son: he has but to fall down and kiss her breast and he is strong again."

The Society for the Study of Life is a movement to band women together for mutual and helpful discussion of the vital matters that pertain to womanhood, and to educate, as thoroughly as progressive literature on the subject may conduce to education, those who feel the unwisdom of blind impulse or of unthinking dependence on the advice of physician or friend. A brief account of the manner in which the society came into being may be interesting to those who do not already know of it.

At the close of the day devoted to the consideration of "Moral Training" at the New York City Mothers' Club, in February, 1898, the chairman of the day was approached by some members of the club who had been wise enough to see that the moral training of a child, to be worth much, must antedate his appearance in this world; that the offspring of the profligate and the drunkard are severely handicapped in the race of life; that grapes do not grow upon thorns, and that great sons are not born of unwilling mothers or selfish, exacting fathers. These women asked if it would not be possible to form a society where vital sex questions could be fully and honestly dealt with; where the truths of life could be scientifically studied, and the ideal of marriage raised to the level where it belongs. And so the Society for the Study of Life was formed.

It is built on new lines, and expects criticism while as yet its aims are but vaguely understood. There are those who,

themselves brought up to think the innocence of ignorance a beautiful thing, resent any attempt to enlighten the minds of others on these important matters; there are others, with whose feelings we may sympathize even though we may not share them, who fear the desecration of holy things by the tearing away of the veils that have hitherto covered them. But, to the open-minded, clear-thinking, sanely-constituted men and women of to-day, this society, with its openly avowed belief in the innate purity of natural laws and its intention of reverent and careful study of these laws, is a significant and cheering sign of the times. There is, as might readily be inferred, no bias in the society in favor of any particular faith or creed, religious or scientific; each member is permitted to speak from her own standpoint, always keeping in view the main object of the society—the pursuit of Truth.

Each month the society issues a *Bulletin,* which gives the gist of the discussion at the previous meeting; and the society is establishing, for the benefit of its membership, a library upon whose shelves will eventually be placed every book that treats of the subjects considered by the society, as well as the leading scientific works on heredity, physiology, and psychology.

The Society for the Study of Life offers to the young women of America the education for which they are asking. No earnest woman, whether married or single, is excluded from membership; and all have an equal voice in the discussion of the topics considered—an equal claim upon the time and interest of the officers of the society.

If it be true that woman should be the guide in sex matters, does not the fact imply the vital necessity for education of the sex that bears the responsibility? How shall one lead unless she be herself wise? Wifehood, in its highest sense, has been in the past practically unprepared for; and the possibility or responsibility of motherhood is a thing that has been rigorously excluded from the education of a young girl. As Mrs. Stetson very radically puts it:

"We find our young women reared in an attitude that is absolutely unconscious of and often injurious to their coming

motherhood—an irresponsible, indifferent, ignorant class of beings, so far as motherhood is concerned. They are fitted to attract the opposite sex for economic uses, or, at most, for mutual gratification; but not for motherhood. They are reared in unbroken ignorance of their supposed principal duties, knowing nothing of these duties till they enter upon them. This is as though all men were to be soldiers, with the fate of nations in their hands, and no man told or taught a word of war or military service until he entered the battle-field! The education of young women has no department of maternity. It is considered indelicate to give this consecrated functionary any previous knowledge of her sacred duties. This most important and wonderful of human functions is left from age to age in the hands of absolutely untaught women. It is tacitly supposed to be fulfilled by the mysterious working of what we call 'the divine instinct of maternity!' . . . So the children of humanity are born into the arms of an endless succession of untrained mothers, who bring to the care and teaching of their children neither education for that wonderful work nor experience therein; they bring merely the intense, accumulated force of a brute instinct—the blind, devoted passion of the mother for the child. Maternal love is an enormous force; but force needs direction. Simply to love the child does not serve him unless specific acts of service express that love. What these acts of service are, and how they are performed, make or mar his life forever."

This sounds harsh, but an unbiased consideration of the situation will show that it is, in the main, true. And, leaving the child out of the question—for the man and woman have also rights to be inquired into and respected—how many men and women are there who realize the possible beauty of the marriage relationship? How many know or care to make it the exquisite thing that it may be? Men and women come together with the vaguest notions of their duty to each other, of constitutional and educated differences of temperament, of the fundamental principles of wise and healthy marriage. This is surely the veriest folly.

For sane men and women to speak and act as if the great law of sex were a non-existent factor in human life is surely

the merest childishness. May we not conceive of a coming era of new and wiser social conditions—when we may look one another honestly in the face, with level brows and a frank fearlessness; when the disgrace of a double standard of morals will be a thing of the benighted and shameful past; when pure, holy, passionate love, instead of self-interest or desire, shall be the foundation and only justification of marriage?

To all progressive and thinking women the founding of the Society for the Study of Life marks the cultivation and final expression of woman's thought of the last half century—marks possibly, also, the dawn of a new era in woman's work. The day of belief in the innocence of ignorance is past; and the hour approaches when woman, no longer scared by the self-erected bugaboo of an evil-minded Society—"forbidden topics"—will glory in her knowledge of the great, grand laws governing reproduction, and know no shame save when these laws, so known, are weakly disregarded or wilfully broken.

ALMON HENSLEY.

New York.

II. THE RIGHT OF A CHILD TO BE WELL BORN.

WE have indeed fallen upon great days when we are asked to consider, not the right of a people to be free, not the right of an individual to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, not the right in fact of anything that already *is* and by its existence is entitled to our consideration, but the right of something that as yet *is not,* save as it subsists potentially in the womb of the Infinite. We are called upon to discuss the question of parental responsibility in the great partnership of God with man—in helping Him, if not to create, at least to bring into this world an immortal soul. This is in very fact to become co-workers with God in the secret laboratory where life itself is fashioned.

This is the wonder and gladness of it all to me: not that we shall at this time determine with exactness the things that should be done or left undone; not that we may at once recog-

nize our privileges and how to use and enjoy them—but that the spirit that actuated the life of the Man of Galilee should have so pervaded the hearts of our people that our delicately reared, sensitive wives and mothers can no longer hold their peace. They will open their ears to hear, their eyes to see, and make their voices heard in this matter. They will overcome, for love's sake, that shrinking which always attends the discussion of a subject like this, determined to know how to make right conditions for the millions yet unborn.

These are signs of the times that cannot be ignored by any who, with hope long deferred, have been waiting for the coming of the Prince of Peace. And I for one thank God for the Society for the Study of Life and for the Mothers' Organization, to which it, as child, is so closely related.

There is always a veil of mystery or shame thrown between the growing child's mind and his own organs of reproduction. He is early taught that to know anything concerning them savors of immodesty and sin. I used to wonder at this —wonder why mothers and fathers should teach their sons and daughters all things save this most important one, leaving the child to learn on street-corner and in public playground those things that can only be properly taught by the hearthstone and in the sanctity of the home. But it is plainer to me now. First of all, life itself is secret—a mystery hidden beyond the ken of man. It is useless for science to seek to uncover it—it forever eludes its grasp. To understand it is to comprehend Deity—to know the mind of the Infinite. Around the organs of sex, therefore, Nature draws a veil; and to seek to lift it, even to learn of her, seems sacrilege. The instinctive shrinking felt by the mother when talking to her child on matters of sex is natural. It is only because of false ideas that have crept in as the fruit of sin that it is a necessity. If children were well born—born of love—their innate sense of purity would be their infallible guide.

Another reason why parents are so silent on this matter is that few have any proper understanding of the sex function themselves. They have vague notions, but no clearly defined

ideas. They have, alas! found too often in the marriage relation a way of pain and sorrow, and they cannot bear to speak to their innocent boy or girl of that which has proved so unsatisfactory to them. So they try to assure themselves that the longer the child remains in ignorance the longer it will likely stay in innocence; for it is bound to learn all too soon of the things they would gladly keep from it forever.

What age other than a Christian one could have considered the right of a child to be well born? In what other nation than ours could be found the women that would come to the front and through prayerful thought and study seek the solution of this mighty problem of heredity? It is true that the women of ancient Sparta exercised in the gymnasium in order to obtain the highest bodily vigor, preparatory to the function of maternity. It is true that the Grecian women after conception were surrounded by statues of marble loveliness, and all things beautiful in Nature and art. It is true that the children yet unborn were considered; not for themselves, however, but rather for the State. It was a matter of expendiency—a benefit to the nation, not to the child considered in itself. The mother would bear a warrior that should be mighty in battle, or a poet or artist whose work should be the despair of all future ages that might attempt to rival Greece in the beauty and strength of her acquirements. Great attention was paid to the right of clan, of tribe, or of nation, but little if any to the rights of the child itself.

It is only of recent years that the rights of children have to any great degree been considered at all. One needs only to look into the literature of fifty years ago: scarcely a book can be discovered to feed the hungry mind of the child; and when found, it relates almost wholly to religious teachings, and often of such a nature as well-nigh to take the joy of living out of its little heart by dire threats and catechismal questions asked and answered. Despite this, however, the child would revel in it because it was "almost a story," keeping it among her treasures to be read and re-read till she had it and the crude pictures it contained stamped indelibly on her memory.

But how changed it is now! Children's books fill our libraries, both public and private, till it seems as if every chord in the child's nature has been struck, bringing forth music that has enriched both it and the world of grown folks in which it lives. In fact, this may be called the child's age as well as woman's age; for mother and child are so closely connected that to advance the one is to find the other by its side.

This rapid advancement of women in the last decade has given rise to much solicitude on the part of the conservative minded. It seems to them as if the world is being turned topsy-turvy; that man, who for so long a time has had things his own way, is being pushed largely to the wall in trade and business, if not in politics, and that *homes* will no longer be a necessity to our growing civilization. But there is little danger here. Swaddling-clothes make even children of a larger growth appear awkward. In striking at random to be free they sometimes hurt both themselves and others. When they have grown a little larger, however, our women will better understand their rights and privileges.

In recent years much attention has been given to the proper dressing and nourishing of infants. The more progressive mothers have even ventured to refuse to bandage their new-born babes with rolls of linen, trusting that He who fashioned them in the womb knew the needs of the little body and gave it before birth its necessary support. Some have learned that baby's colic is not so much an inheritance from the time that babies first were, as it is the result of over-feeding by the solicitous mother—who has not yet learned that "it has no language but a cry."

Still later it is seen that, as the child has a kind of life (a life in embryo) covering the time from conception to birth, its rights do not begin with its appearance in the outer world, but that while cradled 'neath the mother's heart it has even then some claim to her care and attention. And many a treatise has been written telling how to give the unborn child the best physical and mental endowments, and how to nourish and educate him as he grows from infancy to maturity.

I read recently a very able writer who attempted to outline the different stages of growth through which the human embryo goes in its development, beginning with the organs known to the phrenologists as purely physical or animal, up through the social or affectional, then into the mental with all its possibilities, till at last the crowning faculties—beneficence and worship—are developed. This writer claims that, if a mother desires to give a large endowment of her physical, affectional, mental, and moral nature to her offspring, she must, during pregnancy, herself obey this law of orderly unfoldment by making her own life conform to the needs of her growing child. For instance, for its physical development, plenty of exercise, nourishing foods, and freedom in clothing for the mother during the early months; for its affectional and social instincts, activity of her own affectional nature; for mental endowment, reasoning and close calculation on her part, including time for the study of music and art; and, lastly, for its moral and spiritual nature, the mother in the late months of her pregnancy must apply herself to the things of the spirit—hope, joy, worship, and a deeper love for God and humanity.

This all seems to me very reasonable, and worthy of our consideration. But are we not forgetting to deal with an unknown quantity—overlooking an important factor in our calculation: the condition of *mind* in which the mother finds herself when she discovers for the first time that she has conceived a child? Is she glad? Does her heart sing, with Mary the Blessed, "My soul doth magnify the Lord"? If so, then we may expect that which shall be born of her to be a son or a daughter of God. But if, upon discovering she is with child, her mind is in torture and her heart in rebellion—worse yet, if in her despair the thought to murder that helpless, unformed babe come to her—what may we expect, with such an inheritance, that child to become?

Let us go one step further and ask, What was the state of her mind when the little life was conceived? Let us find the preconception as well as the prenatal conditions; for the right of a child to be well born includes its right to be well con-

ceived. Was the mother's heart filled with love for the father of her babe? Was the affection between them of that character defined as "of all the immeasurable forms of love the most beautiful, the most lasting, and the most divine"? Or was she but a victim upon the altar of man's unbridled passions, unwillingly submitting herself in that relation which was intended to be her glory but through false teaching and sin had become her shame? According to the teaching of the Christ, a child born in lust is born in adultery; and this, too, whether under cover of the marriage vow or not. "Whoso looketh at *a woman* [any woman] to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her already in his heart."

It is well for the preachers of God to impress upon woman's mind the awfulness of child-murder in the womb. It is well for learned physicians to write treatises upon the duties and privileges of the mother as she carries her babe beneath her heart. It is well to tell her to be healthy, happy, and spiritually minded, in order that posterity may rise up and call her blessed. It is well to tell her that every fit of passion, every unkind thought or feeling, leaves an indelible impression, not only upon the disposition but upon the very face and form of her unborn child. It is well to tell her of the dignity of motherhood, and that in her hands rests the destiny of the race. It is well to tell her that "the hand that rocks the cradle is the hand that rules the world." For all these things are true. But if she has had no choice in becoming a mother; if the child was begotten by mistake while ministering to the selfish demands of him that promised to love and cherish; if in fact the child has been "conceived in sin and born in iniquity," as all such children are—whence shall spring her joy? How shall she be glad when she feels, not that she has "gotten a man from the Lord," but that the unborn babe is another proof of her sexual slavery?

Until we have considered conditions of conception, we have not reached the basis of the matter; we have not laid the axe at the root of the tree; we have not considered all the rights of the child that is to be born.

The crime against a child begins when it is conceived in

anything less than mutual, holy love. And it is a breaking of the seventh commandment for a woman to enter into the sex relation unless it be to express her wifely love for the man she has chosen to be the husband of her heart and the father of her children.

Do you tell me that Holy Writ declares woman to be subject to the man from the beginning? Not so. Read carefully the story of our first parents' fall through disobedience, and you will see that it was sin that established the false order in bringing forth. "Because thou hast sinned," He said to the woman, "in sorrow shalt thou bring forth children; and thy desire shall be unto thy husband, and he shall rule over thee." It is only in the inverted order—the order of sin—that man holds rule over the maternal function. The order is reversed, and the curse removed, when woman rises into holy living and follows after the voice of God in her own soul.

In Paul's time, though the Great Deliverer had come who was to remove every curse, he still regarded the wife as in bondage when he said, "Wives, submit yourselves unto your husbands as unto the Lord." I sometimes think that Paul may have a good deal to answer for in making this unmodified statement. But, be this as it may, the time of the beginning of the race and the day of Paul have passed; and the law that made the woman subject to the man is fulfilled in the understanding of love, in which there is neither Jew nor Greek, male nor female, but all one in Christ. The prophecy wrapped up in woman's soul from the beginning is now being fulfilled. "The seed of the woman shall bruise the serpent's head;" and this head, which shall be not only bruised but cut off by her, is the head of lust, which enters into and defiles the marriage bed, making it iniquitous instead of holy and placing the curse of sin upon millions yet unborn.

If the doctrine of original sin has any meaning in these days, it relates to the sin committed at the origin of life in enforced motherhood. Not only has the reversal of the true order of relationship been brought about—so that woman, who should be queen, has become slave—but in this reversal the very function itself has become perverted. Instead of its use to

express the unity of two souls in one, or to express the desire for parenthood, it is regarded as a means of sensual indulgence, and everything is done to prevent conception and frustrate natural results. Indeed, so perverted is the idea of the function of sex that, when a marriage continues for years without progeny, the couple is regarded as being especially clever or fortunate.

In the days when wifehood without motherhood was regarded as a sign of the Lord's displeasure, when barrenness was looked upon as a curse, then, though the woman was subject unto the man, her subjugation was not so disastrous to herself or the race because of the honor attributed to childbearing. But now, in more cases than I could number, the husband himself aids and abets the wife to escape the result of that relation, and failing in this she is made to feel herself responsible and the rightful object of his displeasure.

The Hebrew woman, since the nation's beginning, had hidden the hope in her heart that the babe that should one day be born of her might prove to be the promised Messiah, the deliverer of her people. This attitude of mind and soul kept the fountain of life unpolluted, and made it possible to send forth that stream of purest love which found its embodiment in the Son of Mary. Purify parenthood, and children will be pure as a matter of course. Make the fountain pure, and all the little streams shall become life-giving and life-sustaining.

After all that may be said in regard to the rights of the child, the question of paramount importance is the rights of men and women in this closest of all relations. Until this be righted, nothing that pertains to it can be made right. And it is here that all the world seems to have gone astray. Whether the sin of "disobedience of our first mother" has wrought havoc to all mothers since her day, or whether we, in turn, have chosen to betray our best intuitions regarding the function of sex, I may not determine. But that somehow or other a deplorable state of affairs exists in our family life to-day, and one that is eating out its very heart, I think no one will deny who knows even a little of the facts as they are. I refer to the rule of the husband over the wife in matters pertaining to sex.

The general belief of our women—which amounts to almost a religion—that the relation between husband and wife is a necessity on his part and a duty on hers, is the most false, the most pernicious, and the most far-reaching in its power to destroy health and happiness that has ever been conceived by the mind of man. It is an outrage upon her and a libel upon him. As if a man's necessity could be a woman's humiliation! This mistaken sense of duty on her part and necessity on his is the miserable serpent that enters into the Eden of marriage and poisons all things sweet and pure, driving the man and woman from out their garden, in which grew all things pleasant, to wander in the dry deserts of dissatisfaction, disappointment, and disgust. With their minds filled with these false notions, the newly married begin the making of a miniature world handicapped to failure from the start.

The right of a woman to say when she will become a mother appeals to all fair-minded people as self-evident. As Dr. J. H. Dewey so ably puts it: "Since the function and burden of maternity belong to woman, she must be recognized as the rightful and absolute queen in and over this realm, even as man is king in his—the glory of which is royal ministry and service, not demand. The privileges and conditions of motherhood are sacred to woman, and must be left absolutely to her divine instincts, or intuitions." Selfish indulgence on the part of the husband is but the consummation of the lust of animal desire, and, whether in or out of wedlock, is prostitution. But if the *mother* shall say when she shall bear a child, then the *wife* must say when she shall enter into the relation that makes child-bearing possible.

To seek selfish indulgence, and at the same time to thwart the result of that indulgence, is to sow, not the seeds of life, but the seeds of death in the moral nature of him that thus indulges. Dr. Stockham says: "God cannot have designed that men should sow seed by the wayside where they do not expect it to grow, nor in the same field where it has already been sown and is growing; yet such is the practise of men in the ordinary sexual relation. This is wasteful of life and cannot be natural."

If ever a woman is sacred unto herself, it is while she is giving life and form to the unborn babe; and even as it is written, "Joseph knew not Mary till she had brought forth a son," so should it be with all husbands and wives. The failure so to live is sometimes accredited to the animal nature; but this is to wrong the animal, for in the whole kingdom below man can be found no such outrage committed upon the mother while carrying her young.

I do not mean to say, or even to imply, that man alone is to blame for all these false conditions. I would not have the reader regard husbands as all at fault, while wives are blameless. No; they have been ignorant together. They have sinned together. And together they must walk the path of knowledge, and together lead holier lives. Man on his part has been quite as falsely taught as has woman on hers. And I am sure that he will follow where she leads, when she knows her rightful position, and, with sweet womanliness, takes it. The husband is quite as miserable over this state of affairs in married life as is the wife. And together they rise or fall.

To conclude, I know of no words so fitting as those of that queen of women, Frances Willard:

"A great new world looms into sight, like some splendid ship long waited for: the world of heredity and prenatal influence. Poor old humanity, so tugged by failure and weary with disaster, turns to the cradle at last and perceives that it has been the Pandora's box of every ill and the Fortunatus casket of every joy that life has known. When the mother learns the divine secret of her power; when she selects in the partner of her life the father of her child, and for its sweet sake rejects him of unclean lips; . . . when the man seeks life's highest sanctities in the relationship of husband and father; . . . then shall the blessed prophecy of the world's peace come true. The conquered lion of lust shall lie down at the feet of the white lamb of purity, and a little child shall lead them. . . . The greatest right of which we can conceive is being slowly, surely recognized—the right of a child to be well born."

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RUSKIN'S EDUCATION.

THE following study of the early home environments and training of John Ruskin, the great art critic, has been written with the view of calling the attention of mothers to the extent that these were responsible for bringing out those traits of character that caused the author of "Modern Painters" to be the most eloquent exponent the world has ever had of all that is beautiful in Nature and art; the earnest teacher of important economic truths; the instructor in as well as practiser of virtues that have stamped him as one of the principal leaders and masters among that large body of noble and notable Englishmen destined to be recognized as the Anglo-Saxon group of Immortals of the Nineteenth Century.

If the maxim of La Rochefoucauld be true that "one triumphant result is worth scores of theories," then the methods proved successful by one mother merit more the attention of other mothers than many of the numerous educational schemes of philosophers or pedagogues. That this practical way of dealing with the problem of child-culture has thus far been almost totally ignored can perhaps be attributed to the few records that have been made of the early years of men whose examples are worth following.

Fortunately for thinkers on such lines, Ruskin has written about his childhood, as he says himself, "frankly, garrulously, and at ease," not only in his autobiography, termed "Præterita," and in "Fors Clavigera," but in published and unpublished letters to friends and in other writings. In these the scattered allusions are frequent concerning the formative influence his mother's training, example, and discipline had on "much of his general power of taking pains and the best part of his taste in literature." As with a story, one must become intimately acquainted, so to say, with the leading characters, so Ruskin has portrayed his mother for us in life-like words. He describes her as having been in her younger days "a tall, handsome, and

very well-made girl." Her face had "a beautiful, mild firmness of expression." She was a "faultless and accomplished housekeeper, and a natural, essential, unassailable, yet inoffensive prude." With the ordinary endowments of learning obtained in her day at boarding-school, supplemented by persistent home study and united to a firm, prudent, and sympathetic character, Mrs. Ruskin carried on her self-obligated task of maternal instruction with such success that her son claimed—"and truly, though I have picked up the elements of a little further knowledge in mathematics, meteorology, and the like, in after life, and owe not a little to the teaching of many people, this maternal teaching . . . was more important than any external conditions, either of friendship or tutorship, whether at the University or in the world." In another place he remarks: "The ideas of success at school or college, put before me by my masters, were ignoble and comfortless in comparison with my mother's regretful blame or simple praise."

With the object in view of his becoming a clergyman of the Established Church of England, and perhaps eventually a Bishop, such as Ken or Heber, Ruskin's mother, at the outset of her son's life, began his training in a manner that seems almost ascetic in its simplicity, solitude, and apparent severity. In two of its most important phases it is distinctly at variance with the most general of accepted modern theories of child culture. Her system antagonized the proposition of the kindergarten—that a graduated succession of playthings is necessary to develop habits of observation, deftness of hands and fingers, and proper arrangement of colors. It further repudiated the idea that a child reaches its best development through forming one of a number associated together, where the lesson is taught that the happiness of all depends on the right conduct of each. Mrs. Ruskin's plan was opposed to these methods. She allowed but few toys, and, during the first formative years, the most restricted possible companionship. While an infant and capable of pleasure only in that which glittered and jingled, his sole plaything was a bunch of keys. When her son outgrew these and could walk, a toy cart and ball were permitted. At five

years of age he was allowed to accept from a favorite aunt two boxes of well-cut *lignum vitæ* bricks and a bridge with two arches, with fittings into which they dovetailed after the style of Waterloo Bridge, London. The instructive features of this toy recommended it to his mother, but she set her face against others so determinedly that when his father's sister, pitying the toyless condition of her nephew and hoping to overcome her sister-in-law's rule by splendor of temptation, brought him "the most radiant Punch and Judy she could find in all the Soho Bazaar, big as a real Punch and Judy all dressed in scarlet and gold, and that would dance, tied to the leg of a chair," his mother, obliged to accept it, put it away immediately, saying "it was not right that he should have it"; and he never saw it again.

To this poverty of playthings was added the general absence of all childish companionship. Either through a natural reserve or a settled plan of which she gave no hint, Mrs. Ruskin declined, while her boy was young, the intimacy of neighbors; and by this means left him, with the exception of occasional visits to cousins in Croydon, Surrey, or Perth, in Scotland, as solitary for playmates as if in place of living in the heart of the British metropolis he had with his parents, during his first ten years, been cast upon a desert island. Apropos of this loneliness, Ruskin has written: "Protected by these monastic severities . . . from the snares and disturbances of the outer world, the routine of my childish days became fixed, as of the sunrise and sunset to a nestling. It may seem singular to many . . . that I remember with most pleasure the time when it was most regular and most solitary."

In line with the same Spartan treatment, impelling the mother to deny toys to her son, came the training in obedience that she gave him. From the first she required instant compliance from him, and taught him, he says, to obey "word or lifted finger of father or mother simply as a ship her helm, not only without idea of resistance, but receiving the direction as part of my own life." Further, he was as an infant "summarily whipped, if he cried, or was troublesome in any way." This

quality of submission to the will of another is a difficult thing so to inculcate in a child that it shall leave no trace of sullenness or rebellion. That Ruskin's mother performed her part wisely is shown by the claim he constantly makes—that the first thing to be accomplished in education is "to teach obedience at any cost, and with any kind of compulsion rendered necessary by the nature of the animal, be it dog, child, or man." In the St. George's Company, which it was his hope to establish for the purpose of carrying out with modifications the socialistic ideas of Plato in "The Republic" and of Sir Thomas More in the "Utopia," he states that the first essential point in the education given to the children was to be "the habit of instant, finely accurate, and totally unreasoning obedience to their fathers, mothers, and tutors."

Notwithstanding this recognition in later years of the duty he owed, and that all others should yield, to the discipline of obedience inculcated by parents toward their children, and society in deference to those laws and manners that regulate civilized beings, we yet find the child Ruskin opposing his mother in one essential matter, according to old ideas of the genesis of all education. We suppose that, with the aid of his mother, he had learned his alphabet and to spell much as other children do; but certainly in the matter of reading the process was unique, for he states:

"The mode of my introduction to literature appears to me questionable, and I am not prepared to carry it out in St. George's schools without much modification. I absolutely declined to learn to read by syllables, but would get an entire sentence by heart with great facility, and point with accuracy to every word in the page as I repeated it. As, however, when the words were once displaced, I had no more to say, my mother gave up, for the time, the endeavor to teach me to read, hoping only that I might consent in process of years to adopt the popular system of syllabic study. But I went in to amuse myself in my own way, learned whole words at a time, as I did patterns, and at five years old was sending for my 'second volumes' to the circulating library. This effort to learn words in their collective aspect was assisted by my real admiration of the look of printed type, which I began to copy for my pleasure as other children draw dogs and horses."

Ruskin's parents kept but one servant, his nurse Anne, who, let it be said in passing, had been his father's also, and who from the age of fifteen to seventy-two—from girlhood to old age—had lived in the family, loving and beloved. In accord with Mrs. Ruskin's general principles of first treatment, neither she nor the nurse did more than guard her boy "with steady watchfulness from all avoidable pain and danger," and for the rest "to let him amuse himself, as he liked, provided he was neither fretful nor troublesome." But the "law was that he should find his own amusement." Left dependent upon himself for entertainment, the child's active mind forced into play habits of observation that usually lie dormant and made him take cognizance of the ordinary things around him. Thus he states that, in his babyhood, "I could pass my days contentedly in tracing the squares and comparing the colors of my carpet; examining the knots in the wood of the floor, or counting the bricks in the opposite houses"; or "what patterns I could find in bed-covers, dresses, or wall-papers to be examined."

In such fashion the first four formative years of Ruskin's life were spent in Hunter Street, Brunswick Square, London, where his parents resided. Then the father, finding himself well enough established in business—he was a wholesale wine merchant and had vineyards in Spain—to permit the change, bought the lease of a house at Herne Hill in Surrey, four miles from St. Paul's Cathedral. This villa was "three-storied, with garrets above, from the windows of which a lovely view could be obtained of the Norwood Hills on one side and the valley of the Thames on the other. . . . The back garden was renowned over all the Hill for its pears and apples, . . . a strong old mulberry tree, a tall white-heart cherry-tree, a black Kentish one, and an almost unbroken hedge all around of alternate gooseberry and currant bushes decked in due season with magical splendor—of abundant fruit: fresh green, soft amber, and rough-bristled crimson bending the spinous branches; clustered pearl and pendant ruby joyfully discoverable under the large leaves that looked like vine."

This charming garden became at once to Ruskin's mother a medium for training her son in further self-denial. She interdicted him from gathering any of the fruits, unless under her own supervision. This caused him to say later that "the difference of primal importance which I observed between the nature of this garden and that of Eden, as I had imagined it, was that, in this one, *all* the fruit was forbidden, and there were no companionable beasts." But, like the rest of the mother's restrictions, this too had its compensations—one of which was the infantile pleasure of being allowed to gather on his father's birthday the gooseberries for the first gooseberry pie of the year. Indeed, the various gatherings of each kind of fruit were made a sort of "harvest festival"; and the further good in the apparent severity, Ruskin asserts, was that "in the at last indulgent æras, the peach, which my mother gathered for me when she was sure it was ripe, and the cherry pie, for which I had chosen the cherries all round, were, I suppose, of more ethereal flavor to me than they could have been to children allowed to pluck and eat at their will." Another recompense was, he claimed, "an extreme perfection in palate obtained, not only by careful restriction of fruit, but the utter prohibition of cake, wine, sweetmeats, and fine preparations of food" given him in his early years.

The thought of this lonely child, wandering like another tenant of Paradise among forbidden fruit, is not brightened by the consideration of a plan of study conscientiously carried on by his mother. In pursuance of her idea to have her son a clergyman, she inaugurated a series of Bible exercises when he was five years old. This lesson took place at nine o'clock in the morning. During this task, mother and son read alternate verses, she watching for every intonation of voice and correcting mistakes till she made him understand. To show how persistent Mrs. Ruskin was to have every syllable and every accent correct, he relates a struggle between them concerning the accent of the "of" in the lines—

> "Shall any following Spring revive
> The ashes of the urn?"

It was only after three weeks' striving that the mother got the accent lightened on the "of" and placed on "the ashes" satisfactorily to her mind. "But," writes her son, "had it taken three years she would have done it, having once undertaken to do it."

In this manner, year after year, Ruskin's mother went through the Bible with her son, from "the first verse of Genesis to the last verse of the Apocalypse." Her notion was that "if a name was hard, the better the exercise in pronunciation; if a chapter was tiresome, the better lesson in patience; if loathsome, the better lesson in faith that there was some use in its being so outspoken." He was required to learn a few verses by heart, or repeat something of what was already known to make sure it was not forgotten; and, with the sacred text thus gradually acquired from the first word to the last, his mother insisted on his learning "the whole body of the fine old Scottish paraphrases," to the melodious verse of which, together with the Bible itself, he says, "I owe the first cultivation of my ear in sound."

Mrs. Ruskin had the wisdom never to give him more in one day than he could easily accomplish by noon. Even when Latin grammar came, in his seventh year, to supplement the Psalms, he was his own master for at least an hour before dinner and during the whole afternoon. Neither did she burden his mind, until a later period, with studies supposed to belong to the ordinary child's curriculum. She did not consider arithmetic of sufficient importance to teach it to her son while young—a proceeding that he considered eminently proper, for he indorses it in the following language: "As regards arithmetic, children's time should never be wasted nor their heads troubled with it. The importance attached to it is a mere filthy folly, coming of the notion that every boy is to become a banker's clerk and then a banker."

English grammar was another study that Mrs. Ruskin repudiated, leaving it for later tutoring. Ruskin in after years put himself on record in favor of this policy by claiming that he was "at total issue with most preceptors as to the use of gram-

mar to anybody." But, along with the Bible-reading and a verse of paraphrase, he had always to memorize a "Latin declension or a portion of a verb and eight words of vocabulary." The study of geography he was allowed to follow for some years in his own way, which was by map-drawing and finding out about places that interested him in his reading or travels. As for history, it was ignored by his mother in her teachings, and never thought of by him beyond what he gleaned from Scott's "Tales of a Grandfather."

That a mother capable of giving long hours of toil to teaching her son how to read properly would be careful as to what he read, must go without saying. This was true of his Sunday books, which consisted of such works as Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress," Quarles's "Emblems," Foxe's "Book of Martyrs," and the like, with which, as a profane indulgence, was permitted Bingley's "Natural History." The result of this Lord's Day reading, the equally tiresome (to a child) Sunday church-service, the forbidden innocent week-day pastimes, and, when at Perth on visits to his aunt, the cold Sabbath dinner, led Ruskin's mind to a tendency opposite to the one his mother desired. The first day of the week became hateful to him, both to pass and to look forward to.

But the gloom of Sunday, with its Puritan restrictions and pious readings, was the only real trial that Ruskin had to endure. His mother, although she left him on other days to find his own amusements, knew how he was spending his time and helped to foster that love of Nature which she saw in him at an early date. She would walk with him through the quiet country lanes to gather the first buds of the hawthorn, or have him beside her in the garden while she pruned and attended to the flowers and fruit-trees. Here he watched the ways of plants, "staring at them or into them and laying up treasures of seeds by way of pearls and beads."

Mrs. Ruskin, noticing the rapt attention her son gave to plants, procured for him a volume of Curtis's "Botanical Magazine"; but he found that, "though the admirable plates of it did their work and taught me much, I cannot wonder that

neither my infantine nor boyish mind was irresistibly attracted by the text." He wrote, when he was fifty, "Proserpina," which embodied his own researches into plant life, and in which he asserts that in his fifth year he had got at one of the principles enunciated there—that "the seeds and fruits of trees were for the sake of the flowers, not the flowers for the fruit."

Simultaneously with the possession of the book on botany, Ruskin had one given to him on mineralogy, and he says it "was enough for me seriously to work at." So enthusiastic was he in this study that when only twelve years of age he began a "Mineralogical Dictionary," written in his own system of shorthand—with crystallographic signs. Later his interest was excited by the mountain formations of Switzerland, and at fifteen he had published two papers on "Inquiries on the Causes of the Color of the Water of the Rhone" and "Facts and Considerations on the Strata of Mont Blanc." Concerning these articles, Ruskin tells how he and his mother were sitting together when the father rushed into the room, with wet and flashing eyes, holding in his hand the proof of the first of his son's writing ever set up in type. "It's—it's—only print," said he, in answer to their questions as to the cause of his excitement. "Alas!" is Ruskin's comment; "how much the *only* meant!"

The first start in geology, the study of which formed so large a part of Ruskin's life, came from, he tells us, some fifty specimens—his first collection of minerals, bought for him by his father; and anent this he says: "No subsequent possession has had so much influence on my life. I studied Turner at his own gallery, . . . but the little yellow bit of copper ore from Coniston and the garnets from Borrowdale were the beginning of science to me—which never could have been otherwise acquired."

At the same period of his life that he was mastering the two sciences of botany and mineralogy, the training of Ruskin was carried on in the other special departments of culture in which he has won most fame, namely, the highest imaginable analytical and synthetical literary criticism of the arts of paint-

ing and architecture possible—and perfect drawing necessary comprehensively to illustrate the same by the pencil of the author. He learned drawing at a very early age. In the book previously spoken of, begun by Ruskin when he was seven years old, the ambitious title-page calls for "four volumes, with copper-plate illustrations;" and along with the letter-press we find one fairly good picture by him entitled "Harry's Mountain Road."

The childish handling of the pencil by Ruskin enabled him, at the age of five, to imitate printed letters; at eleven, to copy with a hair-line pen and with astonishing accuracy, line for line and dot for dot, the wonderfully etched illustrations of Grimm's "Fairy Tales," by the immortal George Cruikshank; and at fourteen, after two years' teaching, to sketch from Nature in the manner of J. M. W. Turner and Samuel Prout. The love of Turner, whose illustrations of Rogers's "Italy" had filled his boyish heart with enthusiastic admiration, ended as all the world knows with that wonderful book, "Modern Painters," which had for its *raison d'être* what he held to be his mission in life—"to proclaim the beauties in the works of others—not his own."

The study of architecture, for which from his childhood he had a passion, was as strong as his worship of Nature. This taste was encouraged by his parents, who took him, from the age of four, along with them on their yearly trips made for recreation. In this way he saw much of the splendid architectural wonders of England, Scotland, Switzerland, France, and Italy. On these journeys his father, an art lover and connoisseur of painting, as well as a clever amateur artist himself, made it a practise to stop at such places in Great Britain where castles or baronial halls with picture-galleries were located. Of course, when abroad they enjoyed together the museums and galleries of the Continent. Ruskin's earliest drawings from Nature were views of Dover and Tunbridge Castles and of Battle Abbey.

It is not the present purpose of the writer to treat of the books of Ruskin, whose classic English, it is held, has never been

surpassed, or the art work that has given him, as has been said, a place "among the most brilliant executants of the pencil, the most sensitive and delicate of sketchers, and most exquisite of colorists." But here should be recalled the fact that in his early manhood Ruskin continued to study art practically, in order to make himself thoroughly proficient as a draughtsman, under such artists as Copley, Fielding, and James D. Harding, the last named of whom was a pupil of Prout, to whom the author of "Modern Painters" has repeatedly recognized his own indebtedness and whom he ever eulogized.

The Herne Hill garden, with the long daily hours wisely granted by the devoted mother of Ruskin for meditation or study therein and the absence of all outside disturbing influences, became his educator; for of childish school-days he had none. He never went to a "Mother Dummy" school, or other institution of learning, such as a public school or boarding-school. When fifteen years old, in order to prepare him for entrance into the University of Oxford, he was sent for a few hours daily to a neighboring private school kept by the Rev. Thomas Dale, lecturer on English literature at King's College, London. Besides this school teaching, a tutor was engaged to coach him in mathematics, Latin, German, French, and the use of the globes. After two winters of such preparation, Ruskin was sent to Oxford in October, 1836, to matriculate, and in the following January was entered by his father at Christ Church College, Oxford, as a gentleman-commoner. Here, in his velvet cap and silken gown, both he and his mother felt that "one was thrice a gownsman in a flowing gown."

At Oxford, as at home, the maternal care still followed Ruskin; for his mother accompanied him there, taking lodgings for herself on High Street. He made it a custom to be with her every evening to seven o'clock tea, tell her whatever had pleased or profited him during the day, and stay with her till the great bell "Tom" of Oxford, in Christ Church Tower, rang in the undergraduates for the night. On Saturdays the father came and stayed over Sunday.

What Mrs. Ruskin dreaded most for her son was an accident

or sudden illness; and as she had always been, except in extreme cases, his physician as well as nurse, she thought it prudent to be at hand, near his college, in the event of either. This caution was justified by the fact that Ruskin did break down from overstudy, had hemorrhage of the lungs just before the "last push" in January, 1840, and was ordered to stop reading and go to Italy.

A steady head, brave heart, and quiet cheerfulness will carry man or woman through many difficulties; and it was the possession of these that gave the mother of Ruskin an ascendency over her son that continued through infancy, childhood, and manhood, and remained with him after her death. They also enabled Mrs. Ruskin to nurse back to health her son, who when convalescent returned to his Alma Mater, and added to his former glory of Newdigate Prizeman by becoming—"A Graduate of Oxford."

Indeed, the whole tenor of Ruskin's life, as fashioned for him by his mother, was conducive to bringing out and educating the best that was in him, not only mentally but morally. If she were strict in demanding obedience to her discipline, she gave him in turn that greatest and most priceless of all blessings—a perfect home: without which, let it be said, all child training and culture, carried as they may be to the heights in all possible directions, are apt to result in failure. But, best of all good fortune for Ruskin, his father and mother had married for love and lived on terms of such perfect peace and mutual contentment that he claims: "I never had heard my father's or mother's voice once raised in any question with each other, nor seen an angry or even slightly hurt or offended glance in the eyes of either." Added to this was the greatest conceivable filial affection on the part of the son for his parents. He consulted them from even his prattling childhood days in all things, and continued the most perfect confidence in their judgment until death separated this most idealistic of families. No greater proof can be adduced in this direction than the fact that whatever he wrote, whether prose or verse, was, as soon as composed, submitted to their approval. For instance, while the

"Modern Painters" was in course of literary construction, Ruskin himself narrates that "what I wrote during the afternoon and evening, I read next morning to papa and mama, as a girl shows her sampler, . . . as I had done my second volume, *greatly to my father's and my mother's delight.* They used to cry a little, at least my father did, over the pretty passages when I read them after breakfast." The curiosities of literature and the amenities of authors can show nothing, in the whole domain of the making of books, to equal this beautiful, this delightful picture of genius before the throne of Motherhood.

Another trait of Ruskin's mother, which added incalculably to the happiness of home, and one all too seldom met with, was a breadth of mind that allowed her to overcome prejudices that interfered with the desires and pleasures of her husband or her son; yet, as Ruskin says, "nothing was ever promised me that was not given; nothing ever threatened me that was not inflicted; and nothing ever told me that was not true." With much tact, or rather good judgment, she suppressed her own earnest wishes to have her son a clergyman, and entered heartily into those studies that interested him and showed her the naturalistic bent of his boyish inclinations. Again, although she herself had very decided notions about the wickedness of dramatic representations, she permitted the theater to her boy when twelve years old, in company with his father—and even accompanied them herself, in Paris, to the opera. To her Puritan mind, Jean Jacques Rousseau could not have appeared an admirable character, but her husband and son thought much of him as a philosophical and educational writer; and when in Paris they visited his house at Charmettes, she went with them. About this Ruskin writes: "I think it was extremely pretty and free-hearted of my mother to make these reverent pilgrimages to Rousseau's house."

With books it was the same. The Bible was her own favorite volume, but she listened to whatever her husband chose for the customary after-dinner reading, enjoying in this fashion Fielding and Smollett, Byron and Burns, as well as Scott, Dick-

ens, and the "*Noctes Ambrosianæ*." Shakespeare, Byron, and Burns were allowed to lay open on the table all day for her son's reading.

These little side glimpses of what John Ruskin's mother was to him, in her capacity of home-maker and home teacher, have been given with the thought that they may afford some insight into the character of the master himself. And the purpose of this article will have been achieved if it shall aid in making some of those who hold the name of Ruskin in love and admiration also honor his mother and cause her example to be imitated. For, although Ruskin's genius would doubtless, under any circumstances, have found—as genius always does—means for its expression, yet it is to the wise, careful, capable, tactful mother that the world owes much of what he became: a teacher of the loftiest morals, and an example of the highest and purest type of cultured manhood.

ALICE HYNEMAN SOTHERAN.

New York.

CRIMINALITY IN CHILDREN.

II. AS TO CURES.

THE case being thus stated, the question arises: What can be done to remedy the evil—to eradicate crime, if this be at all possible? Space will permit only a few suggestions, such as are obvious from what has been said before.

We ought to be settled in our mind about one sad fact to begin with, *viz.*, that there exists such a thing as a *criminal class*, many members of which are practically unredeemable, and which a healthy society casts out as it casts out lepers—without, however, being justified in condemning them. The Italian criminologist and psychologist, Lombroso, has introduced the term "born criminals." A majority of imbeciles will forever remain public burdens, and a certain percentage, small but distinct, will never outgrow criminal tendencies. Says Martha Louise Clark:* "Since my experience as a teacher of imbeciles began, perhaps twenty of my boys have gone out to work for themselves. Fitted by their education to do some work well, under patient direction, they are *still*, so far as I can learn, for the greater part of the time, inmates of the infirmaries, working for a while, and then, as one of them told me, 'resting.' Of course, an occasional child makes a moderate success of life, but only an occasional one. The great majority are certain sooner or later to become public burdens, usually after they have married an equal or inferior in intellect and brought into the world children who are a shade less desirable members of the community than the parents." The report of the "Braunschweiger Hilfsschule für geistesschwache Kinder" (School for Weak-minded Children)† shows that the children dismissed from the institution rarely attain self-dependence: "Sie bedürfen sehr der Leitung; es ist immer ein Procentsatz unrettbarer, gar nicht

*THE ARENA. November, 1894.

†Die Kinderfehler. II., 4.

erwerbsfähiger; andere fast nur in sehr untergeordneten Thätigkeiten."

We may apply to this psychical phenomenon the general term "degeneration," remembering that we include two distinct types under this term: the pathological type and the savage type. Degeneration signifies a deviation from the normal type as this has been evolved through the centuries of civilizatory progress and differentiation. Such deviation naturally implies a lesser degree of stability and power of procreation. It means the loss of those hereditary qualities that have differentiated and fixed the characteristics of the race so that it attained permanency, and consequently a decreased capability of competition in the normal struggle for existence. Indeed, the unredeemably deficient would die out but for intermarriage with individuals of a more normal type, as sterility is a recognized effect of inherited deficiency.

This suggests the desirability of a timely recognition, management, and *isolation* of the unredeemable by the agency of organized society. Isolation, however, must not be understood to mean punishment in this case any more than it does in the case of people suffering from infectious diseases. We may insist upon smallpox patients being isolated in special hospitals without desiring to brand the unfortunate inmates as outcasts, or connecting the idea of punishment with their confinement. The time will come, let us sincerely hope, when sin will be understood to mean misfortune; when moral defects will be treated like intellectual and physical defects: that is to say, as pathological cases, symptomatically, and not as punishable crimes. Our penal system is sadly in need of reform on the basis of psychological and anthropological science. All these problems are in their very essence pathological, or in another sense educational problems.*

It is almost needless to say that, even aside from the demand of isolation, there ought certainly to be special schools, or at any rate special classes, established for the education of

*Cf. also La Mettrie: "L'Homme-Machine," published 1748!

children that are in any marked degree deficient. To lay the burden of their education upon the ordinary schools is a grave error. Not only do they constitute an ever-present danger of infection and contagion for the healthy children, but their own peculiar needs can be best attended to where all educational efforts are adjusted to that end. We ought to save as many as can be saved.

There is another side to this. Bohannon (*loc. cit.*) shows that advantageous traits are inherited more than twice as frequently as disadvantageous ones. This indicates greater vitality on the part of those who are in greater conformity with the fixed type of civilization. It points on the one hand to the fact of a natural weeding out of degenerates, as shown before, and on the other hand to the great blessing of the influence of better environment and education. Bohannon proves that less and less deficient children may be observed to be born in a family of degenerates as the biological conditions of the parents improve. He calls this the *triumph of environment over heredity.*

The change at adolescence may also join in as a helpful factor, *viz.,* when good (*i. e.,* race-preserving) hereditary traits should happen to crop out at this period so as to defeat the degenerative effect of the bad and of the environment. This possibility may explain some seemingly miraculous regenerations.

But the problem under discussion is only one part of the great *social problem* of elevating the masses. The creation of healthy social conditions will go a great way toward the elimination of crime. For the sake of illustration of at least one factor in this process, I will quote from a very suggestive article by Mr. Jacob A. Riis, on "Playgrounds for City Schools":*

"It may have been a coincidence that the rough gang of boys which used to disgrace that block on Second Ave., and occasionally did much mischief, has not been heard from since the old graveyard became a playground. It is a fact, anyhow,

Century Magazine. September, 1894.

and my experience with Poverty Gap makes me feel quite certain that there is a connection between the two things. Over there it used to be next to impossible to go through the block without being pelted with mud by the ragamuffins who very early developed into toughs of a peculiarly vicious stamp. They half killed two policemen, and out of sheer malice beat to death the one boy in the block with a good reputation. The neighborhood was as desolate as it was desperate; but when the wicked old tenements were torn down, and a public playground was opened on the site of them, with swings and sandheaps and wheelbarrows and shovels, the whole neighborhood changed as if by magic. There were no more outrages."

Here is a wide field for the social reformer and for progressive city boards!

Then there is need of a systematic fight against *intemperance,* the great evil; but care must be taken that this fight do not degenerate into ill-advised fanaticism and immoderate infringements of personal liberty for which there is no scientific basis and justification. There must be an intelligent and civilized warfare, such as will remove the real causes of intemperance. What we must principally fight against are the conditions of malnutrition and fatigue, of nervous depletion and degeneracy, which will produce an undue craving for stimulants.

Malnutrition and fatigue are the two great curses of suffering humankind. Well said Ingersoll, in his lecture, "What Must We Do to be Saved?"—"I believe in the gospel of good health, and I believe in the gospel of good living. . . . Let us have good food, and let us have it well cooked; it is a thousand times better to know how to cook it than it is to understand any theology in the world."

And let us elevate the condition of woman. The woman question does indeed need most serious attention. The overburdened women in the lower and middle classes ought to have their just share of the higher aspirations of life, such as will lift them on the plane of modern civilization. The problem of how to relieve woman of the burden of home duties, without destroying home life and atrophying her sacred functions, is a very difficult one; but we must bend our energies to its solu-

tion, so that our wives may preserve that precious physical strength which is requisite for blissful motherhood, and so that they may have time and energy left to devote themselves intelligently to their prime office—the education of our children in the home. Let us remember the wretched condition of most of our working-girls, from whose ranks the mothers of the poorer classes are recruited. Miserable wages, overwork, temptations of all kinds, are their lot; vain and unwholesome amusements relieve their cheerless existence only to cast a peculiarly dismal light upon their pitiful situation. But too true is what Hall Caine, in "The Christian," makes *John Storm* say on the present position of working-women, upon whose well-being so much of society's welfare rests.

In the upper classes we may discover a high degree of overstimulation and frivolity. How few of the well-to-do women of to-day are capable of fully living up to the functions of motherhood, or are willing to do so! Most of them are victims of fashion and "society." The irrational dress of women is alone responsible for many defects in children, and thus of many burdens to society. During adolescence, when girls (and boys, too) need the most careful consideration and most hygienic attention, they are most mercilessly chained down to their school desks, to pass their examinations, to graduate at the risk of studying to exhaustion. Such is the decree of vanity and morbid ambition; so will it tradition and fashion, which walk without remorse over thousands of ruined constitutions. Let us not forget that the problem of ethical strength is at the same time a problem of physical health—of normal nervous activity.

It must further be demanded that our boys and girls should be educated for the duties of parenthood. Away with that pharisaical prudishness which prompts us to ignore in the education and instruction of our children one of the most essential elements of the healthy and moral life—a prudishness that anyway has nothing in common with genuine purity, but that causes countless sufferings. When it comes to marriage, let this holy union be based upon love rather than commercial and

"society" considerations; and make sure that the biological conditions, the transmissible factors, in the contracting parties be healthy and advantageous. Not only the sins, but even the conventional follies, of the parents are visited on the children—unto the third and even the fourth generation.

The key-note of salvation is not a crusade of emotion, but a reform of public and private education: a rational education of the masses, of the classes, of the public, of the individual, of the parents, of the children. What we need is a new moral conscience, a new spirit and enthusiasm, a renewed sense of our tremendous responsibility. "He who wrongs the child commits a crime against the State," says *John Storm*. The problem of popular education is, consequently, one of the most serious tasks of the State. But the more essential portion of *that* education whose most beautiful fruit is an ethical character is within the domain of home influences. This is a great subject, which here can be alluded to only in passing. We must not persuade ourselves, by the way, to think that the homes of the so-called better classes offer in all instances a wholesome environment. Those homes where father and mother intelligently coöperate are unfortunately quite rare; generally, one will destroy what the other builds. And let us understand that nothing is so confusing to the moral standard of our children, nothing will more piteously and effectually destroy their simple and natural confidence, than disruption between those who ought to stand before their children's minds as ideals, if not of perfection, at least of noble aspiration and effort—of unity, harmony, and love.

And which are the "better" classes? The wealthy? But wealth, as the result of success in business, is not infrequently due to a wide and elastic conscience. Can we measure our commercial system with a rigorous moral standard? It has been claimed that nowadays no business can be successfully operated without systematic lying. This may be an exaggeration; but the assertion is not so very wide of the mark. In the homes of the representatives of this commercial order, outwardly refined as they may seem, there is no genuinely moral atmosphere—there can be no healthy child-life.

Even where wealth is the result of thoroughly honest effort, this effort may be so excessive, as the effect of a mad competition, that an overstimulation and a depletion of the nervous system are produced, and the rush of business may leave the unfortunate millionaire a nervous wreck. Under such circumstances, children may at the outset inherit nervous defects, and their development, while seemingly normal for a time, may contain the germ of degeneration. The commercial spirit that rules our age does not offer an unqualifiedly healthy environment for the rising generation. At best it imposes upon us the spurious standard of outward success in the place of the ethical standard of wisdom and moral perfection.

Even in the really good homes—and fortunately there will ever be a majority of these, among rich and poor—moral education is a subtle, difficult task. We must first of all study and understand each child, in order to develop him along his own individual lines and to adjust our measures to his individual needs. No more fatal error can be made than to judge him from the standpoint of the adult. Children are by no means little men and women, who can think and feel as their elders do, whose standards are essentially like ours, or who can be expected to appreciate in every instance our adult standards and motives. Children are altogether different beings—they represent in their evolution from infancy to manhood and womanhood a series of epochs that correspond broadly to the periods in which the race has gradually emerged from barbarism and attained civilization. If this development is in any way interfered with or arrested, they may remain in a condition or stage that unfits them for the normal civilized life, and that will eventually give rise to abnormal and perchance directly criminal tendencies.

Children of school age are not moral beings, strictly speaking; to them, few things are in themselves either right or wrong. Conscience is not an early growth: it is the outcome of a slow process of maturing. A sane mind is the product of rational education. Where this is wanting, the mind remains more or less irrational. Children live in the present. To

them, the future is only a dream of wild possibilities. They do not understand, neither are they particularly concerned in, the logical consequences of their actions. This is, indeed, the paradise of childhood: the age of inexperience. Let us not unduly hasten their development, lest by impatience or indiscretion we destroy precious germs. Yet how often do we not make the attempt to fashion child-nature in accordance with our own foolish notions; how often do we not misunderstand our children, and misinterpret their motives—and treat them as sinners when they were but children?

Let us be reminded once more of the greatest factor in the education of young children: their imitativeness and suggestibility. It has been seen how dangerous is the unwholesome example. We must fortify our children against the evil influences of spurious suggestions by developing in them the art of independent thinking.* The power of independent thinking will enable the child early to distinguish between helpful and spurious suggestions.

We must also endeavor to win and retain our child's confidence so that he may in each and every case come to us, and to us alone, with his troubles and problems to seek advice and consolation. By converting our children into our friends, and making their friends our friends, so far as this is feasible, there will be established a unity of educational influences. The school life of the child ought to be but a phase of his home life, or a widening of the home circle. But, above all, let us surround our children with an atmosphere of noble inspirations. Let us make the home a place where love and righteousness reign supreme. Let us remember: good examples are better than precepts. Then we may hope that iniquity will gradually

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*"One very important thing for the schools to teach is the art of independent thinking. History is replete with the records of delusions, evil scares, crazes, and stampedes; and one who reads these records, and sees their parallel in a thousand phenomena of every-day life, cannot help wishing for some process in education that will prepare men to see *all* possible aspects of a thing, enable them to play a sort of mental solitaire until these aspects are classified, and make them self-reliant enough to trust to their own judgment after it is formed."—*M. H. Small (loc. cit.)*.

disappear from this world. Let us hope that Ingersoll was right when he said: "I believe we are growing better. I don't believe the wail of want shall be heard forever; that the prison and the gallows will always curse the ground. The time will come when liberty and law and love, like the rings of Saturn, will surround the world; when the world will cease making these mistakes; when every man will be judged according to his worth and intelligence."

MAXIMILIAN P. E. GROSZMANN, PD.D.

Milwaukee, Wis.

(*Concluded.*)

"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them.
They master us and force us into the arena,
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."
—HEINE.

The Arena

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THE PLACE AND THE MAN:

THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.*

THERE exists to-day in our federal government a certain officer of whom the world knows almost nothing, yet whose political power is exceeded only by that of the President and whose authority within certain limits is even greater than his. Neither the Constitution nor the statutes recognize or limit his authority. He is responsible to no State or section of country, to no political body—not even to any political party. This political creature, who is so powerful and unique, is the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

What is the explanation of the Speaker's peculiar position? Why has he such power? Whence comes it, and just how great is it? To answer these questions we must first know the

* The views expressed in this article are the result of the writer's personal observations and knowledge of the conditions prevailing in the House of Representatives, supplemented by the official records. In addition, these views have been confirmed in all important points by the Hon. Robt. C. Winthrop, Speaker in 1849-'51, and by the Speakers of the House for the last sixteen years, all of whom have been kind enough to discuss the question with me. The reader will understand, however, that these gentlemen are not made responsible in any way for anything that may appear in the following pages.—*E. C.*

Speaker's history; for there we shall find the key that will explain his whole character.

In the first Congress the Speaker had no control over legislation whatever, but was simply a presiding officer. If we turn to the records of this first Congress we shall see why this was. The House Journal shows that there were introduced in the first Congress just 143 bills. One hundred years later the number of bills introduced was 14,032. In these figures we discover the fundamental consideration that determines the Speaker's power; they show us why in the first Congress he had no political power, and why in the last Congress he has had so much.

In 1789, the United States was, from a material standpoint, an insignificant nation. Its few industries required but little legislation, and the bills introduced were so few that it was possible for the House as a whole to take up and act upon each bill. Consequently, there was no *need* for such a legislative officer as the Speaker. During the next fifty years, however, the country developed very fast. The number and magnitude of our industries multiplied so rapidly that the amount of legislation they required was several times what was necessary in 1789. And the business of the House increased so much that in 1837 it was necessary to revise the rules in order to expedite legislation. Now, with this increase of business there necessarily came an increase in the power of the committees—therefore of the power of the Speaker. Let me say a word as to why and how this is.

The House of Representatives is composed of human beings, and the amount of work they can do is limited; consequently, there will be a point where their business reaches such an amount that it is impossible for the House personally to investigate and consider the whole of such business. To meet this difficulty the bills are divided into certain classes, and each class of bills is referred to a committee composed of individual members of the House. Each committee examines the bills referred to it and then reports them back to the House, their reports embodying all the information necessary for the

House to form an intelligent opinion on each bill. And, for the very reason that the House is itself unable to make the investigation of each bill, it has to rely more or less upon the investigation made by the committees and embodied in their reports. This gives the committees great control over legislation; and over these committees the Speaker has great control, because he appoints them. The amount of control exercised by the committees over legislation—therefore the amount of control exercised by the Speaker through the committees—depends almost wholly upon the amount of business the House has to transact. If there are few bills introduced the House has time to go over all of them, and the reports of the committees are relatively immaterial. If there are very many bills, then the House has time to consider only the most important ones; and on the others it simply does what the committees recommend, without investigating the bills at all.

By 1837, we know from these changes in the rules expediting business that the Speaker had, through his committees, begun to have some material control over legislation. But he was still regarded chiefly as a moderator rather than as a legislative officer. By 1849, however, legislation had so increased in amount that the active influence of the Speaker over this legislation had become distinctly recognized. For sixty years this influence had been steadily growing, but so gradual and imperceptible had been its growth that no one can say exactly when it was that the Speaker ceased to be primarily a moderator and became first of all a legislator.

As has been shown before, whenever the business of the House becomes so great that it cannot all be attended to by the House itself that body has to rely on its committees to assist it. But there comes a time when even the House with its committees is incapable of passing upon all the legislation proposed; that is, the number of bills finally becomes so great that, even though the House considers only such bills as have been referred to the committees and reported back favorably, the bills thus favorably reported by the committees are still too numerous for the House to consider all of them. Consequently, even

after the House's agents, the committees, have gone over all the bills introduced and selected the best ones, there must still be another agent to go over these bills thus selected by the committees and pick out those bills that should have first consideration. This other agent is the Speaker. The method by which he exercises this authority is by not recognizing any member from the Chair, for the purpose of calling up or considering a measure, unless the member has previously submitted such measure to him and he has approved it.

It was a long time before the House was obliged to call on the Speaker thus to oversee the work of the committees. Mr. Winthrop, who was Speaker in 1849-'51, stated to the writer that in his day the Speaker did not attempt in the least to influence either legislation or debate by his control of the floor. In the next thirty years, however, the power of the Speaker increased remarkably, and his control of the floor became firmly established. The great civil war and the immense mass of legislation necessarily flowing from it, the rapid development of the Trans-Mississippi States, the flood of immigration to this country, and the increase in our population—all these made their influence speedily felt. Each Congress had more work to do than its predecessor; and the greater the amount of work the greater was the burden thrown on the Speaker. In these thirty years, from 1860 to 1890, the number of bills introduced in the House rose from 1,026 to 14,032! By this time, so great had become the press of legislation, the House was unable to dispose even of the most important bills if the minority party demanded even a moderate amount of debate on them. To meet this condition and to enable the House effectively to overcome minority obstruction, another important increase was made in the power of the Speaker. This was done in the Fifty-first Congress, through one of Mr. Reed's new rules, which gave the Committee on Rules the right to report at any time "on the order of business"—a right that carries with it the privilege of having the report considered at once. The Committee on Rules, it should be explained, is composed of five members, and the Speaker himself is chairman. The other

two majority members are personal friends of the Speaker, who will agree to any report he wishes to be made. If the Speaker wishes a measure to be voted on by the House, he has the Rules Committee bring in a report providing that the bill shall be voted on on a certain day at a certain hour. When this report is once presented to the House, all motions of whatever kind—except one motion to adjourn—are, by the rules, declared dilatory unless they tend directly to a final vote on the report. The result is that the report is adopted at once and the bill to which it refers is, at the appointed hour, voted on, no matter what business may have intervened or be then pending. No rule has ever been adopted by the House that gives the majority the complete control over its business that this does. Beside it, Mr. Reed's quorum-counting rule and all his other rules designed to prevent filibustering sink into insignificance. Under its operation the minority is absolutely helpless.

In this brief sketch of the Speaker's history we see clearly the explanation of all his legislative power. Congress is a body that has to deal with practical questions in a practical way. The business that we have given it to do has become so great that it is physically impossible for the House of Representatives to attend to its share alone and unaided. Besides its committees it has to employ an additional agent to help it. And it is perfectly natural that this agent should be one of its own members—one in whom it has confidence; one over whom it has complete control; and best of all, one who is many times more efficient than any other it could possibly select. Thus has the legislative power of the Speaker grown. What is the result of this growth to-day?

There are five different ways in which a Speaker can influence legislation. These are: (1) through the committees, (2) through recognition, (3) through his control of the order of business, (4) through his decisions from the Chair, and (5) through his personal influence.

(1.) *Committees.*—The greatest political power of the Speaker comes from his control over the committees of the

House. The power of the committees lies in the fact that substantially every bill or resolution of a legislative character introduced in the House must be referred to some committee, and before it can be passed it must be reported from such committee back to the House. If the committee chooses it may not report the bill, and in such a case the measure is practically dead. If it does report the bill, and reports it favorably, the bill is placed on the calendar, and has about one chance in three of being passed—as the House can pass in a Congress only about one-third of the bills reported to it by its committees. The power of the Speaker through these agencies lies in the fact that in making up the committees he can appoint whom he chooses. He can appoint men whom he knows to have the same views on certain subjects that he has, or who he knows will follow his instructions. Thus at the very beginning of a Congress he may determine a large part of the legislation to be enacted.

(2.) *Recognition.*—Of the bills reported favorably by the committees it is the Speaker who decides which shall pass. He does this by recognizing members to call up for consideration only such bills as he has approved; and the right of the Speaker to recognize whom he will is absolute. Not only is recognition the Speaker's most absolute power, but it is also the most continuous. It is exerted throughout the whole of the Congress, and determines nearly all the private and minor legislation. The use of the power of recognition, so far as it affects legislation, is modified by party stress and the personal wishes of the Speaker. In party fights the power of the Speaker through recognition rises immensely; for the minority is absolutely helpless even to avail itself of the rules, unless it can first get the recognition of the Speaker. The use of the right of recognition varies chiefly with his personal will. As a rule, the Speaker follows the wishes of his party in the House; yet, at the same time, if he chose he might easily defeat the will of the majority through his control of recognition. And as a matter of fact this has often been done, especially by Mr. Reed in the last Congress.

(3.) *Order of Business.*—Besides the control over the order of business, which the Speaker exerts through the committees and through recognition, he now, through the convenient and effective Committee on Rules, exercises a general control over all the important business of the whole Congress.

(4.) *Decisions from the Chair.*—The Speaker decides all questions of parliamentary procedure. In general he exercises but little influence over legislation through this power, yet there are times when this same power affects legislation in the highest degree. For instance, in the Fifty-first Congress, Mr. Reed by his parliamentary rulings determined a very large part of the legislation of that Congress. Mr. Blaine, while Speaker, by rulings directly opposite to the later ones of Mr. Reed, prevented his party from pushing the great "Force Bill" through the House.

(5.) *Personal Influence.*—The Speaker exercises a great deal of influence as a man. Of course, the amount of legislation thus determined depends entirely upon the Speaker's personal ability. This direct influence is exerted chiefly in controlling the reports of committees, and in deciding with other leaders what measures shall be passed during the Congress.

So much for the various methods in which a Speaker can control legislation. The amount of legislation thus controlled by the Speaker is affected (1) by custom, (2) the relations of the Speaker with the majority of the House, (3) his relations with the minority, (4) his relations with individual members, and (5) his personal character.

(1.) *Custom.*—If a Speaker were limited only by the written rules of the House, he could in twenty-four hours almost create anarchy in our whole federal government. But there are to the Speaker's power other limits than those set by written rules. A sense of fairness and honesty to all members and to all parties necessarily binds every man who attains this high office. Besides this, there exist in the House certain customs, which surround, interpret, and modify every written rule of the House, and thus limit materially the Speaker's power under the rules.

(2.) *The Speaker's Relations with the Majority in the House.*—The Speaker is the slave of the majority—and its absolute master. This is not a paradox, but simply a statement of the extremes of the Speaker's relations with his party. There are times when the Speaker completely thwarts the will of a majority of the House. He does this usually by having his committees never report bills favored by the House, or by refusing to recognize members to call up measures to which he is opposed. This was the case in the last Congress with the many resolutions for Cuban belligerency and independence, which Mr. Reed would not allow to be considered. However, while the Speaker can prevent the House from considering a bill, he can never force it to pass a bill against its wishes. On the other hand, all the Speaker's powers come from the majority, and are held only at its will. And whenever a majority of the House is sufficiently determined to pass a measure, it can always do so sooner or later, notwithstanding all the Speaker can do. However, the Speaker and his party almost always work together. When they disagree, nine times out of ten the Speaker has to yield.

(3.) *The Speaker's Relations with the Minority.*—The relations of the Speaker with the minority are usually important only in party struggles. A continued opposition by the minority has a very decided effect upon legislation. This is because the more a minority fights a Speaker the stronger he becomes, and the greater becomes his control over legislation.

(4.) *The Speaker's Relations with Individual Members.*—Congressmen, like other men, are human; and personal friendships enter largely into the business of the House. They have an important influence, however, only on private bills and minor public bills.

(5.) *The Personal Character of the Speaker.*—As the personal character of the men that become Speaker varies, so vary the amount and character of the legislative influence exercised by the different Speakers. One Speaker may influence legislation through his brains and intellect, and another through his energy and will power. One may follow his party, and his

successor may lead it. And this makes the position of Speaker almost a different office under each incumbent.

These are the general considerations that limit the legislative power of the Speaker. Within these limits, let us now try to ascertain approximately just how much legislation the average Speaker controls. To do this practically and specifically we shall divide the legislation of a Congress into three classes—(1) general appropriation and revenue bills, (2) other public bills, and (3) private bills—and then examine each class separately.

(1.) *General Appropriation and Revenue Bills.*—The general appropriation and revenue bills consist of the tariff, excise, and similar revenue bills and of the bills appropriating money for the general expenses of the government. This legislation is determined almost entirely by the committees, and what influence the Speaker has over it is solely through the committees and is very general. And through the committees the Speaker determines not so much what shall be done, but *how* it shall be done. For these bills in one form or another must be passed, as the maintenance of all our governmental machinery depends on them. It may be said that over the specific details of this legislation the Speaker exercises no control, but over the general policy of such legislation he exercises almost complete control.

(2.) *Public Bills, not General Appropriation or Revenue.*—Investigation shows that of all the public bills, not general appropriation or revenue, passed at an average long session of Congress, about sixty-seven per cent. are controlled directly by the Speaker; while in the case of the more important of these bills he determines when he appoints his committees not only what shall be the general policy of these bills but also whether or not there shall be any such bills, and, if so, what shall be their character. Therefore, as to public bills, not general appropriation or revenue, the Speaker actually controls two-thirds of them, and all of the important ones.

(3.) *Private Bills.*—One-half of all the private bills that pass are pension bills. These are considered at regular night sessions, and over these bills the Speaker exercises practically

no control. The other private bills, however, are invariably called up by unanimous consent, and over them the Speaker has complete control.

The foregoing is an average estimate of the amount of legislation controlled by the average Speaker. But it must always be remembered that this amount and its character will vary greatly with each Speaker. Nothing shows this better than the actual experience of the last three Speakers.

Mr. Carlisle, for instance, was considered by his associates as probably the most intellectual man in public life.* He was a deep thinker and close reasoner, logical and clear headed. He was also weak willed, timid, and not much of a fighter. Naturally, he controlled legislation very little through the more arbitrary powers of the Speaker. His influence was not that of the vigorous, active party leader but of a safe and sound adviser; a hard-working student, who impresses his views upon his associates not by his will power but by the intrinsic merits of these views.

Mr. Reed, on the other hand, had the reputation in the House of being above all a man of indomitable will—a man who would do anything and everything that he considered legitimate to accomplish his purpose. He was also a keen and active partizan, far sighted, plain spoken, and of fine common sense. And these qualities have shown themselves during all his three Speakerships. He has influenced legislation in every possible way. But his influence was not that merely of the wise counselor and the intellectual student: it was that of the bold, determined partizan chief, who by the stubborn weight of his will forces his views into the laws of the country. He has differed with the majority oftener—and finally forced and persuaded it to come his way—than any other man, probably, that has ever been Speaker. In all the different ways in which a Speaker can influence legislation, Mr. Reed controlled more than any other man that was ever elected to this office.

* It should be understood that, in discussing personally different Speakers of the House, the writer endeavors to give not his own opinions of these gentlemen but an impartial summary and consensus of the views of the Speakers' associates of both parties.

Following Mr. Reed's Speakership in the Fifty-first Congress came Mr. Crisp. Without the refined intellectual power of Mr. Carlisle or the stubbornness of Mr. Reed, he was yet in many ways a more ideal Speaker than either of these gentlemen. He was a man of strong mind who saw things clearly —vigorous and forceful, bright and quick, plain, sensible, and democratic. He was more of a party man than Mr. Carlisle and not so much of a partizan as Mr. Reed. He regarded himself when Speaker as more the agent of his party than did Mr. Reed—less as its tool than did Mr. Carlisle. His influence with his associates was comparatively small at first, but soon increased until it exceeded in some ways that of both Mr. Carlisle and Mr. Reed. Mr. Crisp's whole aim was to act not so much as the leader of his party in the House, but as its responsible agent, acting under its directions and in accordance with its views. Thus he impressed upon legislation not so much his own individual views (as did Mr. Reed) as he did those of his party generally.

We have now seen what the Speaker has been and what he is. What can we say as to his future? In the first place, we can see clearly that as a nation we shall continue to grow, and that consequently the power of the Speaker will continue to increase. This much we can almost certainly predict, unless some decided change is made in our legislative system. Such a change, to have the effect of reducing the Speaker's power, could be made only by restricting the introduction of bills or by authorizing other bodies to do a large part of the work now done by Congress. The first of these changes is impracticable for many reasons, while the second would be very difficult to make and probably never will be made until some able man is elected to Congress that will take up the question and press it to a favorable issue. There is a change, however, that might well be made in the Speaker's present position; that is, to make the Speaker more responsible to the people of the country and more directly under the control of the people's representatives. As it is now, great excitement and discussion attend the election of each President; yet every two years the people in electing their Representatives are, though scarcely

realizing it, electing an officer with power greater in many ways than that of the President. However, in time the people will learn more of the importance of the position, and members of the House in voting for Speaker will vote more according to the wishes of their constituents than as they individually think best. We saw evidence of this tendency only recently in the discussions among Democrats all over the country as to the relative fitness for the Speakership of the different Democratic leaders in the House. Nevertheless, from the indirectness of the Speaker's election and the peculiar character of his position, it is probable that members of the House will continue to have much discretion in his election.*

To bring the Speaker more thoroughly under the control of the Representatives in the House requires only the will of the Representatives themselves. By enlarging the Committee on Rules and selecting its members by ballot, or by requiring the Speaker to appoint representative members who will reflect the will of the majority as a whole, the House can make this great committee unify and control legislation in the way it thinks best and *not* in the way the Speaker thinks best. By creating a similar special committee on the order of private bills, these bills also could be selected for passage in accordance with the policy and views of the whole House. These changes, it seems to the writer, would be obviously advantageous and are perfectly practicable. However, whether or not in the near future these or any other changes will be made will depend chiefly upon the wishes and views of the Hon. David Bremer Henderson; for, as with many other high places in our government, the power and character of the Speaker's position are determined largely by the man that fills that office.

Gen. Henderson, of Iowa, who will be the next Speaker, is a man of strong individuality. He is Scotch by birth and possesses the characteristics of his race, with many of the traits

* Thus we shall probably continue to have the odd situation of the second officer in our government being practically created outside of the Constitution and yet elected in the very manner originally intended to apply to the election of the first officer—the President; that is, by a select body of men endowed with authority and discretion to choose coolly and deliberately the best man for the place. Such was the aim of our forefathers in creating the Electoral College.

of the Irishman. He has a good mind, is bright and quick and exceedingly resourceful. He is not as obstinate as Mr. Reed, but is strong willed and perfectly fearless. In the civil war he fought in the Union army until he lost a leg and had to retire. Naturally, he makes an exceptionally good fighter in the House. Except when his feelings and prejudices are aroused, as in party fights, he is liberal, broad-minded, sensible, self-controlled, and well balanced. He is industrious and trustworthy and made a good committee worker. Kind-hearted and generous by nature, he is, of course, very popular with his fellow-members, and has many good friends among the Democrats. Above everything else, however, Gen. Henderson is a *Republican.* A lover of justice and right, he believes these qualities are always to be found in the Republican party. Honest and sincere in his convictions on political issues, he nevertheless believes that on these issues his party is always right. He has plenty of backbone; yet he would never act independently of his party or oppose it, as Mr. Reed did. As a presiding officer Mr. Henderson will be prompt in his decisions and as impartial as his partizanship will allow him to be. As a party leader he will be strong and active, and if he errs at all it will be in being too aggressive. He is not considered as an especially deep student, and is a personal friend of Mr. McKinley. These facts together with his intense Republicanism will make him more inclined to follow and fight for the Administration's measures rather than to inaugurate a policy of his own.

What specific and detailed changes, if any, he will make in the Speaker's position no one can now say. If made at all, these changes will be at his instance, and what his intentions are in this regard he does not now care to declare. It has been said that he will in a general way as Speaker be less arbitrary than Mr. Reed and will make the specific change of enlarging the Committee on Rules and making it representative, in the manner heretofore outlined by the writer. Considering Mr. Henderson's strong belief in his party and his desire to see it united in its legislative policy, it would be but natural for him to make such a change; but whether he will or not, no one except

himself knows. One thing, however, is certain: Mr. Henderson will be in the best position to make changes that has ever been enjoyed by a Speaker of recent years. In the first place, he is not eligible for the Presidency, and the Speakership is the highest political honor he can ever receive in this country; consequently, he need not trim his political career as Speaker to meet the varying turns of popular feeling. In the second place, his election will be practically unanimous. Rivals he had at first, and many of them; but they have all retired in his favor, so that now he has a clear field. The result is that in selecting his committees and outlining their policy he will have neither friends to reward nor opponents to compliment. Mr. Henderson has thus an opportunity such as few Speakers have ever had—the chance to make the Speaker's position as perfect as he thinks it can be made, and with himself in that position to make an ideal Speaker.

We can safely assume, however, that whenever important changes in the Speaker's powerful position become really necessary or decidedly advantageous they will be made. This, it is true, may be done very gradually and slowly, for we must remember that many of the newer members of the House do not realize how great is the power of the Speaker—and yet how completely he is under their control. We must remember, too, that the power of the Speaker is constantly growing—that a limit on this power to-day that is advantageous and necessary was a few years ago superfluous and unwise. Yet when we consider the tenaciousness with which Congress retains all possible power and the intense dislike, both in and out of Congress, of one-man power, I believe we may safely trust the House to limit the Speaker with every wise and necessary safeguard. And I believe the inevitable and natural result of all the conditions that affect the Speaker's power, and of increased knowledge on the part of the people and their representatives of this power, will be in the end to give us a Speaker who, through his wisdom, responsibility, and efficiency, can in his place do more work and do it better than any other legislative officer in the world.

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THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA.

THE failure of the Joint High Commission of the United States and Canada to come to an agreement on questions submitted to that tribunal for consideration and settlement opens up afresh those questions for review, and their discussion is assuming international proportions of a frictionary character between the governments. The *Canadian Journal of Commerce,* in a recent issue, reviews their history, in periods from 1873-'85-'97-'98, in a discussion of marked ability, both in figures and in conclusion of statement.

Without following or criticizing the line of discussion on Canadian borders, let us review the situation from an American standpoint. The situation opens up to the political student a rich field for investigation and thought—one that, in the near future, is destined vitally to interest the governments and the people of the United States and Canada. In the latter country it has become a question of absorbing political interest. At a late election there, the lines of governmental policy were sharply drawn and ably discussed before the people. On one side was the conservative element, representing English tendencies and policies; on the other side, the liberal element, with American tendencies and policies. And by the votes of the people the reins of government were transferred from the *Conservative* to the *Liberal* party, which came into power.

A Canadian tariff commission, visiting centers of trade and population in Canada to learn the wishes of the people on the subject of better commercial relations with the United States, found Canadian sentiment at different points reflected as follows:

"Winnipeg, Man., Feb. 9, 1897.—The Dominion tariff commissioners arrived here from Ottawa and opened the tariff inquiry yesterday. A large delegation of farmers from all parts of the Canadian Northwest and Manitoba demanded that the tariff wall against the United States be obliterated and the

national policy of protection abolished. They urged that all articles of necessity to settlers be admitted free from the United States. They favored a policy of reciprocity; but if the United States would not reciprocate, they wanted the high-tariff wall taken down anyway."

In January, 1897, this tariff commission met at St. Johns to revise the tariff lists between Canada and England. At the same time Wilfrid Laurier, Premier of Canada; John Charlton, Liberal member of the Canadian government; Sir Richard Cartwright, and others, were in Washington to bring about better commercial relations between the two governments without the friction of tariff duties. They presented their claims with masterful power of language, facts, and figures. At the Capital they were met with suggestions of two difficulties in the way: first, that American farmers on the border line would oppose it; second, that the English government might oppose it. The first suggestion is briefly answered and emphasized in the fact that Canada annually imports from the United States in agricultural products about twice as much as it exports to the States; and with tariff barriers removed, or equalized in terms, the ratio would be largely increased in favor of the American farmer.

An open policy between the governments, such as I outline, would abolish all custom-houses, tariff duties, revenue collections, and all restrictions to as free, open trade between the United States and the Dominion of Canada as exists between the different States of this Union. I would remove that custom-line from the south to the north of Canada, and, as fast as circumstances justify, extend it to the Isthmus, for I believe this government is destined to be coextensive with the North American continent. I believe the United States governs its people better, and can govern this continent better, than any other government the sun shines upon rules its people. Under the benign influence of our government and the genius of our institutions, our people have become more prosperous in their ways of life, receive better wages for their labor, enjoy more happiness and comfort, and have better homes, riper op-

portunities for intellectual and spiritual development, and greater facilities for political advancement than are afforded by any other nation to any other people on the globe.

I am not discussing probabilities or possibilities of future acquisition of Canada by this government. I am contemplating the removal of custom-houses and collection districts between the United States and Canada for commercial purposes, in the belief that such removal would enhance the commercial interests of both political divisions of governmental power without disturbing the equilibrium of the governments themselves. I would make all products of the brain, muscle, wheel, loom, or soil interchangeable between the two governments with the freedom and facility accorded to our States, one with another. No tariff regulations should be a hindrance to free, open, unrestricted trade between the United States and Canada.

Is such a commercial union with Canada desirable; and, if desirable, is it practicable? It *is* desirable, because it opens up to us a home market for our surplus commodities, in exchange for raw materials and the necessaries of life, which we now import under tariff duties; while our merchandise only finds its way into Canadian markets under similar difficulties. This should not be. Look at the map and see the relative situation of the two countries, or rather, I should say, two political divisions; for we are really but one country, with an artificial dividing line running from east to west. This boundary line, running halfway across the continent on the forty-ninth parallel, is thought by most people to be an imaginary line; but it is more than that. It is a well-defined line. From the Lake of the Woods (this lake is seventy miles long by twenty-five wide) to the Pacific ocean, the English government has erected every two miles a cast-iron post, on which is this inscription: "Convention of London, Oct. 18th, 1818." Where the line crosses lake or water courses, if practicable, the government has erected a pile of stones several feet above high-water mark; and where the line goes through forests, trees are cut and a good path maintained—a rod wide and free from trees or underbrush. Alternating with the posts erected by

the English government, the United States has placed similar posts and mounds of stone, and they are kept in position by commissioners or superintendents employed for that purpose.

Most people do not realize the geographical extent of Canada—nor its resources or importance as a commercial factor among the nations of the world. In territorial area Canada is larger than the whole of the United States and Territories, excepting out-of-our-limits Alaska. It is thirty-nine times larger than England, Wales, and Scotland combined, seventeen times larger than France, sixteen times larger than the German Empire, twenty-two times larger than Italy, and is the fifth maritime nation of the world. It has a diversified climate, a hardy, industrious people, productive soil, and great mineral wealth; its fisheries are important, its timber valuable, its watercourses abundant, its public improvements considerable, its markets inviting. Yet between these vast areas of country, the United States and Canada, existing side by side for nearly four thousand miles, capable of a large, reciprocal trade, the sales of our manufacturing industries are comparatively small—probably less than one-half what they would be with tariff barriers removed. To increase the trade and enlarge the commerce between these two political divisions of country is the object to be gained by a commercial union. Canada is the natural market for our surplus commodities, and the United States the natural outlet for hers. The Canadian market is an inviting field for us to enter and possess. Her people are ripe for a commercial union on the basis indicated. Shall we longer fetter the industries and commercial exchanges of both nationalities by withholding the olive-branch of reciprocity, which Canada invites?

Let us have free, open, unrestricted trade between these two governmental powers, by removing the custom duties and tariff restrictions between the two peoples! These custom duties are a nuisance, hardly worth the forms of law—with the fuss and feathers necessary to enforce their observance. The amount of revenue annually collected on importations of goods and products from Canada into the United States is about $5,500,-

000 to $6,000,000, and the cost of maintaining these collection districts and collecting the revenues at different points in Canada is very heavy in proportion to the amount realized. Much of the revenue collected is based upon raw materials and the necessaries of life. Four commodities alone, which Canada imports from the United States and on which she levies a duty, amount to more than $14,000,000; while the same classes of goods that we import from Canada amount to over $18,500,000.

Is it not nonsense for these two national powers to continue this seesaw arrangement on commercial articles that both peoples must have as necessities of life? To me it seems not only folly but almost a crime for Canada to charge a duty on the $4,000,000 worth of coal she imports from the United States to keep her shivering population warm, and a worse folly for the United States to charge a duty on $3,000,000 worth of coal that New England imports from Nova Scotia, mostly for manufacturing purposes. Is it not strange that the United States should exact a duty on $6,000,000 worth of breadstuffs imported from Canada, and that the latter country should exact a duty on $8,000,000 worth of breadstuffs imported from the States? Why not end this commercial farce at once, by striking off tariff duties altogether, and agree to unrestricted reciprocity between these two governmental powers? Reciprocity is natural and would prove a great blessing to the people of both divisions of country. It would enlarge trade between the contracting countries and restrict trade with the rest of the world. Canada exports to other countries $100,000,000 and imports from other countries $113,000,000 annually—a big item of trade, most of which naturally belongs to the United States.

The United States can afford the loss of revenue, if it be a loss, amounting to less than ten cents *per capita* of our population, for the greater benefits that would accrue by the opening of an unrestricted market. Reciprocity of national dealing with Canada does not imply free trade, excepting as between the contracting parties; nor does it imply free goods from England to us—the great bugbear to reciprocity with Canada. The Dominion, although a dependency of Great Britain, has a

government of its own, comparatively free from English rule, though nominally subject to the imperial dynasty of the Queen. Canada makes her own laws, has her own revenue system, and maintains her tariff regulations against England as well as against the United States, though varying in degree and discriminations as to rates. The Canadian schedule of tariff duties varies from 12.6 per cent., as against the United States, to 22½ against England and 20 per cent. against other countries; while the free list of imported articles also varies from twenty to forty per cent. on importations against different countries. The highest discrimination of duty on imported articles and the smallest free list of imported articles are against England, and Canadian laws bind her as inexorably as they do the American or other governments to schedule lists and tariff rates. With tariff lines removed and enforced with the same rigor that custom duties are now enforced between Canada and England, the United States has nothing to fear from foreign importations free of duty through Canada, and England nothing to complain of. She loses no free market and is not embarrassed by new obstructions to her trade. England pays duties to get her goods into Canada and into the United States, and sends them to whichever market promises the best returns. Canada wants the products of our manifold industries, and with tariff restrictions removed would become a large purchaser of our goods—to the practical exclusion of English and other foreign importations into her markets.

This commercial field, vast and important as it is, Canada invites us to enter and possess as our common heritage, upon terms mutually advantageous to both governments. Her commercial, political, and national interests are naturally with the United States as the seat of imperial, beneficent governmental power. Under our Reciprocity Treaty between the years 1854 and 1866, our trade with Canada largely increased, showing a clean balance sheet in our favor. Mr. J. Ross Robertson, editor of the Toronto *Telegram,* speaking about tariff and reciprocity as affecting trade between Canada and the United States, said:

"If the old treaty of reciprocity between the United States and Canada, made in the fifties, had been continued to the present time, the United States would be in possession of not less than ninety per cent. of Canada's foreign trade. I am in hopes that, when our reciprocity commissioners go to Washington, this subject will receive such treatment as will enable our people to trade with the United States in numerous large lines unrestricted by the tariff. Canada would, of course, keep up her present protective tariff against England."

Mr. Butterworth, M.C. from Ohio, in a speech in Congress upon the McKinley tariff bill, with official figures before him to verify his statement, said: "During those ten years of reciprocal trade, so much depreciated and unfair as it was (I agree with my colleague) in many respects, we had the advantage of the balance sheet of over $50,000,000; and in the last forty years, in the trade between the Canadian provinces and ourselves, the balance in our favor is over $250,000,000."

Those figures, in the light of past experience, seem to preclude the necessity of further argument in favor of the union I am outlining. But it is not my purpose to go into details of figures growing out of, or as incident to, the free working of this system during the short period of experiment given it, when we had but a moiety of the manifold industries that have since been born to life under our progressive achievements. When the civil war closed in 1865, we had an enormous debt to pay, in the main by levying custom duties on foreign importations, and we adjusted our tariff regulations against all foreign nations to meet the emergency. At that time England, France, and Germany supplied the world with nearly all articles of mechanical skill, and we were dependent upon them for luxuries, if not for the necessities of life. The repeal of the Reciprocity Act with Canada was felt to be a great mistake by eminent statesmen at the time, but, as it was a sort of war measure for paying off the war debt, it was acquiesced in, under press of circumstances; hence its repeal.

Since its repeal, in the sweep of the lines of destiny, thousands of new industries in our land have sprung into life and developed beyond all comparison with anything before known

in the world, and we are no longer dependent upon foreign nations for what we eat, drink, or wear. We are an inventive, self-producing, self-supporting nation, able to stand alone against the world. Our skill and inventive faculties have set in swift motion shafts and spindles and wheels, and they are doing the work of millions of hands in quiet, easy ways. Their buzz is heard on every street-corner; their products lie upon our shelves; they fill our storehouses to repletion. As a nation we are seeking new markets for our manufactured articles and surplus commodities, pushing our energies to the ends of the earth to find an opening—and overlooking better markets at our very doors. As a nation we have expended thousands of dollars in courting and junketing distinguished representatives from foreign governments of the Latin States south of the equator, in order to open up better commercial relations with them. This was right, and a far-reaching national policy. No doubt, through this shaking of the commercial tree, fruit will be gathered that will justify the effort. It has already borne fruit in the value of our exports and imports, in extended facilities for increased commercial transactions, in mutual harmonies of national good feeling, and in the outlook for future development along the lines of marine and inland commerce. Nations as well as individuals have to look out for the present and provide for the future.

Canada's constitution enables her to carry out contracts she enters into. Though nominally a dependency of Great Britain, yet practically she rules her Dominion with about the same freedom that one of our States rules its internal affairs under our government. When Secretary Bayard and Lord Salisbury were approaching a conclusion of negotiations for the prohibition of seal-catching during the breeding season in Behring Sea, it is shown by diplomatic correspondence that the Dominion government, under the sway of Sir John A. Macdonald, objected to the treaty stipulations and practically overruled the British government—and the treaty fell through.

Commercial union with Canada is more feasible now than ever before. Her people and the Dominion government are

ripe for a change, and she could come to us on reciprocal terms with less embarrassment now than ever before.

The Dominion government owns, controls, and manages a canal system that costs over $52,000,000, and a railway system that cost $50,000,000. Besides these, it has aided the Canadian Pacific Railroad Company—one of the grandest and most thoroughly equipped railways on the continent—to the amount of $210,000,000. It recently received mails from the Pacific ocean, at Vancouver, B. C., and delivered them in New York City, completing the transit in eighty-four hours—the greatest railroad feat ever recorded. I mention these facts to show that Canada is not barren of internal improvements, alike creditable to the history, genius, and intelligence of her people. The use of these improvements would come to us as part of our inheritance under such a reciprocity arrangement as I have endeavored to outline. Without such union, these arteries will become great highways for European traffic and transit, from China, Japan, and the Pacific islands, and we must pay tribute to Canadian enterprise and European demands, which may sooner or later be imposed. In such case the pen cannot describe the value of a free use of their modes of transit in the highways, lakes, and border-lands on our northern frontier. At present they are disturbing. Mr. Hitt introduced a resolution of inquiry into Congress, in the last months of the Harrison administration, calling upon the President, "if any new legislation was necessary, to regulate the railroad traffic between the two governments; that 500,000 freight-cars passed annually from the United States into Canada for distribution of freight; that the traffic, as carried on, added to the burdens of American railroads, heavily mortgaged, while it lessened the burdens of Canadian railways resting under enormous public subsidies given to them." This international traffic has since largely increased year by year.

American capital is seeking investment in Canada, and we are growing into interlacing national interests year by year. More than twenty millions of United States capital is invested in coal mines in Nova Scotia. Other investments are made in

gold and silver mining, and other Canadian enterprises in different localities. The financial, social, and political interests between these two peoples are being interlaced and united, in spite of tariff impediments and governmental restrictions. Three million Canadians are already in the United States, readily becoming citizens under our government and institutions. They own $120,000,000 worth of real estate here, and twelve thousand are in business for themselves in the United States. Fifteen to twenty thousand are domiciled in Boston, and two hundred and sixty thousand in Massachusetts. More native-born Canadians are in Chicago than in Toronto, and more in the United States than in Canada. Half a million of them are in New England and New York. They have representatives in the legislatures of half-a-dozen States of the Union. They have twelve newspapers in New England and New York, many of them advocating not only reciprocity upon an equitable commercial basis, but of annexation of Canada to the United States. They are domiciled with us, attached to our government and our laws, and are as prosperous, peaceful, quiet citizens as we have within our borders.

Mr. Charlton, member of the Canadian Parliament, upon a motion of inquiry as to the cause of the exodus of Canadians to the United States, stated that "over 2,500,000 Canadians were then in the United States—that 28,000 left the last year for the States, to become Americanized; and he wished to know the cause of these startling facts, and said the matter should be made the subject of governmental inquiry." Mr. Armstrong, president of the Young Men's Conservative Club, of Toronto, recently made some remarks derogatory to the policy of the Conservative government, which allowed wholesale emigration of Canadians to the United States, and said "Canada was being annexed to the Republic by job lots." This led to charges that he was not loyal to the Conservative party, and at a meeting the Club was asked to pass a resolution expressing its disapproval of Mr. Armstrong's views. In the discussion that followed it was "asserted that there were more native-born Canadians in the United States than in Canada, and more in

Chicago than in Toronto." The resolution was defeated. The Halifax *Herald* puts in its claim this way: "Whether we like it or not, the facts remain that in many respects we in this colony are more akin to our cousins across the line than we are to our kindred beyond the sea. Our pronunciation, our newspapers, our postal system, our coinage, our tariff, and our church and college fashions are more American than English. This is conspicuously true of our political men, methods, and ethics. It is also true of our humor, which is American rather than English."

Those who watch the progress of Canadian events cannot fail to see that there is a growing discontent in Canada with regard to governmental affairs, affecting all classes of people and all shades of political affinities throughout her Dominion, and a widespreading, deep-seated desire is crystallizing for union, either commercial or political, with the United States. What is wanted is agitation upon the subject among the people, and when that is pressed Congressional action will come, as policy may suggest or experience justify. The benefits to be enjoyed by a commercial union with or annexation of Canada are great, and to be attended by no expense to the respective governments. The Louisiana Purchase cost us $16,500,000. The acquisition of Texas cost us $10,000,000. The Guadaloupe-Hidalgo treaty, which gave us New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, etc., cost us $10,000,000. The Alaska purchase in 1867 cost $7,200,000. In each case the investment has been a paying one, and promises a good commercial outlook for the future. No one now regrets the purchase or questions the wisdom of the transaction. The annexation of Canada to the United States—into full membership—has not so widespread, outspoken, pronounced opposition among our people or politicians as had the acquisition of any of the territories above referred to, and it promises much greater commercial results.

It is believed that the people of both political divisions of country by decided expression would vote for a political union of Canada into full Statehood relations under our constitutional inhibitions and prohibitions. The political environ-

ments of Canada are such that, before a completed union could be accomplished, negotiations must outline the transaction. I suggest an exchange of the Philippine Islands for Canadian territory. This exchange would be mutually advantageous. It would give the English government what it desires, and release American supervision over lands and peoples we do not want. Let the exchange be made.

A call comes for the removal of trade barriers between the United States and Canada by abolishing custom duties and tariff regulations between the two governments. They are a hindrance to trade and a nuisance to both governments, with no semblance of good to either, and the quicker they are removed under reciprocal arrangements the better. This done, our fisheries question would be adjusted, and our Behring Sea difficulties amicably removed from the arena of contention.

During our reciprocity period with Canada, the currents of commercial life and social business customs moved peacefully and prosperously along the lines of the two governments, with no disturbing elements from Great Britain by reason of the Reciprocity Act. In these days of treaty stipulations to adjust national difficulties, short of the tramp of armies with powder and ball to the destruction of life and property, is it not better to develop national resources and harmonize national difficulties by meeting Canada halfway on the issues presented? Treaty stipulations between national powers are not always satisfactory, as they often miscarry in design. In 1871 an Arbitration Commission met in Halifax to adjust the fishery question, and that body found that the United States should pay to Canada $5,000,000 in ten annual payments of $500,000 each, which our government has paid; but the friction has been a disturbing element ever since. Five million dollars for liberty to catch fish on Canadian waters for ten years, with the right of renewal at the same rate, was a big item for us to pay for a privilege that may now come to us free of charge on the lines I have indicated. The right of renewal under the arbitration award has never been accepted by us, and the question is still open and unsettled.

The Behring Sea arbitration demonstrated its failure to accomplish the objects for which it was convened. It not only nullified our claims, but failed to protect the seals. As an outcome of this arbitration the United States was involved in a claim of $500,000 for damages in trying to carry out some of the rules and regulations prescribed in the award. The American-Canadian Commission, returning from Alaska after months of investigation, have failed to make their finding, and the Commission is probably at an end. International arbitration rules and regulations, ornamented with ribbons and big golden seals, look well on paper, but usually fail in everything except the draft of big fees for signatures.

It seems to me that as a nation we are standing in our own light in not meeting Canada at least halfway to the immediate accomplishment of reciprocity arrangements and final settlement of our commercial relations. To-day, as the light streams in, important political factors of the governments are revived, and their consideration cannot long be delayed with safety to our interests. Canada, apparently with much reason, stands at the parting of two national highways—one leading to the establishment of friendly relations under reciprocity acts with us to which she naturally gravitates, and the other leading to imperial confederation, empire consolidation under a distinctive British system, colonial representation in the imperial Parliament, and unification of all her scattered outposts: which attractions are being held out to the Dominion government to counteract the growing uneasiness of her people. The trend of probabilities is such that if we reject reciprocity arrangements, to which Canada invites us, she will cast her destiny on the decision leading to closer British unification. Which shall it be? If she comes to us, she brings her good-will, commercial enterprises, and use of her internal improvements under reciprocity arrangements—making us a joint partner with her in profits, without the friction of antagonizing interests. If she goes the other way, she consolidates her commercial interests with Great Britain, as against the United States, and her negotiations with us will then end.

The present time is opportune for agitation, for petitions to Congress, and for national action. The desires of the people must be made known to our representatives in Congress, if we expect any present movement in favor of a commercial union. Great enterprises are not born to life in Congress without first being agitated and pressed by the people back of it. We have no Moses there to strike out boldly and lead the people in the way of destiny. There are some who believe that, with enlarged trade and social intercourse with Canada, and with the attractions of the great Republic fully opened and established, it could not long resist forces tending toward political absorption. Be that as it may, the time has come for at least unrestricted commerce between the two governments. New England should at once agitate for a free, open Canadian market for our industrial energies and surplus commodities, or even for peaceful annexation, which would heal international disturbances. Massachusetts and Connecticut, with their countless wheels and swift-turning shafts of industry, with their infinite variety of products in close proximity to Canadian markets, should commence agitation, by discussion and petition to Congress, for an abrogation of all tariff duties between these two national powers, and for the establishment of a free, full commercial union and reciprocity of commercial interests with Canada.

Reforms and great uplifting enterprises do not come at a bound: they are the growth of vigorous, pressing agitation, ofttimes stimulated by promptings in the line of self-interest. New England has much to gain by a free, open market with Canada, and nothing to lose. She must look out for herself, or her prestige as a political factor in the councils of the nation will be gone. To a great extent it is already gone. The West and the East no longer affiliate in political or commercial sentiment. The West and the South have come to the front in political power and national supremacy. The star of empire has been removed from the East across the Allegheny Mountains, and its shadows linger over eastern summits. Chicago and New York locked horns for the location of the World's

Fair, and the battle was among giants in the struggle. New York, with unrivaled seaboard facilities, with mammoth steamships and sailing craft daily coming from and going to all parts of the civilized world, with ample railroad facilities and hotel accommodations, with a guaranteed capital pledged for the success of the Fair as a national enterprise, without help from the national Treasury, was pushed to the wall; Chicago, with financial backing from the Treasury, in a national chariot with golden wheels, with banners flying, with the Ark of the Covenant committed to its keeping, rode triumphant from Congressional halls to Chicago, and western prairies blazed with enthusiasm over the victory—and their triumphal march was the watchword of political power centering in the West. The veiled prophets of New York in humility went back to their marble palaces to ponder the thought that the shadows of Rip Van Winkle do not hover over Chicago or rest upon the prairies of the West. The lesson was a hard, bitter one for New York to learn—but harder to forget.

St. Louis rivals Philadelphia; Minneapolis and St. Paul outweigh Boston and Baltimore in commercial push. The aggressive, active forces that shape legislation in Congress come from the West, and the West will take care of its own. Faneuil Hall, in Boston, and Independence Hall, in Philadelphia, have had their history written, and the book has been sealed for the future. Their classic walls reflect no warming impulse, no quickening, vital force to the life-blood of the nation. The dust is settling upon the brow of New England, and Concord philosophy has discovered no way to prevent its accumulation. Public buildings in the East, built with drafts upon the national Treasury, are eclipsed in magnificence and grandeur in the West—from contributions from the same source.

The opportunity is now open for New England to check for the time being her waning prestige—by cultivating social, political, and commercial relations with Canada. Her markets are at our doors, and we are invited to enter and possess them with the products of our mechanical skill and industries. We should petition Congress to remove the trade barriers between

the two governments, and no time should be lost in the effort. The opportunity is grand, and the prize worth the effort to secure it. Commercial union or annexation once secured with Canada, a balance-wheel of political power will be added to steady our commerce and accelerate the moving wheels of our industries. It is time for New England to wake up to a realizing sense of facts that are crowding it to the wall. Though we may not expect or hope to recover the lost vantage-ground we once enjoyed, we may by timely effort secure some moorings while the tide sweeps on.

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SURVIVAL OF THE STRONGEST.

I. THE SOUTH AFRICAN CRISIS.

FOR nearly a century the Boers have tried to get beyond the scope of British rule, but England in her march of territorial conquest has raised the Union Jack over the land that the Boers had hoped to enjoy in peace and independence. The sturdy Dutch settlers of southern Africa have simply asked that they be permitted to enjoy the right of governing themselves. They have desired peace, and rather than take up arms against the English, whom they consider invaders of their territory, they have twice "treked" over the plains and the mountains of South Africa until they settled in the Transvaal, which was at the time of their arrival a wilderness inhabited by savage tribes and wild beasts. These pioneers of civilization in interior Africa, by their courage, subjugated the savages and drove out the animals; but in this, their final home, they were not long permitted to remain free from the English, whom they had learned to hate and consider their common enemy—for in 1877 Sir T. Shepstone proclaimed the Transvaal British territory. The Boers did not longer desire to be hewers of wood and carriers of water for the English; so, rather than again "trek" further north, they rose in arms against the English in 1880 and secured their independence the following year.

The responsibility for the present war in South Africa rests on England. She has no business in that country, and the attempt to crush out the life of the little Transvaal Republic will ever remain a blot on England's escutcheon. I state this from actual knowledge of the country and its conditions; as I have traveled in every section of South Africa, from Cape Town to the northern border of Matabeleland.

In order thoroughly to understand the causes leading to the present difficulty, a brief *résumé* of the history of the Dutch

in South Africa is necessary, so that the reader may judge for himself who is right in this great contest. It was in 1648 that a Dutch shipwrecked crew spent six months near the spot where now stands the city of Cape Town. They tilled the soil and raised good crops. When they returned to Holland, those sailors told the story of their sojourn in South Africa, and as a result of their experience three vessels were despatched to Cape Town in 1652 by the Dutch East India Company, under the command of Jan Van Riebeek. A large number of emigrants went out with these vessels. When the party left Holland, the leader of the expedition was instructed to build a fort and hospital there, and above all to raise vegetables, so that the ships of Holland might find a resting-place on the way to India and be able to secure fresh provisions. The colony grew and the Dutch cultivated the soil—a thing that the British have never attempted to do in that country. The Hollanders who went out to Africa were of the humbler classes, with few ties in their native land.

In 1689, the Dutch colony was added to by the arrival of three hundred French Huguenots—a part of those who had taken refuge in Holland after the revocation edict of Nantes by Louis XIV. They were men and women of culture, and of a much higher stamp than the previous settlers. These Huguenots intermarried with the Dutch, and it is largely from them that the present Boers of Africa derive their fighting qualities. These people led a wild life, but in all their trials they rigidly kept to the Bible and worshiped God. England, when war broke out between her and Holland in 1781, attempted to seize Cape Colony, but retired when it was found that a large French force was prepared to aid the Dutch.

In 1795 an English expedition secured an entrance into the country, and it remained under British rule until 1802, when it returned to the Batavian Republic. In 1806, when war again broke out, the English sent out a strong force to the Cape and recaptured it. From this time dates the beginning of the troubles between the Boers and the English that find their culmination in this war. It was not until 1814 that England made

a permanent colony of the Cape. The Boers were ruled with a high hand, and when in 1834 the British Parliament passed a statute abolishing slavery in all British colonies and awarding a sum of $100,000,000 as compensation to the slave-owners, a roar of discontent was raised among the Dutch of the Cape. This was heightened when the fact became known that but $15,000,000 had been assigned to the Cape, which sum was much less than the value of the thirty-nine thousand negroes held in bondage. On this account many of the farmers lost the bulk of their property. Had England at that time treated the Cape Dutch with the same degree of justice in the payment of slaves as was meted out to the English in other colonies, it is probable that the present difficulties in South Africa would not have materialized. But the old Dutch settlers chafed under this state of affairs. After thoroughly considering the matter it was decided best to leave Cape Colony and move beyond the scope of British rule.

The Boers never again attempted to acquire slaves in any of the territories where they settled. It was in 1836 that the great "trek" took place, when ten thousand families with all their belongings began the march from Cape Colony. It was impossible for this vast number to travel in a body, as their cattle would not have sufficient forage. They broke into squads, but all going to a common rendezvous previously agreed on. The march of this vast concourse of settlers into the African wilderness had many romantic and exciting incidents. A few remained in the Orange Free State, but a larger number settled in the present Natal Colony under the leadership of that valiant Boer and the father of South African republics, Andries Pretorius. Their battles with the Zulus were many and exciting; but the crowning feat of arms came when Pretorius, with 470 men, on December 16, 1838, boldly attacked 12,000 Zulus under King Dingaan on the banks of the Umhlatoozi River. After a battle of several hours the Zulus were completely routed, leaving 3,000 dead on the field. This is the greatest feat of arms recorded in the annals of South Africa.

In 1840 the Boers declared Natal an independent Dutch Republic; but from this place they were turned out by the British, and the country was declared a part of the Queen's domain in 1843. Once more the Boers turned their eyes northward (in 1847), this time "treking" over the Drakensberg Mountains and settling in the Transvaal—which means across the Vaal River. Once more the Boers tried to form a government of their own, declaring the Transvaal to be an independent government, with Andries Pretorius as the president. For the first time in the history of these people, England (on May 23, 1849) recognized their government. For twenty-eight years they were permitted to rule the land that they had with difficulty made habitable; but in 1877 Sir T. Shepstone, the British resident minister at Pretoria, declared that the Transvaal was annexed to Great Britain. Thus once more the Boers found themselves under the rule of their bitterest foe. But there was a determination that there should be no more "treking;" that the only thing to do was to take up arms against the English and fight for their land—since they might as well die fighting as subduing savage natives and wild beasts: only for the English to enjoy the fruits of their labor.

It was at this time that Paul Kruger, then fifty-two years of age, came to the front and with the aid of General Joubert and W. M. Pretorius, son of the first president of the Transvaal, organized the rebellion against the English. The result of the Boer war of 1880-'81 is too well known to require mention here—with the exception that the British thought that they would defeat the Transvaalers within a month; but the peculiar part of the whole affair was that the Boers did not lose a battle, and their achievement in defeating the forces of General George Cooley at Majuba Hill is one of the great battles of history. The defeat of General Cooley resulted in the Boers' securing their independence once more. Such was their career up to the latter part of 1881.

There would never have been another attempt on the part of England to meddle with the Boers or their affairs had it not been for the fact that large deposits of *gold* were found in the

Transvaal. When the immense wealth of the Johannesburg mines was fully known in England there was a concerted movement to find some means by which the Transvaal could again be brought under the scope of England's rule; but the memory of the affair of Majuba Hill made the English cautious. From experience it was known that the Boers were fighters. Diplomacy was tried, but old "Oom" Paul Kruger at every move made by the English statesmen checkmated them, until it was realized that it was a most difficult task.

One of the charges made against the Boers is that they are non-progressive. The fact is, it is the English who have been non-progressive. During all the years that they have been upon the land they have made no effort to till the soil; they have not raised a manufactory in the country; all their large towns—Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, East London, and Durban—are nothing more than trading posts: mere sutlers' camps. Natal Colony has been bountifully blessed by Nature. The mere turning of the soil will raise a fine crop—"tickle it with a hoe and it will laugh with a bountiful harvest;" but not the least effort have the English made by their own muscles to till this Eden of South Africa. Instead, the British who settled there had practically a slavery code passed by which English settlers could at starvation wages hire "coolies" from East India for a term of five years. During that period those hirelings could not leave the farm of their master without a permit. These poor East Indians could be placed on the whipping-post at the will of their temporary owner. Such was the "progressive" condition of the English in Natal. It appears that a different stamp of Englishman has gone out to Africa than to any of the other British colonies. In Australia, where I have traveled extensively, the English people are a hard-working class, and have in many instances made a garden out of a desert; but the English that one sees in South Africa are the most arrogant and pretentious beings that one would care to meet. It is considered by them a disgrace to work. While stopping at the Central Hotel, Durban, Natal, during the latter part of 1894, the proprietor's daughter, after I had told

her of the dangerous fever at Delagoa Bay, said: "We are always afflicted with a fever in Natal."

"Pray, what kind is it?" I asked.

"The lazy fever," she promptly replied.

Never were truer words spoken. The fruits of that country are going to rot because the English are too careless and indolent to pick them. But they import jams from England. It would never do to plant fruit and pick it—that would be too menial an occupation. The officials of the Natal railway told me when I asked them concerning white labor in the colony that it was impossible to get the white people to work—it was considered a disgrace to labor.

In Cape Colony there are tens of thousands of acres of prickly pears growing wild. They make excellent preserves. All Nature asks is that the offering placed at the disposal of the inhabitants be gathered; but not the least effort is made to use this fine fruit. All the vegetables in the British African colonies are cultivated by the Dutch, Natives, Coolies, and Chinamen. I relate these facts in order that the reader may understand how little the British settlers have done to *develop* South Africa.

On the other hand, the English have been master hands in that country at grabbing territory that is rich with precious metal. Take the diamond mines of Kimberley, for instance, located in Griqualand West. Previous to the discovery of diamonds in 1876, this was a part of the Orange Free State. When the importance of the mines was recognized by the English, there was a concerted effort to add the territory to Cape Colony, and this was done in 1879, without the least show of justice. The property on which are located the rich mines was the farm of an old Boer named De Beers. He was paid a small sum by the Cape government, the British flag was hoisted over Kimberley, and to the De Beers's Company was given a perpetual lease of the diamond mines.

When gold was found in Johannesburg in 1884, several Englishmen went to the field; but they could not make the ore pay. After the failure of the Cornishmen, a number of Aus-

tralians went to the Transvaal mines; but they had no better success than their English brethren. It was not until 1886, when the Rothschilds sent out Hamilton Smith, an American mining expert, the man that engineered the Anaconda copper-mine deal of Montana for the Rothschilds, that any progress was made in the development of the Johannesburg mines. Had it not been for him, it is very probable that the Rand would be unknown to-day and that the English would not care anything about the Boer country. Where the Englishmen failed the Americans made a huge success. It is a noteworthy fact that all the great mines of the Transvaal are in charge of American managers. It is from the date of the success of these mines that the trouble of Kruger began, and the whole key to the present situation was at once made manifest. Britishers flocked to the Transvaal at the rate of about a thousand a week. The cities of Cape Town and Natal vied with each other for the Johannesburg trade, which amounts to nearly $70,000,000 annually. After the English had been at the Rand some time and their numbers had grown to about thirty thousand, every scheme was tried to engender a dispute—so that England might step in and secure the rich gold-fields, which are said to contain in sight $50,000,000,000 worth of the precious metal. I have heard it openly expressed on the streets of Johannesburg that the mines were too good a thing for the Boers to have.

There came a demand for the right to vote. "We pay the taxes, and we should have the privilege to say how we shall be governed," was the Englishman's cry. Had the Transvaal government granted the demand, the country within two years would have been annexed to Cape Colony by the English representatives elected. President Paul Kruger well understood the purpose back of the popular-franchise movement, and he promptly put his foot on it. On the surface, the merits of the case seem to be on the side of the English; and to those who do not fully understand the situation the Boers acted very unjustly in refusing the appeals of those who pay the taxes. Self-preservation is the first law of Nature, whether in the life

of a nation or an individual. We have seen it illustrated in the United States, when the law was passed closing the doors of this land against the Chinese and denying them the rights of citizenship. But it will at once be said that the Chinamen do not want to make this country their permanent home, for as soon as they have secured means they will go back to China with their wealth and spend it there. It is exactly the same with the Englishmen in the Transvaal: as soon as they have made enough to go back to England to live at ease they shake the dust of the Boer country from their feet. No white person goes there with the intention of making the land the permanent home of his family. The best interests of any country are not safe in the hands of those who simply visit it as a set of speculators and leave as soon as they have made their fortune.

To have granted the right of voting to the English would mean that the Boers would be willing to give to them by peaceful methods that which they were not able to secure by force of arms. There certainly could be no complaint about the taxation of the mines, for the mining laws of the Transvaal are based on the mining laws of the Western States of this country and were drawn up by John Hays Hammond, the American who received so much notoriety during the Jameson Raid, in the latter part of 1895. When the franchise question came up, the Englishmen appealed to the home government. Here comes the most peculiar part of the whole business. England demanded that the Britishers be given the right to vote. Why should Britishers be given the right to vote in a foreign land? They would not be Britishers if they had acquired that right, for they would be forced to swear allegiance to the Transvaal government. The moment that they have performed that act, they pass beyond the pale of British protection, and it is no further concern of England what becomes of them. It is a rather peculiar process for England to encourage her subjects to alienate themselves from the Queen, and the method becomes more dark in its workings when we find the British government demanding rights for those who are foreigners to its rule. The fact is that the English in the

Transvaal desire to have the privilege of voting in the Transvaal and at the same time retain their fealty to the British Crown. Can any one blame the Boers for the stand they have taken when such a state of affairs existed? Is it not rather peculiar that none of the *Americans* of the Rand find fault with the Boer rule, or demand the right to vote? They are perfectly satisfied to make money in the country and return when they have secured the necessary amount to supply their wants at home.

Suppose that Kruger were to have given the English the right to vote, what would be the result when 100,000 Englishmen were arrayed against about 70,000 Boers at the polls? It would only be a short time before the Boers would have nothing to say in the country that they made habitable by heroic sacrifices and in which they had to win their independence by shot and shell.

It was in the latter part of 1893 that Sir Henry Lock, then Governor of Cape Colony and the High Commissioner of South Africa, went to Pretoria for a conference with Kruger regarding the rights of the Uitlander. The word "English" was dropped on this occasion. In silence Kruger listened to Sir Lock, and that gentleman thought that he had the old Boer in a tight place; but President Kruger said:

"The English came to the Transvaal of their own free will. No one asked them to come, and if the laws of this country do not suit them they are at perfect liberty to return. They came here because they could make more money than they could in their own land. While they are here I shall extend all protection to their lives and property in the same manner as is granted to the Boers. They shall be taxed no more and no less, but they must obey the laws of this land. I repeat, if our method does not suit them they may return at once, as they are not prisoners."

This manner of argument was too much for Sir Henry Lock, and nothing came of the conference regarding the franchise.

During my sojourn at Johannesburg, nearly every American there was opposed to the demands of the English. It was

too plainly seen that the purpose of the agitation was simply a scheme to grab from a weak republic the richest gold-fields in the world. The English of the Rand organized a rifle corps and drilled at Orange Grove, about five miles from Johannesburg. The object was when the crucial moment came to aid in striking a blow against the Boer government; but old "Oom" Paul kept a close watch on them and had forts built on the hillsides overlooking Johannesburg. It was on the request of the Englishmen at the Rand that Jameson attempted his raid. The Britishers at the gold-fields had promised to aid the raiders, but they were soon cowed by the Boers.

The Transvaalers are content to till the soil and let the English take the gold out of the mines. All they ask is that they be left alone in the country that is theirs by right of occupation and by conquest. They want the privilege to rule their land, raise crops, and be a nation unto themselves. The ways of the English are foreign to them, and those from England are their bitterest foes.

It is hard for the Englishmen to forget the defeat of Majuba Hill, coming as it did at the hands of a people that were looked upon with contempt. But, in the face of the so-called misrule of the Boers and their oppression of foreigners and natives, in 1894 the English government turned over to the Transvaal the whole of Swaziland. The Swazis were not amenable to British rule and caused a great deal of trouble. It was hoped that the Swazis would rebel against the Boers, and that this would serve as a pretext to interfere in Transvaal affairs; but, to the surprise of English statesmen, after a few brushes with the Boers the Swazis settled down and became docile subjects.

To the unprejudiced mind the right is on the side of the Boers in this contest, and I know that they will fight to the death for the liberty of their land; but I have little hope of their ultimate victory. Still, it is a grand display of courage to see so small a nation defying one of the greatest powers in the world.

If the Boers be deprived of their government solely because

of rich mines, it will be one of the most unjust acts of England and a disgrace to the British nation.

JOHN E. OWENS.

Allegheny, Pa.

II. ANGLO-SAXON ETHICS.

THE article on "English Ethics," by the Hon. W. J. Corbet, M.P., in THE ARENA for October, prompts me to say something on the general subject of which that is a particular branch. However indefensible the conduct of the British people, or government, may be in their treatment of the weaker nations that have come in their way, something more ought to be said that will appear to an Englishman a little more fair in the indictment preferred against them.

The nations that the English have dealt with in the way of conquest have usually been low, barbarous, degraded, and cruel; and their conquerors have only treated them after their own fashion. Again, it is certain that wherever the British flag has been raised over a subjugated people the condition of that people has been improved by it.

I do not purpose to discuss the character of English ethics by contrast with the morals of the nations whose governments they have supplanted, but rather to place both English and American ethics by the side of the pure standard of morals laid down by the Founder of Christianity. That standard of morals is established and fixed in these formularies: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." "Love your enemies; do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that persecute you and despitefully use you." "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." That is Christianity. It is the foundation of all true ethics. It is the only rule of perfectly good moral conduct. No moral character that does not conform to the rules of moral action implied in these formulas can be perfectly good. No code of honor that disregards these principles is a true rule of honorable life.

But the moral code of both England and the United States is: "Keep all you have got; get all you can; do not stop to consider the condition or the wants of anybody else." It is the universal game of competition, whereby every man is supposed to look out for his own particular good, and to expect everybody else to do the same. This is not Christianity any more than England's assuming imperial authority over the nations of Asia and forcing them into submission are Christianity.

The United States, in making war upon the inhabitants of Luzon to establish imperial dominion over them, departs entirely from the principle of Christianity. This principle is the same as adopting the maxim concerning the evolution of the non-intelligent part of creation—the survival of the fittest—and applying it to human beings whom God created in his own image and requires to love and help one another. The maxim would be more true to the false ethics of our time if it were stated in this form: the survival of the strongest, the most cunning, or the most successful. This principle may work in the evolution of brutes, but it is not suited to intelligent beings whose highest state is that of love for one another. Out of it come almost all the crimes committed by man against his fellow-man—all murders, robberies, cheating, deceptions, and every other crime by which individuals take the good of this life away from others and use it for their own benefit. When a selfish man actuated by this principle sees another having any good that he covets for himself, he gets it if he can. If he is the stronger he takes it by force, unless restrained by fear of the consequences of his act. If he dare not take it by force, his next resort is to steal it. If that appears too dangerous on account of the laws by which society protects itself, then he contrives by cheating, fraud, or by taking advantage of the ignorance or necessities of him who has it—as Jacob did with Esau, his brother—to get it in some other way. Assassination is but the extreme measure employed by persons that desire to get the good that others possess and convert it to their own benefit.

The natural and right development of the human mind is

that in which a man appreciates another's happiness and desires that he should have whatever good he is capable of. These right feelings forbid him to take any good thing from another without rendering a full equivalent. One actuated by such feelings fully recognizes another's rights, and he regards them as sacredly as he does his own. If all men had such feelings toward their fellow-men, there would be an end of that grasping selfishness by which men living under our boasted civilization take the good things of life away from others. If only a controlling majority of them had such feelings, the minority would be regarded as criminals and restrained. It is on account of the *general* selfishness of mankind that injustice prevails in every circle of society, and "man's inhumanity to man makes countless thousands mourn."

Nature produces all things necessary for the comfort of mankind, in the rough, requiring only the exertion of skill and labor to fit them for use. We can have no reasonable objection to a man's owning and appropriating to his own use whatever he produces by his own labor; but justice demands that, when one man claims to own and use what another has produced by his labor, he must render to him an equivalent of equal value for it. It is an undeniable fact that in all civilized nations not more than two-thirds or three-fourths of the population perform any labor in the production of the things necessary for their comfort. The remaining minority live on other people's labors. A worse feature of the case is that those who do not labor, and consequently produce nothing, have a great deal more than those who work. Every one who labors produces not only what he gets for his own support, but as much more that somebody else gets and consumes. A perfect state of society is one in which all who are capable of laboring should work and produce all that is necessary for their own support and enough more to supply the wants of those who are incapable of labor.

How does it happen that so large a proportion of the population who are capable of labor, but remain idle and produce nothing, get so much of the products of other people's labors?

Do they give it to them voluntarily? Not at all. They contrive by ways innumerable, "by ways that are dark and tricks that are vain," to get possession of what other men have earned. That is the ethics of the civilization of our times. This system is as much a crime against the rights of man as any of the crimes that are commonly recognized as such. The vast numbers who earn nothing, but possess the greater part of what other men earn; those who are proud of their soft, white hands, gracefully rounded limbs, and rotund bodies; those who measure out the years of a jolly life, unwhipped of justice and unrebuked by public sentiment; the drones of society, consuming the best honey in the hive for which they pay nothing—these are really the worst criminals among men, far more despicable than the homeless tramp who begs a cold lunch at our back door, or the wretch who pines in jail for stealing a loaf of bread.

But the most disheartening thing of all is to see how the very fountains of popular ethics are corrupted. Legislatures fail to contrive a system of statutory law to define the duties of man to his fellow-man. The judiciary is too blind to see the equities of fair dealing. And, worst of all, the pulpit—whose chief and almost only duty is to impress upon the minds of people a sense of the obligation of every man to do to others as he would that others should do to him—uses all the arts of eloquence and sophistry to obscure this plainest of truths and make it appear that a man may conduct his business on the purely selfish principles of this world and be acceptable to God, who requires all men to love one another as each one does himself. The man of millions who never earned a dollar is welcome to the best seat in the fashionable church, while the hard-worked mechanic and farmer are given back seats—lest the odor of the sweat and dust of their honest toil should pollute the sanctity of aristocratic refinement. The false and criminal ethics of our artificial civilization has no more Christianity in it than England's cruel system of oppressing weaker nations that venture to resist her lust of power and greed of gain.

JOHN A. WELLS.

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WHEN WILL THE WAR CEASE?

MANY are wondering when this trouble in the Philippines will end. Great reenforcements are being sent—battle-ships and thousands of men are leaving the United States to-day for the seat of war. Under different circumstances it would be a foregone conclusion that, with such a force as is now gathered at Manila, the insurrection of Aguinaldo would soon be subdued. There are, however, some underlying elements in this war that will most certainly prolong the struggle.

In the first place, the Filipinos are inured to the climate; they understand the topography of the country, and can live on half the amount of food necessary to a white man; and—what is of the most importance—they hold the land. Our forty battleships will be of great use in the vicinity of cities like Iloilo, Manila, and Dugapan; but they will be utterly ineffective in establishing a blockade of the island of Luzon, much less of all the islands in the archipelago. There must be in the neighborhood of five thousand miles of seacoast in the twenty principal islands. To maintain a close watch upon every port and bay and crinkle of the wrinkled coast, the entire navies of America and England would scarce suffice. You cannot bombard a whole landscape with a navy. A Carabao plow working for half an hour a day for the same time would have made a far greater change in the landscape of the little village of Parañaque than did the cannon of the "Monadnock," which almost daily for six weeks flung shot and shell into the village. It was the same at Malabon and Bacoor. The navy will drive back the insurgents for a few miles from the coast, blockade a few of the larger towns, and that is all that it can ever do. The filibusters of Japan and Hong Kong will continue to ply their profitable trade as before.

The army of sixty-five thousand will have to be increased to at least a hundred thousand before we can garrison the principal towns of Luzon. When we have the towns properly

garrisoned and Aguinaldo's army scattered or destroyed, we shall have to keep our army there to enforce peace. We cannot depend upon the "amigos," because almost a hundred per cent. of them are loyal to their country's cause. They see the great American land syndicates getting ready to swallow up their homes and to evict them from their lands. The "holy orders" have been odious to the people of Luzon; yet they have only charged as rent for an acre of land about three cents a year. Near the La Loma church the rent was less than a dollar an acre. The Tagals are not short-sighted enough to believe that a change of taskmasters will benefit them. They can make a living now without being driven like slaves, and they feel that, as the victims of amateur colonization schemes, the future has for them no hope nor star. So that from the ten millions of people in the islands we may expect nothing but bitter and relentless race war and hatred.

During my stay in Manila I became acquainted with the brother of Aguinaldo's present secretary. This man was an "amigo" working in the palace, yet he had the bitterest prejudice against the Americans. After I had gained his confidence he told me his real sentiments. I do not give his name, not wishing to injure him; but the following was the substance of what he said to me:

"For America to attack the Filipinos is for a Carabao bull to attack a child. I work for the Americans because in that way I can better help to overturn their rule. I want to learn a few civilized arts, so that with my people I can turn them to advantage in our future wars with the Americans. You are a nation of supreme thieves—you rob us worse than the Spaniards, because you have better guns with which to collect your infamous taxes. You will never conquer the Tagals. We will waste and wither you with the expenditures of ruinous wars. My theory is: 'Make peace with the Americans till we have learned the arts of civilized war—then drive your oppressors into the sea.' Our homes were pure—your soldiers polluted them. Our people could live under Spain; but you Americans have taxed the heart-blood of the people. You are vampires, and the curse of God will follow you till your proud Republic falls into a sea of blood."

This man reflects the sentiment of many in the Philippines who declare that with the conquest or death of Aguinaldo the bonds of patriotism will be tightened and the nation will be unified. The Visayans and the Tagalogs believe they can unite and dominate the archipelago. They have lost all faith in America and are waiting sullenly for their revenge. "Who are these Americans," Aguinaldo is reported as saying, "who are constantly prating about liberty—who have crowded into our islands and are standing between us and our freedom, as the Spaniards did for centuries?" Aguinaldo is also reported to have said, when the treaty of peace was signed with Spain, that America has bought a fifty years' war for twenty million dollars. These expressions find a ready response in the hearts of Malays throughout the archipelago. I interviewed President Llorente, of the island of Cebu. At first he said he was thoroughly in favor of the American position; but when I asked him to define just what he expected the Americans to do, he answered, "Give us independence with a protectorate." Llorente is the best man in Cebu, and has been made a judge of the supreme court in Manila by General Otis. On the steamer coming home there were three Filipinos, one of them (Ramon Lacson) the son or nephew of the president of Negros. At first he was very cautious and said he thought the American government was good and that the government of Aguinaldo was bad. When, however, I asked him if he thought Negros should be annexed to the United States, he replied: "Oh, no; that would be very bad. All we want is independence, with the American fleet in Filipino waters; and for this we are willing to pay out of the customs." The boy Lacson undoubtedly reflects his father's opinions. But this Señor Lacson and this Señor Llorente are quoted as being in favor of the colonial or annexation arrangement, whereas they are seen by these interviews to be absolutely opposed to any such thing.

From the foregoing facts it is evident that the war-ships and the soldiers alone will not be able to close this war. It will require diplomacy of the very highest type to make a lasting

peace. Very little short of entire independence will bring peace to the distracted islands. Perhaps an arrangement of the archipelago into three governments will be the first feasible plan to put in operation. Thus the Tagalogs who dominate Luzon and the northern islands could be formed into a separate government, making all the officers in the government Filipinos and retaining the American consular courts, as we formerly did in Japan. In the central group of islands the Visayans are predominant. They could be formed into a government with the capitol at Cebu or Iloilo. The same arrangement could be made with them as with the Tagals. In the south the Morros have complete control. Our present arrangement with the sultan of Sulu, to whom we pay a bribe of five thousand a year that he may keep the peace, though not very exalting to us, is still perhaps the best that can be done there for the present. By our treaty with the sultan we recognize both polygamy and slavery in Mindanao and the Sulu archipelago. The Morros have complete control of their own government and have their own citizens tried in courts composed exclusively of native judges. Americans and foreigners will be tried by an American court in the possessions of the sultan. These divisional governments will have to be established anyway, no matter whether we annex the islands or give them back to the inhabitants.

In time it will undoubtedly be possible to unite the entire group under one government at Manila. Such men as General Wood or Theodore Roosevelt—men that cannot be bribed on the one hand nor hoodwinked by their subordinates on the other—would have a greater influence on the islanders than all the American navy and the entire Yankee army. No amount of military exhibition will ever make the Tagalogs either love or fear us. The whole people have been hurt and injured in their national feelings, and it will take many years to eradicate the bitter prejudices the war has stirred up. Better than sending a vast conquering army would be to publish in every town and village of the archipelago this notice, or one similar to it:

"The Americans have taken these islands and will establish government in them. There shall be no CEDULAS PERSONALES. *There will be no taxes until we can establish such taxes as the Americans pay in their own towns and villages. Spanish laws are no more. Church will be separate from State. The friars and Filipino people shall receive equal justice from the American government. No spies, no informers, no traitors wanted."*

Negotiation is what the insurgents have wanted ever since the war broke out. Otis says, "Nothing but unconditional surrender." That might be very well in the case of North and South, but these people feel (I think justly) that they were never disloyal to America—simply because they never belonged to America. The only people that have any sovereignty to sell are the people who own the country. The Filipinos never sold the country to us. It is like Wallace and Scotland. Wallace said he could not have been disloyal to England because he never was a subject of England. I feel, of course, that this opposition to American rule may come from a few smart, ambitious youths who want to use it for financial ends. Yet they have imbued the whole Malay nation and fired it with patriotism. So, while we have the might to whip a thousand Aguinaldos, the question is, Have we the right to say to him, "Unconditional surrender"? From the point of view of these people (knowing well that they are not yet quite fit for self-government), we must still admit that we are the army of Xerxes and they are the Lacedæmonians. The Dutch have lost 300,000 soldiers in trying to conquer the Malays of Sumatra.

I think wise men begin to see that Aguinaldo can keep up this fight indefinitely. Even while I write I hear the news of bigger fighting than ever and heavy losses sustained by the enemy, with the same fortitude that was shown at Bannockburn and Valley Forge. Many people who want to make money out of the government or out of the exploitation of the islands may flatter us that resistance is broken; but it is not. I have myself, on many a bloody skirmish-field, given water to the dying Filipinos and tied their broken and shattered limbs in a

rude way until the hospital corps came up. I have never seen in the face of any of Aguinaldo's soldiers anything that had the remotest connection with fear. They look you straight in the eye—from eyes that are clouding—and dare to show you that they hate and despise you.

It should also be said that many of the American soldiers are in sympathy with the Filipino contentions. I have met scores of volunteer soldiers and officers who were entirely out of sympathy with the war. The sentiment of the regular soldiers we are sending there may be different, but it cannot differ so much that danger will not come from the love of fair play that dominates Americans of all classes. I was on the dock at Manila when the first colored regiment landed and talked with some of the negro soldiers. One young man told me that it was his firm determination not to kill or wound any Filipinos that he could help. He said: "Dese shyar folks is jes' der same as our kullud folks was befo' de war. I doan believe in fightin' dese poor critters. I'se goin' to do my duty as a soldier and shoot when I'se tole; but I ain't goin' to aim, you bet, unless to save my own hide." Just then the lieutenant ordered, "Company F, fall in!" and my colored friend lifted his heavy knapsack and shouldered his gun. As he went away thus burdened with the appurtenances of the civilized soldier I heard him remark to one of his comrades, "Dis shyar white man's burden ain't all it's cracked up to be."

I see no way out of this but the shameful necessity of forcing Aguinaldo to surrender. Then withdraw our army from the islands as rapidly as possible; give entire home rule to the three great groups of islands, and keep our fleet in Manila Bay in force enough to preserve order. Help honestly the new republic in its first attempt to walk, which will doubtless be attended by much stumbling and awkwardness. Make the Filipino republic pay us the twenty millions that we gave to Spain. Retain Manila as American territory—to place us on a strong footing for the trade of China. Have suzerainty only over the foreign affairs of the new republic for the time being. In everything be honest.

PETER MACQUEEN.

W. Somerville, Mass.

THE FRENCH REPUBLIC.

I. ITS HOPEFUL FUTURE.

THE trials through which France has passed in connection with the Dreyfus affair have given rise to numerous analyses of causative conditions in French government or social organization. Our English friends in particular seemingly await the approaching dissolution of the French Republic with a species of gloomy self-satisfaction—a satisfaction akin to that of the physician who has made his diagnosis of an incurable disease and looks forward with scientific interest to the inevitable collapse. In the case of the Republic, the diagnosis has discovered two contributory causes: first, the existence of an overwhelming military spirit, brooking no opposition and tending to the destruction of republican forms; second, the inherent weakness of the government, either for good or evil, and hence the inability of ministries to act with energy in times of crisis.

As to the militarism of the nation there can be no question; but has it been proved that this constitutes a danger? The enormous expenditure, willingly borne by France, for the maintenance of a great army system was due, originally, to a national desire for revenge upon Germany. This system has been organized under, and developed by, the government of the Republic; and while the desire for revenge has lapsed into a determination to be prepared for any international complication, no body of ministers has considered for a moment antagonizing the military interests by a curtailment of expenses. Again, the French army is not a "standing" army in the old sense of the term. It is a constantly shifting body of some five hundred and fifty thousand men, yearly losing one-third of its members and adding an equal number. Such a body of men cannot possibly have that solidarity of interests that constitutes the political strength of a permanent organization.

But once, during the present century, has any change in government or upheaval in social order had its origin in the French army, or in the military instincts of the French nation; and the one exception proves the rule, for the sudden substitution of one government for another, upon the return of Bonaparte from Elba, was due to the enthusiasm for the person of their leader felt by the veteran soldiers of the Napoleonic armies—men who had spent the best years of their lives in the calling of arms and who knew no other pursuit. There may be factions at work in the army, striving to create an upheaval; but until it is shown what these factions are and what strength they have, it is illogical to assume that the Republic is in danger merely because the military spirit is dominant in France.

The chief prophecy of evil is based, however, upon the unpreparedness of the French government to deal with the frequent characteristic periods of excitement—a weakness due, it is claimed, to imperfections in the machinery of government. Attention has been directed in particular to the requirement of a majority vote in the election of Deputies, to the committee system of the Chamber of Deputies, and to the abuse of the custom of interpellations. Briefly stated, the arguments used are as follows:

(1) The requirement of a majority vote in each electoral district often results, when there are more than two candidates, in the holding of secondary elections, in which the choice of the voter is limited to the two candidates receiving the highest vote at the previous election. The factions defeated at the first election are accused of selling their votes to the remaining contestants, for specific pledges of support. These pledges hamper the Deputy in rendering steady allegiance to his party in the legislature, and therefore make uncertain the support the Ministry may depend upon for its measures.

(2) The committees of the Chamber of Deputies are chosen by a mixed system of lot and election by the Chamber, rendering the political complexion of any particular committee a matter of chance. All bills, unless otherwise disposed of

by a majority vote of the Chamber, must pass through the hands of their appropriate committees. It follows that a committee, the majority of whose members is opposed to the party in power, may greatly embarrass the Ministry in its efforts to pass a bill, and, while not absolutely all-powerful to prevent the enactment of a law, may so harass the Ministry by those arts of delay known to the legislator as to force the acceptance of an emasculated bill. Thus the Ministry is discredited. In a well-organized cabinet system of government, the Ministry should either itself do the work of committees or should have the steady and friendly coöperation of the standing committees. Otherwise the government can neither fulfil its pledges nor act with vigor in critical periods.

(3) By the custom of interpellation any member of the Chamber of Deputies is at liberty to question the Ministry on any point in legislation, administration, or general policy. When the privilege is exercised merely for the purpose of obtaining information, no general debate is permitted and no vote is taken. When the Deputy takes advantage of the privilege to ask an unfriendly question, it becomes in effect a challenge to the Ministry to defend itself for its action in the field specified. General debate ensues and motions are made by any or all of the various factions in the Chamber. The Ministry selects, from the list presented, the motion acceptable to it. Upon that motion the question is put, and upon the vote taken the fate of the Ministry hangs, on the theory of political responsibility to a majority in the Chamber of Deputies. The motions presented during an interpellation are constructed with all manner of distinguishing clauses designed to catch the votes of as many factions as possible. Here, however, the Ministry has an equal chance with its avowed opponents. The real evil of the custom of interpellations lies in the unjust advantage given to the opposition in its ability to force a resignation upon some question of minor importance, when perhaps the general policy of the government is supported by the Chamber. The Deputy, brought face to face with a specific vote upon a specific question, loses sight of general policy in the anxiety to avert

criticism from himself. Since 1875 there have been twenty-seven Ministries, and of these fifteen have fallen upon interpellations, which, with a few exceptions, were directed toward some comparatively unimportant point in policy. Frequent change is inevitable under this abuse of the custom, and frequent change prevents strong government. The French system of interpellation had its origin in a period when Ministers were not politically responsible, and the *unfriendly question* was the only method of bringing public opinion to bear upon governmental action. Under such conditions its use was justifiable, but it has no rightful existence in the true parliamentary government.

The majority vote for Deputies, the committee system, and the abuse of interpellations are all undoubtedly detrimental to the successful working of the Cabinet system in France, but they in no sense constitute causes. Rather, they are the points of weakness in French government by means of which the real cause manifests itself and becomes effective. The primal cause is in fact the inability of the French to divide into two great parties, steadily opposed to each other in policy and in the practise of government. Such a division is essential to the proper organization of responsible ministerial government; for the true Cabinet system not only involves the responsibility of the Ministry to the majority of the representative body, but also requires that the majority shall faithfully support the Ministry so long as no unusual or unexpected change is made in the general trend of governmental policy. If French voters and politicians were organized into two great parties, the majority vote required for Deputies would lose its importance, since secondary elections would rarely occur; the committee system would no longer greatly hamper Ministers, for the government, confident of the support of a majority in the Chamber of Deputies, could absolutely control the progress of legislation; while even interpellations would lose their terror and would serve only to determine the relative strength of government and opposition, or to furnish opportunity for forensic display on the part of the ambitious Deputy.

Ever since the establishment of the present Republic the chief characteristic of French political organization has been the multiplicity of parties. Organization for political purposes is less thorough and much less effective in France than in other countries. The campaigns preceding general elections present the appearance of a number of distinct political battles in the different Departments, instead of a contest in each electoral district upon certain well-defined national issues. The candidate for the House of Deputies, in his announcements and addresses to voters, does not dwell upon the great services that his party has rendered, or will render, to the nation; indeed, he avoids reference to any practical results that may be expected to follow his election. His speeches are intended rather to indicate his own personal views upon theoretical systems of government, or upon the proper spheres for governmental activity. In short, he is not specific, and he is not held in check by any feeling of allegiance to party lines or party principles. Both the candidate and the voter are seemingly more interested in ideals of government than in every-day questions of policy.

This emphasis upon the *ideal* in politics is in some small measure due to the tendency to idealization in all things, inherent in the French nation; but to a much greater degree it is the result of the rapid changes in forms of government since the revolution of 1789. The old monarchy was superseded by the first republic, followed at comparatively short intervals by the consulate and first empire, the restored monarchy, the so-called constitutional monarchy, the second republic, and the second empire, until finally the third republic was reached. Each of these forms of government has its intense partizans who are hostile to any other form, and whose great desire is to overthrow that which exists in order to establish the only perfect and legitimate system. The natural result of this condition, and of the freedom from party control on the part of the individual Deputy, is that the members of the Chamber of Deputies, instead of being separated upon ordinary political lines, are arranged in various divisions and subdivisions of Monarchist, Imperialist, Ultramontane, and Republican groups,

and that the leaders of one Republican faction, in order to win a victory over another Republican faction, must seek support from men whose cardinal principle is enmity to the very existence of the Republic. Such support is never steady, and never to be depended upon; for the interest of the Monarchist is in his own party, and he upholds a Republican Ministry only so long as his own party interest is served. The system is utterly opposed to the proper working of parliamentary government, and while it lasts the existence of the Republic is, with justice, said to be in danger.

Now, in what way is the present agitation over the Dreyfus case likely to affect the Republic? It is asserted that the disturbances in Paris and in other parts of France will probably culminate in a *coup d'état* in favor of a Bourbon, or possibly of a Bonapartist, dynasty. But the time is past in the present crisis when such a *coup d'état* could be successfully executed. Publicity is not a prerequisite of sudden and forcible changes in governments; it is rather the most serious obstacle encountered by the political conspirator. In this case there has been too much talk and too little action. The history of France shows that the successful *coup d'état* requires a fair measure of secrecy, perfect organization, some degree of popular discontent with the form of government, and entire control of a department of administration capable of using force against counter movements. It is difficult to see where the union of these elements is to be found in the present crisis. Of secrecy there is none; organization is uncertain; popular discontent is manifested against the acts of a Republican Ministry, not against the forms of republican government; while the only department available to the conspirator is the army—and no one can pretend to speak with authority in regard to its attitude. All other departments of government are in the hands of the Ministry of the Republic; and, while that Ministry is undeniably weakened by the dissensions of its supporters, the extreme centralization of French government renders any government, however constituted, a power to be reckoned with in the last resort. The Republic may, of course, commit sui-

cide; but it is impossible to believe that the legislature of France, a large majority of whose members are upholders of the republican form of government, will permit it to do so.

Revolutions sometimes succeed where *coup d'états* fail. But here also, if history proves anything, the Monarchist meets an insuperable obstacle; for no revolution has been accomplished in France that did not propose, whether honestly or not, a betterment of the political position of the citizen. Even the restoration of the Bourbons in 1814, by the arms of Europe, purported to secure to the Frenchman a greater share in government than he had realized under Napoleon. Monarchy can find no political advantage to offer to the citizen of the French Republic.

"Add only that the French nation distinguishes itself among nations by the characteristic of excitability—with the good, but also with the perilous evil, which belongs to that." So wrote Carlyle in concluding an examination of the conditions in France antecedent to the great revolution of 1789. The history of French politics in the present century indicates that this characteristic has been a constantly augmenting force in determining the rise and fall of governments. The excitability of the French is a factor always present in political agitations of whatever moment; always to be counted on; never to be measured or controlled; used successfully now and then by the demagogue, and by turns overwhelming him by its sudden reversal or gradual subsidence. It is an unknown force capable of destroying the best of governments, and of bringing to naught the most logical deduction.

If, however, the crisis in France do not prove fatal to the Republic, is it not possible to hope that it may result, ultimately, in an improved political organization—hence in an increase of strength to the Republic? The development of parties since 1875 offers strong argument for such an outcome. In the constitutional convention that governed France from 1871 to 1875, the majority was opposed to the establishment of a Republic, and only consented to it when it became evident that the various royalist factions could not agree upon a

candidate for the throne. Once established, the Republic gained strength, and in the first election under the new constitution a Republican majority was returned to the Chamber of Deputies; while the minority was divided among Bourbon Monarchists, Orleanist Monarchists, Bonapartists, and clerical Ultramontanes. The last party assumed an attitude of hostility to the Republic, but refused to ally itself definitely with any one of the Monarchist groups. The Bonapartist group has never been dangerous, for the memory of the disgraceful weakness of the second empire in the Franco-Prussian war is still too vivid to permit enthusiasm for the Napoleonic dynasty. Since the older Bourbon line became extinct, the adherents of a Bourbon monarchy have united in favor of the Orleanist branch. But this does not necessarily insure increased power for the Monarchists; for many a faithful supporter of the older line, remembering the treachery of Louis Phillipe in 1830, refused to enroll himself under a descendant of that prince, so that the strength of the united Monarchist party is numerically less than was that of the two factions.

Little change took place in the relative importance of the various parties until 1887. In that year General Boulanger began his movement, a movement whose purposes are so shrouded in mystery as to render uncertain the exact results he desired to obtain. His method was that of the agitator who attempts to inflame the populace by indirect and vague attacks upon the existing government, and to create a personal following to be used as circumstances should direct. For a time the Ministry exhibited all the usual signs of timidity in times of crisis, but in the end, gaining courage, summarily put a stop to the agitation and by law made it impossible for any man to stand for election, as did Boulanger, in more than one electoral district at one time. The result of the Boulanger movement was ultimately favorable to the Republic.

It was in indirect rather than direct results, however, that the Boulanger episode proved a benefit to the Republic. Whether justly or not, Boulanger was credited with intending the restoration of monarchy. Though the uncertainty that

veiled his purposes prevented the Monarchist party from committing itself to him, his failure inevitably resulted in discrediting that party. Under these circumstances the clericals in France, and at Rome, were forced to consider seriously whether the interests of the Church did not demand a change of policy for the Ultramontane party. The Church in France is in large measure directly dependent upon the government. The State pays the salaries, nominates the bishops, and confirms all other appointments; and religious matters are inextricably interwoven with all political questions. By 1890 the feeling was widespread that further alliance with a discredited party would be folly; and in 1892 the Pope, with the approval of clerical gatherings in France, publicly announced that the Catholic Church was "not necessarily opposed to a republican form of government in France." The effect was at once evident in the Chamber of Deputies. Many members of the Right formed themselves into a group called the "Constitutional Right;" that is, supporters of the Constitution, but conservatives. Here, then, as a result of a crisis successfully passed through, was the beginning of a party that, with time, may bring about the organization of two great parties, united upon the form of the government but separated upon the logical and natural lines of division in parliamentary governments; namely, radical or conservative action in the treatment of governmental affairs.

Is not the present crisis likely to result in a further strengthening of the Republic and in a further improvement in the party system? The grounds for believing that the Republic will weather the storm have already been stated. If the Republic does survive, it will undoubtedly be stronger than before; for time is on its side. At the moment when this is written, the Chamber of Deputies, upon one point at least—the Dreyfus case—has cast aside all factional lines and stands divided into two great parties. This division will not prove lasting, for it is based upon temporary causes; but the mere fact that a distinct division upon a question of politics is possible is, in this case, an indication of good rather than evil. The national in-

terest in the attempt of Boulanger was but trivial in comparison with the interest centered upon the condemnation of Dreyfus; yet that attempt caused a decided improvement in political organization and brought into being a tendency to party division on rational lines. The crisis of to-day, unless fatal to the Republic, will assuredly decrease the importance of the Monarchist and Anti-Republican groups, which have until now contained those elements best suited to the formation of a conservative party. If the hopelessness of the warfare upon the Republic is at last fully realized by the members of these groups, the opportunity should be excellent for a reorganization of parties.

When, then, the present agitation shall have subsided, and the Republic shall have emerged, uninjured, from the ordeal, is it not reasonable to hope that the separation of parties will cease to be based upon the form of government; that gradually two great parties—one liberal, the other conservative—will come into existence; and that the Republic, by the rational balance of these two parties, will at last acquire a true parliamentary system?

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II. ITS INHERENT STABILITY.

ON the fourth of September, 1899, the French Republic had lived twenty-nine years, the longest by nine years of any form of government France has had since Louis XVI. died a victim of a revolution bequeathed to him by the misdeeds of his ancestors and by his own entourage. When, on that Sunday afternoon a little more than a quarter of a century ago, Leon Gambetta proclaimed France a republic from the window of the historic Hotel de Ville, and thousands of voices greeted him with "Long live the Republic! Down with the Bonapartes!" statesmen and politicians shook their wise heads, as they do now, and predicted a very short life to that government which the most restless of city mobs had just acclaimed.

Their prophecies, however, have not been fulfilled, and the French Republic sees herself in her thirtieth year the friend and ally of the great Russian Empire, although we must admit she has had many evil days and has weathered many a storm. None of her Presidents have served their full term of office. M. Thiers was forced out by an anti-republican Assembly; Marshal MacMahon had to surrender an office that the Clerical party and monarchical intriguers attempted to warp to their evil intent; Jules Grévy, it is true, served his first term, but he wrecked his second at its very beginning by misplaced confidence in an unscrupulous son-in-law; Carnot, the martyr, fell shortly before the end of his term by the hand of an Italian assassin; M. Perrier's inglorious "coup de tête" needs no comment; M. Faure has just died, and Emile Loubet is his successor. Seven Presidents in twenty-nine years are too many, especially when the tenure of office was fixed at seven years; but the Republic still lives.

It has had, however, more serious problems to settle than presidential crises and changes of ministries. It has had to fight and put down the Parisian Communists and foil a Bourbon coalition; to maintain its supremacy against plotting factions; to enlighten the voters and warn them of General Boulanger—the purchased villain to the unholy conspiracy of Bonapartists, Legitimists, and Orleanists. Financial scandals, as yet half probed, have shaken it to its very foundation and have ruined scores of its supporters. The reverses of its army in Tonquin cast a gloom over the whole nation and caused distrust of its military leaders. No wonder that friends and foes alike should say at every political commotion: "This crisis may decide the fate of the French Republic!"

Fortunately for the Third Republic, the France of 1899 is far removed from the France of 1830 and 1852. It is older by many decades and has learned much by experience and age. It can no more be goaded to rise against a hated Bourbon, for there are no more Bourbons to fight. The Orleanist princes are politically dead. Their abject submission to the Comte de Chambord at Frodsdorf, their unscrupulous plotting by and

through Boulanger, and their laughable manifestoes have failed to disturb France and have demonstrated the unlikelihood of an Orleanist prince ever ruling her. As for the Bonapartes, who seriously expects to see a restoration in their favor? What Louis Bonaparte did in 1852 cannot be done again; he had then the prestige of his uncle's name, the help of the clergy, and the unthinking vote of millions (suddenly enfranchised) who were easily led at the election of the Prince-President. He had also the aid of republican socialists—a set of wild theorists who terrorized the illiterate peasantry. The standard-bearer of the Napoleonic dynasty must remove the disgrace of Sedan, the loss of two provinces, and the ignominious fall of Napoleon III. before donning the imperial crown. The sword of Napoleon the Great was picked up by a naked Zulu in Africa on the spot where fell the son of Napoleon "le petit." Irony of fate, indeed, and sign infallible that times have changed!

The half-drunken soldiery passively obeyed the command to shoot inoffensive citizens at the time of the *coup d'état;* to-day the army is the armed nation. Rich and poor drill side by side; they are no longer illiterate; education has made many of them the peers of the officers in command; they cannot be used for a *coup d'état* again. The clergy have rallied to the French Republic. Inspired by that high-minded prelate, Leo XIII., they have ceased their warring against a republican form of government; for from its coffers they receive their monthly stipends. Their enmity could not destroy the government, and their help may greatly strengthen it. Wherein lies the greatest strength of the Third Republic is her schools. The millions of francs spent since the Franco-Prussian war in establishing secular schools and in educating the people have materially changed France and made of her a new people.

The question, Whence does the French Constitution derive its strength? may be answered by referring briefly to its history. An anti-republican Assembly, elected in February, 1871, merely to treat for peace, arrogantly took upon itself to give France a king; and, failing in that, it gave a Constitution as near in spirit and form to monarchy as could possibly be. The

Deputies of the Assembly that met at Bordeaux early in February, 1871, had no constituent power conferred on them by the decree of January 29, or by the election of February that called them. French voters, very anxious for peace, had called to the nation's counsel men who promised to treat with the German conqueror and obtain from him the best terms possible under the circumstances. Nothing was said about their voting France a Constitution or giving her *any* form of government. Hardly had they organized and given to Thiers the executive power than they boldly proclaimed that they were the depositaries of the sovereign will, and on the 31st of August they solemnly declared that they had the right of constituent power and had been prevented from exercising it by imperious duties. The very name of "National Assembly" indicated plainly that they were not a constituent body, and therefore not authorized to give France a king and later a Constitution. Legally they had no such power, but, as the end has justified the means, so all sincere republicans who have the welfare of France at heart must rejoice that the National Assembly transcended its power when it framed the Constitution of February, 1875.

M. Thiers's perspicacity was never keener than when he told them that their attempt at king-making would come to naught; that there were too many irreconcilable elements among them successfully to establish a monarchy; and that the only government possible for France was a republic. He advised it as the only legal government, and encouraged the Assembly to rally to the republican standard and make it strong and conservative. This bold utterance of the old Philippist, contained in his message of November 13, 1872, stung the majority to the quick. They took their revenge by curtailing the Executive's right of speech. Shortly before this, M. Batbie had a bill passed that represented the true sentiment of the majority. The princes of the house of Bourbon were permitted to return —not the Bourbon and Orleanist princes, but the princes of the house of Bourbon: thus trying to create the impression, throughout France at least, that the two branches are one. The bill, though skilfully drawn, could not remove from

Frenchmen's minds the lingering historic fact that Philippe Egalité had voted with the regicides who sent Louis XVI. to the scaffold. Neither could the rank and file of the Orleanists and Legitimists forget the impassable chasm between the ancient *régime* represented by the Comte de Chambord and the principles of the Revolution of 1830. As well try to mix oil and water as to reconcile the respective supporters of two principles so wide apart.

Meanwhile France clamored louder and louder through the press for a dissolution and for the election of a constituent assembly that should represent the views of the country. Partial elections had been repeatedly held, with flattering results for the republicans. In April, 1873, Paris elected Barodet, a radical, and defeated de Remusat, a very mild republican. The Assembly saw in that election the growth of radicalism, and decided to avert any danger from that side by hastily bringing about a restoration; accordingly M. Thiers was forced out of power on the 24th of May, 1873, and Marshal MacMahon, by prearrangement, was elected in his stead. Three months later the plotting Assembly played its last dice and came near succeeding. On August 5th, at the residence of the Comte de Chambord, the Count of Paris knelt at the feet of the childless Count, lowered the tricolor of his grandfather to the white flag, and consented to wait for the crown until his distant relative should be pleased to hand it over to him.

To the Legitimists and most of the loyal Orleanists of the Assembly, the step taken at Frodsdorf was a shrewd political move; to the adherents of the "Monarchie de Juillet" outside the Assembly, and to a few inside, it was a humiliation unspeakable—so great that it drove them into the ranks of the republicans. The Count of Paris had sealed his fate; the Comte de Chambord soon after sealed his. He was invited to come and rule France with the tricolor and a Constitution adapted to the needs of the age. He was obdurate. If France wanted him he would return with the flag and the ancient prerogatives of his noble house. The last of the Bourbons had rendered a great service to France: his obstinacy had saved the

country from internecine difficulties. All prospects of a restoration had vanished forever; yet the Assembly, impotent to make a king and unwilling to go home, voted down (by 374 against 333) a motion of M. Casimir-Périer to proclaim the Republic. Later, the venerable scholar and diplomat Laboulaye begged them with no better success to accept the amendment of the "left center" declaring in favor of the Republic. Strange to say, a day later, January 30, 1875, the Legitimists and Orleanists, fearing the Bonapartists and growing desperate, voted for M. Wallon's amendment recognizing the Republic, as "nothing better could be found." The laws organizing the public powers were then passed, February 24-25, 1875, and the Constitution of France to-day, with two slight amendments, is the Constitution that a majority of one presented to France twenty-two years ago. The strength of the French Constitution, which space is lacking to give in full, lies in Articles 6 and 8, which read as follows:

"Art. 6.—The Ministers are responsible, as a whole, before the Chambers for the general policy of the government, and individually for their personal acts. The President of the Republic is only responsible for high treason.

"Art. 8.—The Chambers shall have the right, by separate deliberation taken in each Chamber, by an absolute majority of votes, either voluntarily or on the demand of the President of the Republic, to declare that there are substantial reasons for the revision of the constitutional laws. After each of the two Chambers shall have passed this resolution, they shall reunite in National Assembly and proceed to the revision. The laws enacting a revision of the constitutional laws, in whole or in part, shall be passed by an absolute majority of the members composing the National Assembly."

During the period for which the law of November 20, 1873, confers powers upon Marshal MacMahon, this revision can only take place on the proposition of the President of the Republic. Ministers appointed by the President, but responsible as a whole for the general policy of the government, are liable to frequent overturning, as repeated ministerial crises have shown. A "no confidence vote," which simply means

lack of support, however trivial, brings about the fall of the Ministry. This has been illustrated in England, when the most narrow vote on the most trivial motion—the reduction by one hundred pounds sterling of the salary of the Secretary of War—caused the fall of the Rosebery cabinet.

The Assembly patterned that article after the English system rather than the American, and wisely too; for the Constitution of 1852, which rendered the Ministers only subject to the Chief of State and the Chief of State only responsible to the nation, permitted that arch-conspirator and traitor, Louis Bonaparte, to throttle the Republic and don the imperial crown. Boulanger, in his halcyon days, when secretly in the pay of anti-republicans of all shades, advocated the American system as more favorable to his plans. Judged in the light of the past, the Republic is far safer with Ministries responsible to the Chambers than to the President alone. Had ill-advised MacMahon been able to rule France with a cabinet responsible to himself alone, who can say what would have resulted from his attempted *coup d'état?*

The greatest guarantee of the stability of the Republic lies in the difficulty all have found to amend the Constitution. True, article 8 was devised as a means gently to pass from a republic to a monarchy; but the framers unconsciously fettered their own hands and strengthened the republican form of government. No one but the Marshal-President could during his incumbency of office ask for a revision of the Constitution; but each Chamber had to say that there were "substantial reasons for the revision of the constitutional laws" before they could meet to bring about the desired change. After the resignation of the Marshal, either the government or the Chambers took the initiative in the matter; and twice the Chambers have met slightly to amend the organic laws of February, 1875. At a careful reading, article 8 would seem to mean that, a revision once decided on by both Chambers, the National Assembly had only to meet, discuss, and amend by "an absolute majority of votes" any article proposed by any member. Not so, however; the very point to be discussed and the proposed

amendment must be separately considered by each Chamber, and if agreed to carried to the National Assembly to claim its exclusive attention.

Any one can see how difficult it is, with Senate and Chamber voting separately on a single proposition or series of propositions, ever to agree to discuss *in toto* the Constitution in the National Assembly. Before the two bodies meet the whole of France knows what they propose to do, so the most practical construction has been given. The Constitution said that Versailles should be the seat of the Chambers. As it was inconvenient for Ministers and members alike to travel daily back and forth from Paris, the question came up to change the seat of government from Versailles to Paris. Article 8 had to be construed for the first time. The momentous question stared legislators in the face. It was known that some wanted a complete revision of the Constitution. What was to be done? Would each Chamber merely declare that there was occasion to revise the Constitution and then meet? But what prevented any one from springing on the Assembly the revision of the whole Constitution? It was necessary to guard against this contingency; therefore, to construe Article 8 and create a precedent, the Republicans, Gambetta foremost among them, saw the danger lurking ahead, and with a wisdom equal to that shown by the Supreme Court of the United States in many instances in construing the Constitution, they declared that both Chambers must agree upon the amendment before the meeting of the National Assembly and that discussions and votes in that body must be confined to said amendment.

Those who may doubt the wisdom of such a construction have only to compare the slow, progressive development of constitutional law in France, during the last twenty years, with the numerous and much-revised constitutions France has had from 1792 to 1875, to be convinced that Article 8, as construed, is the greatest safeguard to the stability of the Third Republic. The Royalists had expected a different working of their pet Constitution: they did not give their wisdom and thought in the interest of the Republic; nevertheless they builded better

than they knew, and served republican interests better than the republicans themselves could have done. They fettered the logic of their French minds and thereby gave France strong, conservative institutions—not perfect, indeed, but institutions that have now been twenty-nine years in existence, and that in a country that has changed twice from a republic to an empire, has worn out two royal dynasties, has repudiated two emperors and driven into exile two kings out of three in one hundred years.

President Faure has just died, and within two days from his demise a successor was chosen, rallying about him all the health and vigor of the nation. True, the Dreyfus agitation is not yet quiescent, and factions may come to blows—partizans and anti-partizans of the military chiefs may wrangle; yet on every opportune occasion Premiers have reiterated that the army must be subordinate to the civil authorities: an immense step forward for the welfare of France in that simple declaration. The Republic is enormously prosperous; it commands respect abroad—the foreign correspondents of our dailies to the contrary notwithstanding; it is peaceful, and not a disturbing element in Europe, as was the government of Napoleon III. before its ignominious crash.

Frenchmen may find fault with their rulers and use strong epithets against them, but they are thriving; and, shrewd financiers as they are, they will let well enough alone.

France is also becoming decentralized. Its provincial academies have become universities; they are becoming more and more centers of thought. Paris no longer rules supreme. The provinces are revindicating their rights and will not allow a Deroulede or an irresponsible journal like the *Libre Parole* to make or mar their institutions. They may succeed in upsetting a Ministry, but they are not powerful enough to change a form of government.

Is, then, the French Republic firmly established? A close student of her history and of the sentiment of her people, as expressed by their votes, must answer in the affirmative. It is certainly a historic fact that the Republic is more firmly im-

planted on Gallic soil than any government France has had for one hundred years. As Americans, we have a paramount interest in seeing a republic succeed in the midst of monarchical Europe. Then let us not magnify her shortcomings or criticize France's public men in a fault-finding spirit; for if the Republic fails, liberalism in Europe will receive so staggering a blow that its march will be retarded many decades.

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III. DREYFUS THE MARTYR.

THE power of government under a Republic is the delegated authority that the representatives of the people exercise. By the conduct of her representatives must a Republic stand or fall. The civilization of each epoch creates the standard unit of merit or demerit—of condemnation or commendation—by which the actions of nations are measured. A crime against the intelligence of the Dark Ages appears not so flagrant as against the intelligence of the highest civilization the world has ever known.

France, having the light of the centuries to guide her, the past fraught with precept and example, would be expected to acquit herself of her responsibility in a manner becoming her possibilities of knowledge. Judging her culpability by her knowledge of right, the condemnation of Dreyfus stands out against the whitest canvas justice has yet uplifted—the darkest crime of the centuries. His pardon—the offspring of cowardice, the mask of treachery, and the thin veil with which France seeks to cover her wanton injustice—is a peace offering to silence a clamorous world, which demands that the innocent accused be relieved of all taint of guilt.

To-day, before the nations of earth, France stands adjudged as lacking the moral stamina to acquit herself of a known duty. To the student of national life she is a crystallized embryo still clad in swaddling-clothes, but having attained to strength

that she wields in a perverse and incautious way—recking not for good or ill. The power to achieve inheres in reasoning beings; movement is the law of nations as well as of matter; rest is a negative condition. Progress is upward; decadence, downward. There is no table-land at the apex of rise and fall on which a nation may rest. The ultimate absorption of France by a homogeneous people is seemingly the destiny of the Republic.

The patriotism of Dreyfus stands unexampled in the annals of men. Love of country is the natural reciprocation of the protected child of the Republic. That the outcast, stung by every ripple and blinded by every gleam of his country's shining flag, should exultingly exclaim, "Long may she wave!" almost transcends belief. His patriotism should incite in Frenchmen a love of country. If the accused call benedictions upon the head of the oppressor, who shall assault the perpetuity of France?—but not all Frenchmen have Dreyfusian patriotism. Accursed by the State he served, the instinct of patriotism, still alive, burst forth—"I am a Frenchman!" Through weary days, stretching into years, alone on a dreary island, far from home and friends, bereft of wife and children, stripped of all that life holds dear, the canopy of heaven his only covering, venomous insects his only companions, execrated punishment his portion—reason might totter, the monotony of a familiar scene might become strange, life-blood might become stagnant, the proffered means to end life's tragic drama might be accepted. And who could censure? But, with failing, gasping breath, this modern martyr of the olden school wafts his devotion to country across arid waste and billowy ocean—"I am a Frenchman!" What more lofty sentiments—to what higher and purer realms of patriotism has the wingèd soul of man ever attained? Should the mothers of the Republic cradle their offspring to the lullaby of this man's unflinching and unwavering love of country, France through countless ages would stand a memorial to the constancy of her sons and the devotion of her daughters.

High above the groveling malice and baseness of his ac-

cusers floats the pennant of this man's hopes and aspirations for his country. France cast him off; history takes him up; for him she will weave a chaplet of immortelles as enduring as liberty; to him each succeeding age will pay homage; for him shall virtue attune her lyre; for him shall fame's undying fires be kindled, and at his mausoleum shall justice ever stand guard.

The authors of this tragedy say our condemnation counts for naught. If so, it is the death-knell of justice in France—it marks the depths to which France has sunk. But we trust that the embers of stifled justice may yet shed their hallowed glow and ruddy light across this scene of infamy. Do the Dreyfusians decry the name of France? Not they. Do they hope to rehabilitate justice? Over the crumbled ruins of tyranny they trust that the radiant light of kindness may yet shine, and that an enlightened philanthropy will knit together the broken bones and bind up the aching wounds of their oppressed countryman—and restore a harmony as beneficent as it is just.

Justice! Justice! O thou departed nymph, to what sylvan bower hast thou flown? Amid what equations dost thou lend thy home-spun graces; or hast thou changed form—been reincarnated—by the arch-enemy, the plausible sophist Wrong? Or hast thou grown weary of the return of equal for equal; caught the spirit of greed; clothed thyself in the delusive raiment of a passing scene; canceled thy precepts, and become a devotee of the god of Mammon? A waiting world—a breathless populace—looks over the mountain-tops, through the valleys, across the plains, in sequestered nooks, in dark caves, by flowing streams, in the hovels of distress, in the haunts of the thoughtless gay, in the busy streets, in the mansions of the opulent, in the lone widow's cabin: hoping thou mayest be found. Tell us, oh tell us, thou once radiant adjuster of the ills of the oppressed, when thou wilt return, set aside tardy pardon granted to the innocent, and re-clothe with the vestment and sanctity of unblemished reputation those whom mock courts have found blamable!

France may brave the ignominy of her conduct—she may assert that in the regulating of her internal affairs she is supreme; but before the mighty onslaught of outraged justice the walls of tyranny must fall. Its citadels in all parts of the earth have given way—in the jungles only, of deepest intrenchment, its basilisks still belch forth. But the lines of an unnumbered host are advancing; their footfall and victorious cry of liberty resound above debauched Republics, falling dynasties, and overturned monarchies; the palisades of injustice are being taken by the enlightened conscience of an onward-moving civilization. Will the usurpation of government stand before the charge of the unnumbered hosts of earth's lovers of justice? Has the night set in? Has the great wheel of human evolution reversed its course?

The pall of darkness is settling over France. Will its ebony blackness enfold the gentle emotions of life? Will it exclude from the suffering, by its enveloping folds, the kindly charity of a world? Has virtue no X-rays that will pierce the murky veil that envelops the outcast? Has humanity no elixir that will dissipate the storm-clouds of injustice that threaten liberty? Shall the unproved charges of the dissolute and debauched sons of vice be stamped upon the reputation of the guiltless? Shall the burning diadem of false accusation crown the head and wreck the life of the victim of injustice? Shall pardon, vile and bitter, harass the ear, moisten the lips, and dampen the brow of him who, tried at the bar of nations, is held to be blameless? Shall the pillars erected to the memory of patriots, whose lives were beneficent and helpful, crumble in to-morrow's dust—to be trampled in the slime of the streets by a thoughtless people? Shall the ruddy glint of to-morrow's sunrise gild the bier of departed justice? Shall the moon's pale light guide the footsteps of innocence to the altar of martyrdom amid the protest of a world? The Republic of France must answer.

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DIRECT LEGISLATION IN SWITZERLAND AND AMERICA.

BY Direct Legislation is meant the following:

1. *The Optional Referendum.*—The right of a fraction of the voters—say five per cent.—to require by petition that a law or ordinance adopted by the legislature, Congress, or a municipal council shall be submitted to popular vote.

2. *The Compulsory Referendum.*—The constitutional requirement that *all* laws and ordinances (excepting urgency measures and the existing budget) be submitted to popular vote.

3. *The Initiative.*—The right of an individual or group of voters to draw up a completely formulated bill and to require, upon petition of say five per cent. of the voters, that the bill without amendment shall be submitted to popular vote.

A majority of votes cast decides in each case.

American examples of the *compulsory referendum* are the vote on State Constitutions and constitutional amendments; local option or liquor-selling; municipal and town vote on borrowing money, purchasing or erecting water-works, gas, or electric-light plants, or constructing large public improvements. The *optional referendum* and the *initiative* have been recently adopted with various modifications in South Dakota, Nebraska, and San Francisco, Cal. The Swiss Confederation and every Swiss canton (except one) have adopted the three forms of direct legislation. The genuineness of direct legislation depends upon the details. It may be so hedged in by hostile restrictions as to be almost worthless. Such restrictions are, for example, the excessive number of petitioners required, as in Nebraska—fifteen per cent.; vexatious obstacles to legal signatures; formalities, time limits, etc. These are fully explained in the books and articles referred to below.

Some of the explanations offered to account for the success

of direct legislation in Switzerland show a curious reversal of cause and effect. They seem to imply that the Swiss people dropped into the Initiative and Referendum through the possession of some unexplained hereditary instinct, just as an insect flies to its proper food without being taught. It is said that direct legislation is successful in Switzerland while it would not be so in England and America, because the Swiss have no hard-and-fast "parties;" because they have greater respect for one another's opinions; because they do not have wide extremes of wealth; because they do not vote against legislators for reëlection even though they vote against the laws of these same legislators at the referendum; because they are a quiet, peaceable, home-staying folk, etc. It is true that these qualities accompany successful direct legislation; but they are its fruits, not its soil. They are results of the referendum, not its causes. The Swiss were at one time the mercenary soldiers of European kings and dukes, and they brought to their homes the low morals and turbulence of such a life. Yet it is agreed that, in the cantons that formerly were noted for violence and bloodshed, there has been a marked decline in homicide and other forms of crime since the introduction of lawmaking by the people.

The Swiss reëlect their legislators even when opposed to their politics—not because the Swiss have a kind of quaint, absurd instinct for keeping the same man always in office, but because they know that he does not have the final decision anyhow, and they are willing to have his expert advice even though they do not accept it. They employ their lawmakers as we do our lawyers and doctors—not to dictate what we shall buy and sell, eat and drink, but to arrange the details; to tell us *how* to buy and sell, and *how* to keep our health. Our family doctor is not a boss, and we keep him even when we violate all his good advice. So the Swiss reëlect their lawmakers, not as lawmakers, but as a statutory revision commission. This is a result of the referendum, not a condition precedent.

The Swiss have not developed political parties because their direct lawmaking obviates the need of parties. It is an easy

matter to get together a new party on each new question of importance as it arises. To introduce a measure into politics and get it enacted into law it is not necessary first to find a party that will adopt it in a platform, but those interested can place it directly on the statute-book by petition and popular vote. Where a party is relied upon to take up an issue, there is prospect of its repudiation after election, and the voters must stay by the party and must accept all its other planks, even against their judgment, or else lose their favorite one. Consequently, party organization and party solidarity are the first conditions of success, and voters are even prone to place party above principles. Bitter execration follows the man that abandons his party—more bitter than that heaped upon the long-standing foe—because the party is the only means of successful political action. All this is absent in Switzerland. A standing party, with machinery always at work, is a waste of effort where the people can get the laws they want by direct vote.

Why do the Swiss people respect one another's opinions and consider it an indignity to influence another's vote at elections?* Because they know that each man's opinions count. Each man votes directly upon issues; his votes for candidates are secondary. He is never humiliated by seeing his opinions spurned by the very legislators who before election pledged to support them. Opinions, like men, are seriously respected only when they have power. Then only do they truly *command* respect.

The Swiss people are free from the corrupting extremes of wealth, largely because the referendum headed off the encroachments of boodlers, bribers, and monopolists, together with all kinds of special legislation by which so many American fortunes have been created. Prior to the referendum Switzerland was going through an era of political villainy quite similar to that which the American people know so well. In fact Swiss politics from 1830 to 1860 reads quite like a chapter in

*See article by Prof. Jesse Macy, "The Swiss and Their Politics," in *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. i., pp. 31-33.

current America. It was no abstract philosophy nor democratic instinct that brought the referendum. The people were driven to it as the only certain means of expelling corrupt wealth from politics. The alliance between the private corporations—the railways and the banks—that furnished the funds and the politicians who manipulated the people was exactly that to which Americans are now slowly opening their eyes. No matter which of the two parties elected its candidates, the result was the same. Election promises were violated—the people were sold out. Franchises were granted, subsidies and tax exemptions were bestowed, and extremes of wealth and poverty were forced upon the people by law, simply because the lawmakers were absolute. They voted these special privileges; they received their share and their perquisites from the boodlers; they were building up political machines and controlling elections with these funds taken from the people, and there was no restraint. The referendum was the remedy. The canton of Vaud adopted it immediately following an especially exasperating grant of subsidy to a railroad corporation.* Other cantons followed. The movement is likened by Deploige to a perfect wave of democracy sweeping over the country. The remedy was complete. Switzerland was rescued from evils that now threaten the life of other democracies. No longer could lawmakers sell out the people; they could no longer "deliver the goods." The people themselves must ratify the sale. The referendum was the people's veto.

It must not be thought that in America the people have not been as wide awake as in Switzerland. They have had similar experience. They have seen their representative bodies violate pledges and sell the people's birthright to corporations.

*See Deploige: "The Referendum in Switzerland," London, 1898, p. 82. This book is the best complete account of the history and workings of Direct Legislation. It is written by a Belgian, and is translated into English by C. P. Trevelyan, with notes and a good bibliography by Miss Lilian Tomm, the editor. Neither the author nor the editor is an advocate of the measure. They seem chargeable with the misconception above noted of what is to be accomplished by the referendum. Yet they give abundant material on both sides for independent judgment.

They have struggled vigorously to stop the abuse, but they have developed, not the people's veto, but the executive veto and the judiciary veto. To understand the present need of the referendum we need to understand this diverse development in Switzerland and America in the effort to resist the same political outrages.

Representative government originated in the Swiss cantons in much the same way that it did in the American colonies. The government had been feudal and aristocratic. The people arose in revolt and conducted their revolt through the leadership of their own elected representatives. This was in Switzerland in 1830 as in America in 1776. When revolution was successful in both countries, the legislatures thus elected became naturally sovereign in the place of the expelled rulers. There was no division of power between the three branches of executive, judiciary, and legislature, but the legislature was the sole and absolute sovereign. Judges and governors were appointed by it. In five States it was even a court of appeals, like a House of Lords. It contained the ablest men of the cantons or the colonies—men who were truly representative and who showed their ability by their management of a successful rebellion.

These legislatures, however, were not elected by universal suffrage. They were legislatures of property-owners. It was not until the decades of the twenties to the forties in America, and following the revolution of 1830 in Switzerland, that universal manhood suffrage, without qualification of property, religion, or education, became established as the basis of electing the legislators. This introduced a new and inconsistent feature. It had been firmly asserted in both countries that the people were sovereign, but it was thought that their sovereignty would be fully assured if every man had a vote for a delegate who actually exercised sovereignty. The result was a disappointment. Universal suffrage introduced conflicting interests into the elections. Property-owners, when voting alone as a class, could elect their own best men, just as a private corporation of stockholders can elect their directors without interfer-

ence from outside. But when the property-owners were compelled to vote with the non-propertied, with the uneducated, the foreigner, the unbeliever—all these discordant elements were unable to agree on one man who should represent all. It was as if the stockholders of a railway corporation should be forced to admit their employees to an equal vote on the basis of numbers in electing their president. Such a president would not be a leader either of the stockholders or employees; he would be a compromise—a "dark horse"—of some kind. So it was with the legislatures. They quickly fell into the hands of professional politicians and wirepullers, whose shrewdness could marshal majorities or pluralities from these conflicting classes. Immediately these politicians allied themselves with the new class of speculators and capitalists who were coming upon the stage with the railways, the bank, the corporation, the mechanical inventions, and the new sources of unprecedented wealth. We have seen the outcome. The legislatures degenerated and became the tools of the speculators, and the latter seized upon the property and privileges of the people. The people must now either depose their legislators or tie their hands. The former was impossible, for headship must reside somewhere. They proceeded to tie their hands.

In Switzerland the only way to do this was to give the people a veto over the specific acts of the lawmakers. There must be a veto somewhere, because the people had found that no matter how they voted for candidates they could only displace one party by another—one set of ringsters by another set. The only veto they could adopt was the people's veto, because they could not call in foreigners, and they had never conceived the idea of an executive or a judge independent of the legislature.

But in America a different course was open. While the legislatures were supreme in the new State Constitutions formed during the revolution and in the Continental Congress, yet when it came to the Federal Constitution a new theory was adopted. This theory was supposed to have come from the English Constitution, but it came by the way of France and

was more logical but less truthful than it would have been had it been stated by Englishmen. It was the theory of the three branches of government—the executive, the judiciary, the legislature—each independent of the others and each a check and a balance on the others. Influenced by this theory, the framers of the Federal Constitution made the President elective—not by the people indeed, but by an Electoral College independent of Congress and, it was hoped, independent of the people. In the early years, however, it was still the Congressmen of the two parties who actually nominated the Presidential candidates. Not until the time of Andrew Jackson and the rise of the party convention did the people take the nomination away from Congressmen. The reason for this innovation was plain. They believed that Congress was controlled by the wealth and aristocracy of the land. They saw the deal it had made with the private corporation known as the United States Bank. This bank, with its powerful monopoly of money, threatened to control the government, to intimidate the voters, and to fleece the people. The people turned to Andrew Jackson. They made him almost dictator. They took advantage of his constitutional veto to break the alliance between private speculators and Congress. For the time being the executive veto was successful and overwhelming. It was not necessary to invent a people's veto.

In the State governments the Executive's power over the legislature has been introduced by direct and formal revision of the Constitution; whereas, in the Federal government, as we have just seen, it was brought about by subordinating the electoral college to the party convention. In the thirteen revolutionary Constitutions the Governor had no veto, except in Massachusetts and New York, where it was narrowly limited.* In no State did he appoint officers singly. These were chosen by the legislature. His term was the shortest possible—only

*Historical statements here given are based on the valuable monograph by Judge Horace Davis, in the Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, entitled "American Constitutions: the Relations of the Three Departments as Adjusted by a Century." Baltimore, 1885.

one year in ten States. In six States reëlection was prohibited. Every State legislature elected a Privy Council to sit with him, whose advice and consent he was required to secure on all important acts. He was plainly dreaded. But in the Constitutions of the new States, beginning with Ohio in 1802, the Federal plan was imitated. And when, after the war of 1812, the older States grew dissatisfied with their legislatures, the revisions of State Constitutions restored to the Governor the power he had held as colonial representative of the king. Every State revision since then has added to his power and in turn has stripped the legislature. He has now the veto in nearly all. He appoints officials and judges. But, more significant, the Constitutions place all kinds of obstacles in the way of the legislatures. They cannot hold annual sessions. They cannot sit more than two or three months. Special legislation is prohibited. Minute regulations are prescribed as to the introduction, reading, and adoption of bills. Where these restrictions have not yet been imposed, there is scarcely any other demand so popular. In fact the legislatures, more than the Governors, now are dreaded.

Yet more striking is the suppression of the municipal legislatures. These were also originally supreme in the cities. But here the "federal plan" has overreached itself. The mayor has not only been given the veto, but he and his appointees are the government. There is no pretext of checks and balances. The board of aldermen has practically disappeared, or where it still holds a vestige of authority its power is believed to be a mischievous relic.

So much, briefly, for the executive veto. The judiciary veto is the unique feature of American government. We do not appreciate its novelty nor the grounds of its popularity and urgency. Two developments of the judiciary have occurred, both provoked by the degeneracy of the legislatures. The one is the veto; the other is the popular election of the judges. When, through the revision of Constitutions, the legislatures were hemmed in and tethered, there was urgent need of machinery for holding them to the restrictions thus prescribed.

The legislature could not be effectively muzzled by a written Constitution, if itself continued to be the final interpreter of that Constitution. In lieu, therefore, of a popular veto, the judiciary was naturally given the final decision as to the constitutionality of the acts of the legislature. And the Governor, too, was put under judicial dominion, for the Constitution also definitely limited his powers.

At the same time the judges were made elective by popular vote. This again is unique and peculiar to America. No other great country elects its judges. It also is recent, and dates only from those constitutional revisions that accompanied and followed universal suffrage and legislative incompetency. New York was the first to make this provision for the highest courts, and this was done as late as 1846. The reason is plain. Judges could not veto the legislature and Governor if their positions and salaries were dependent upon them. They must get their authority direct from the people if they were really to be a third branch of government. The Federal judiciary has escaped this fate because the Federal Constitution is hardly amendable. But the Federal Supreme Court has seldom used its veto on the President and Congress. Its principal field has been in the control of the State governments. The State judiciary, on the other hand, in thirty-three States is now elected by the people, whereas it formerly was elected by the legislature.*

Thus in nation, State, and city, the legislative branch of government has been fettered and suppressed. The executive and the judicial branches have been exalted over it. But, instead of curing the legislature, the remedy has only infected the other branches with the legislature's vices. The Executive is equally the creature of the politicians. After reformers in New York had bestowed on the mayor the powers of the obsolete aldermen they are surprised to hear him announce that it is not he but Tammany Hall that has taken the contract for

*See article by Frank Gaylord Cook, in the *Atlantic Monthly* for June, 1899: "Politics and the Judiciary."

governing the metropolis.* The President's veto gives him large powers in legislation, but for that very reason he has been made the creature of partisan machinery. The Constitution attempted to provide for a non-partizan like George Washington. But, so long as the President has political power, the politicians and the corporations are compelled to exert themselves to control his nomination and election. The Federal judges are appointed by the President from members of his own party, or from those who agree with him on corporation law. The State judges are ominously the creatures of political methods. Candidates for the judiciary in New York City pay Tammany Hall $5,000 to $10,000 for their offices. Candidates for the chief-justiceship of the State have been nominated by the State central committee, without the trouble of calling a convention of the people.† Professor Kenneson, of New York University, says publicly to his graduating class of youthful lawyers: "Profound knowledge of your profession, high ideals of your calling, never will commend you to the boss for nomination to the bench, nor lead the average judge to name you as referee. Such things go by political preferment, and not by merit."‡

Did the facts conform to the theory, the judiciary veto would be consistent. The theory holds that the people are sovereign; that they express their will in a written Constitution; that the judiciary is merely their agent in enforcing their constitutional will upon the other departments. But the Constitutions are carefully guarded so as not to express the people's will. It is inaccurate to hold that a Federal Constitution adopted one hundred years ago and amended only through civil war§

*The advantage of the referendum as a measure for taking the mayor out of politics and making him actually, as he is in theory, the "business head" of the city, is presented in an article on "The Three-fold Problem of City Government," by the present writer, in *Progress* for March, 1899, published by the University Association, Chicago.

†See article by Mr. Cook, above cited. Mr. Cook argues for return to appointment of judges. This is not possible so long as judges have a veto on the other branches of government. New York has voted it down by 3 to 1.

‡See New York daily papers of June 15 to 20, 1899.

§The original twelve amendments belonged properly to the original adoption of the whole.

should express in all its parts the will of the living generation. To amend the Constitution requires a two-thirds vote in Congress and a three-fourths vote of the States. Practically this means that the politicians now in office are impregnable. So with the State Constitutions. Pennsylvania permits only one amendment in five years. Others permit only one at a time. All amendments must originate in the very legislatures whose privileges the people are striving to lessen. Even then in many States two successive legislatures must agree on the amendment.* And finally, the people have often only the choice of either accepting an amendment that is doctored contrary to their taste, or of retaining a provision that has been outgrown or has been interpreted by the courts without their consent.

The case is worse when a total revision of the Constitution is attempted. Total revisions ought never to be needed, but sometimes they are the only way of getting the partial amendments demanded. Then a constitutional convention—elected under the party system, like the legislature—submits a completed instrument, minute in details and involved in technicalities, and the sovereign people is given the empty option of approving it as a whole or retaining the existing Constitution. This decision usually turns on one or two paragraphs, and the many important parallel clauses are swallowed or overlooked. No wonder we do not have lawyers or judges nowadays emphasizing the old theory that the courts in declaring a law unconstitutional are merely applying the will of the people to their lawmakers. Instead, we hear the pious lauding of the courts as a check on the "passions and frailties" of the people; as the representatives, not of the people, but of "law—impersonal, impassive, and serene in the innermost shrine of the temple" of popular government.†

But the Constitutions are not clear on every point. They

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*See Borgeaud: "Adoption and Amendment of Constitutions in Europe and America," translated from the French. New York, 1895; pp. 188-9. This important volume is mainly devoted to American, French, and Swiss constitutions. The author's discussion of the initiative is the best now to be found in English.

†Judge Horace Davis, in monograph cited above.

are susceptible of opposite interpretations. Lawyers differ. The courts of last resort seldom, if ever, render a decision on a constitutional question by a unanimous vote. With such differences of interpretation it is plainly not the Constitution, but the *judges' idea* of the Constitution, that settles the case. Judges are human; they begin as lawyers; they are generally elected or appointed as partizans; the ablest of them have made their standing as corporation attorneys; and, though we gladly acknowledge that they succeed better than the rest of us in forgetting politics and former clients, yet they must have opinions on questions of property and constitutionality. They certainly do extend the scope of the Constitution with the appearance of new industrial conditions. In nothing is this more patent than where they have treated corporations as "artificial persons," and have transferred to them those "natural rights" which the Constitution of the United States grants to "natural persons."

Can it be true that the people's will, expressed in a Constitution drawn up a hundred years ago, when a private corporation was almost unknown, could have anticipated the rights that fifty years later it wished to see bestowed on these artificial beings yet unthought of? We cannot answer this question until we make it possible for the people freely to express their will at the appearance of each new issue of importance. As long as they fail to do this the judges can only do the best they can—declare the Constitution as they themselves believe it. But let us remember that the real decision is merely the judge's *opinion,* in place of the legislature's opinion, of what the law ought to be.

The apparent solution of the matter is to make the Constitution promptly amendable by the people. In Switzerland this is nothing more nor less than the *initiative.* I am not ready to say that the initiative as now formulated in Switzerland is satisfactory. The Swiss themselves, while unanimously in favor of the referendum, are somewhat disappointed in the existing initiative. Those who favor it in general are willing to amend it in details. The referendum is negative. It is a check—a

veto. By its provisions every important act of the legislature must be submitted to popular vote for final acceptance or rejection. But the initiative is intended to be positive. By it a small number of citizens can draw up a bill, present it to the legislature, and require a popular vote upon it without amendment. The legislature can express its opinion and submit an alternative bill at the same time; but it cannot obstruct the petitioners' bill. This criticism of the initiative does not strike its principle. The initiative in some form is the necessary complement of the referendum. It has indeed done its best work where it has served as a perpetual power of repealing laws (whereas the referendum proper must be voted within thirty or sixty days), or where it has forced the legislature to take action and to present to the referendum some kind of a bill. But the initiative does not directly accomplish progressive legislation. The Swiss radicals are especially disappointed in it. Petitions are drawn up by small fractions of the people; sometimes they are whimsical and abstract, and are nearly always voted down. But I consider this one of the truest guarantees of the initiative. It is the strongest justification of the position taken by those who hold that lawmaking is soundest when it most frankly trusts the people.

Direct legislation in Switzerland has abundantly shown that the people are safer than their rulers. Extremists have no hope in them. They vote down the bills of both reactionaries and radicals. This is true not merely in the country districts but also in the cities, where the unpropertied working classes are supposed to show disregard of property rights. Direct legislation gives voice and influence to the great mass of home-loving, peaceable, industrious people, who make little agitation and who are not heard in the ordinary clamor of politics. Such people are fair-minded and love justice. They want only what they can earn, but they want it themselves. They are the bulwark of democracy. They cannot be crowded or dazed. They wait until they understand. Yet in the long run, at the second or third voting, it is found that they are ready to accept progressive measures. They voted down government railroads

twice, partly because of the exorbitant price the legislature agreed to pay to the private owners; but finally, when the question reached the stage where it excited almost no discussion, they voted in its favor by a large majority. So with other measures. Says M. Stüssi, in his notable account of direct legislation in the city of Zürich: "All laws useful to the canton have been accepted, even those which demanded considerable money sacrifices from the people. No law which would really have advanced either moral or material progress has been definitely laid aside. In those rare cases which seem to contradict this conclusion, the referendum has simply displayed its inherent ultra-conservative character and delayed an advance which would seem to most to be too rapid."

The foregoing discussion is intended to show that many of the arguments usually advanced for and against direct legislation miss its true position. Direct legislation is not strictly a means of legislation: it is a check on legislation. But none the less it is the most urgent proposition before the American public. While theoretically basing our government on the will of the people, we have been experimenting for a century to find a machine that will run itself independently of the people. But government is not merely a nice set of checks and balances, of vetoes and counter-vetoes. It is the outcome of the whole life of the people. The executive veto and the judiciary veto are irritating substitutes for the people's veto. Yet too much must not be expected from direct legislation. It is to be classed, not with legislation proper but with such devices as the secret ballot, the official primary, the corrupt practises acts. Its urgency is not as a means of bringing in reforms, but as a cure for bribery, spoils, and corruption. These are indeed the pressing evils of American politics. No reform movement, no citizens' union or the like, can fully cope with them. A despotism, a monarchy, an oligarchy, or an aristocracy can be corrupt and survive; for it depends upon the army. A republic or a democracy depends on mutual confidence; and, if bribery and corruption shatter this confidence, it is of all forms of government the most despicable. It can survive only by the army and the police.

The referendum is the only complete and specific cure for bribery. It alone goes to the source of corruption. It deprives lawmakers and executives of their monopoly of legislation. The secret ballot, official primaries, civil service reform, proportional representation—these are all needful, but they leave to a few the monopoly of government and the power to sell at a monopoly price. If they should all be adopted, the immense interests dependent on legislation will pay not less but more money, and will control them. Even public ownership of public enterprises, although it ultimately destroys the largest corruption fund, must first be brought about by legislation; and this will be the signal for exorbitant prices and a carnival of bribery more profligate than any hitherto seen.

With the referendum the use of money, whether honest or corrupt, will be almost abolished. The main objection to the referendum is that it defeats sound reforms as well as "jobs," because the people lack confidence in their lawmakers. In the long run it is too conservative. It will disappoint the radicals who now advocate it. The conservatives who now oppose it will be its hottest champions. The initiative will give but little help in this direction. Other reforms, particularly proportional representation, are needed for progressive legislation. But that is in the future. Bribery and corruption must first be settled. Every citizen, whether conservative or radical, can unite at once on the referendum—the only death-blow to bribery. The political machine and the boss will then go, too; for they will have no corporation treasuries to feed upon. After that we can think of positive reforms.

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CURRENCY REFORM.

AS a part of the proceedings of the American Economic Association, at its meeting at New Haven, December 28, 1898, we have the report of the Committee on Currency Reform. It is to be regretted that this report was not subjected to a more thorough discussion by the Association than it received; for it is believed that if it had been it would not have gone out with the appearance even of having the sanction of the Association. The Committee, however, distinctly state that "the Association assumes no responsibility for the views here set forth." This affords partial relief, at any rate, for the Association itself from responsibility for the report; but a full discussion by the Association, it is hoped, would more explicitly have relieved it from the appearance of lending its sanction to the views on currency regulation expressed in the report. For, notwithstanding the distinguished names signed to it,* that such a report should come from any scientific association can excite only surprise. It is certainly the first instance on record in which an economic association has lent countenance even to the principle of Lawism in the regulation of a paper currency.

The fundamental principle in the system of John Law was that things having value in money may be made into money equal to their value. That is, lands, bonds, bank assets, etc., having value in money, may have currency issued upon them equal to their value. The Committee include bonds and bank assets in their category of "securities" on which currency issues may be based, but exclude land. Why are bonds and bank assets better security than land? What limit do such securities place upon paper currencies that land does not? Land is limited, but there is no assignable limit to bonds or bank assets.

*The Report is signed by F. M. Taylor, University of Michigan; F. W. Taussig, Harvard University; J. W. Jenks, Cornell University; Sidney Sherwood, Johns Hopkins University, and David Kinley, University of Illinois.

Of all modes of limiting or securing currency, bank assets are perhaps the most unsubstantial and unsafe. They have been recommended because they were easily provided, and for that reason they have been by some termed "liquid securities"—and not infrequently, and especially in times of panic, they pass suddenly from the liquid to the gaseous state.

It is, however, to bank assets as a means of regulating the supply of currency that I desire particularly to direct attention. The idea that a thing can be owned, used, bought, and sold as property, and at the same time be made into dollars to be added to the volume of currency, is so unscientific, not to say absurd, as to excite wonder that it should find support among economists anywhere. Gold and silver, when coined into money, cease to be anything but money. Gold is not held as property by one while another uses it as money. But it is proposed in this report to allow mere evidences of debt—for that for the most part is what bank assets consist of—to be held as the property of a bank on which interest is derived, and at the same time be *duplicated as currency to circulate as money*. The essence of Lawism, as stated, is that a thing may be owned as property and at the same time be made into money by which its own price as property is to be measured; and to admit evidences of debt into the category of things that may be converted into currency is to give sanction to Lawism in its wildest and most vicious form. Wild-cat banking in this country, fifty years ago, grew out of the adoption of this very principle. Seventy years intervened between the Mississippi Bubble and the French Assignats—seventy years from Law to Mirabeau; but it is less than fifty years from wild-cat banking in the United States to this indorsement by a committee of an economic association of the principle upon which wild-cat banking was carried on.

No language in condemnation of such a recommendation can be too severe. As a principle on which to regulate a paper currency it has no support whatever in economic science, and stands condemned whenever and wherever it has been put to the test of practical experience. The Committee evidently had

in mind, chiefly if not solely, the idea of security of the notes put out. But it was long ago pointed out that security of final payment of notes, intended to circulate as money, was not such regulation of quantity as would secure stability of value. It is but another instance of proposals like those referred to by Ricardo in his testimony before the Parliamentary Committee of 1819, in which he said:

"Plans for an improved system of currency are frequently laid before the public, which rest entirely on this fallacy: The exclusive object of these systems is to obtain for the paper currency to be issued under them a greater degree of security than that which is supposed to attach at present to the notes of the Bank of England. This end the authors of these schemes generally propose to accomplish by contrivances which they deem to be extremely ingenious, but which always resolve themselves into the simple plan of making property of some kind or other the basis of the circulation. Sometimes the plan suggested proposes to issue a paper currency against the security of land, sometimes against the security of a public debt, and sometimes against merchandise in the docks; but, having provided for the security of the notes, the plan generally terminates at this point—the projector apparently conceiving that he has satisfied all the *desiderata* of a good paper currency, although he has introduced no specific measure for regulating the amount of that currency and maintaining its value relatively to the currencies of the other countries of the world."

The Committee lay much stress on the need of an *elastic* currency, and admit that the issue of currency on bonds does not permit the elasticity desired; for when notes are once issued on bonds they are out to stay until the bonds are taken up and the currency retired finally. But the Committee do not explain how notes issued on bank assets would be more *elastic* than if issued on bonds or on land. Indeed, it would have been far more satisfactory if the Committee had undertaken to explain just how an elastic currency operates—on what principle it expands and contracts in answer to the "wants of trade." The Committee first assume that a currency will naturally expand and contract of itself in answer to demand for more or less money. They reason that when prices rise and business becomes more active more currency is needed

and banks should be put in condition to furnish it; then, when prices fall and business activity declines, currency, they assume, will naturally return to the vaults of the banks. This reasoning is about as scientific as it would be to contend that an engine having begun to run faster requires more steam, and in that case more should be turned on, and then, for a similar reason, when the engine begins to slow down, not needing so much steam, it should in part be turned off!

The Committee say: "The forces that work respectively for expansion and contraction must have easy and unimpeded action." But how is this action to be controlled? That is the question. Prices do not rise in advance of currency expansion —any more than an engine starts to run faster before more steam is turned on—but follow it, and having risen they do not fall till contraction of currency takes place, or credit breaks down; and then the fall is usually precipitous, from panic. If the effect of an increased supply of money were only to sustain business activity, or if it were issued only to supply needs for a greater number of exchanges to be made, there might possibly be devised some automatic adjustment between supply of and demand for money; but one of the immediate effects of more money is a rise of prices, and this demand never lets up. When prices double, the demand for two dollars is as intense as it was before for one; hence, no automatic adjustment between demand for money (in response to rising prices) and its supply, when supply is limitless and practically costless, as in the case of paper currency, is possible.

In recommending the basing of currency on bank assets, the Committee say: "The superiority of such a system is further insured by the fact that there is a very close correspondence between the amount of such assets in the possession of the banks and the need of the community for currency—since these assets, like the need for money, vary in amount with the volume of business." This is what the directors of the Bank of England said in 1810, and the reply of the celebrated Bullion Report of that year is a sufficient answer to the same claim presented anew eighty-eight years later. The bank directors had said that "the public will never call for more [currency]

than is absolutely necessary for their wants." The reply of the Bullion Report referred to, after stating that "an increase in the quantity of the local currency of a particular country will raise prices in that country exactly in the same manner as an increase in the supply of precious metals raises prices all over the world," is as follows: "That this doctrine is a very fallacious one your Committee cannot entertain a doubt. The fallacy upon which it is founded lies in not distinguishing between an advance of capital to merchants and an additional supply of currency to the general mass of circulating medium." While this was said of notes issued under suspension of specie payments, it applies also to notes issued on the assets of banks.

But, not unduly to prolong this criticism, suffice it to say that not only has the principle of regulation recommended in this report been condemned and discarded by all enlightened nations for more than half a century, but with it has been abandoned the note-security principle, the bank-reserve principle, and every other device formerly claimed by banks as safe guides for the issue of currency. To the extent that either of these principles operates to limit currency expansion it serves a good purpose; but as principles upon which to regulate money supply, with a view to stability in its value, they have everywhere failed and will fail. Overstone and Peel and the Parliament that passed the act of 1844 were right when they decided that the function of money was of such public concern that its issue could not safely be left in private hands, or its regulation intrusted to private interests; and the right to issue notes intended to circulate as money, by the act of 1844, was taken from every bank in England—even from the Bank of England itself; and the principles relating to the issue of currency then adopted—modified more or less, it is true, as to the particular mode of regulation—have been adopted by nearly all advanced nations. And yet we have in this report a recommendation that the privilege of issuing notes to circulate as money be given not only to the thousands of banks already in existence but to the thousands more that may be organized, based on bank assets and governed by no regulating principle but the selfish interests of the issuers. That is, the assets of

banks, consisting largely of individual time promises to pay, are to be represented by other promises to pay on demand, in the form of notes to circulate as currency—one promise to pay as an asset and another on top of it as currency! Then, on top of this, would come bank credits, represented by checks and drafts. And this is all to be done and at the same time the gold standard to be sacredly maintained!

If the gold standard is to be preserved in this country, some proportion between gold and paper must be established and maintained; and this must be done by forcible contraction of paper, if need be, to prevent the export of gold. When prices are rising and speculation is rife, the demand for currency will always be intense, and in response to this demand it is expected that an elastic currency will expand; and it will expand regardless of the movement of gold, which is sure to be outward when prices rise above the international level of prices. While banks on the seaboard, which are liable to be called on for gold for export, may suspend or contract their note issues at such times, interior banks will pay little heed to gold exports; and if they do, what becomes of elasticity? For that is the very time when under that principle more currency is required to "sustain prices and supply business wants."

To insure the permanency of the gold standard under all circumstances, some proportion between gold and other forms of currency must be established and maintained. The supply of gold is regulated by natural conditions: first, by the yield of the mines, and then by outflow and inflow in answer to trade conditions. If the supply of paper currency, on the other hand, which is designated to supplement or take the place of gold, be limited only by considerations of profit to its issuers, how are they to be held together—the one regulated as to quantity by natural laws, or laws of trade, and the other only by the interests of those who issue it? This would be like attaching the governor of one engine to the fly-wheel of another and expecting both machines to run together. It is risking nothing, but is simply conforming to well-established principles of monetary science and to the experience of every country that has tried it, to say that, under such a system of currency

regulation as is recommended by this Committee, neither the gold standard nor any other standard worthy the name could be long maintained. To make the gold standard secure, other forms of currency *must* be so limited and regulated as to insure at all times a safe proportion between such currency and gold. Whether the British principle of making the paper vary exactly as a purely gold currency would vary is necessary or best is not here under discussion; but some principles of regulation that will duly equate the paper to the gold *is* necessary, and that must be some other than the right of thousands of banks to put paper out at discretion, or as their interests alone may dictate, and with no limitation but the amount of their assets.

The recommendation of the Committee of the principle adopted by Germany for the supply of currency in time of panics is of a different order and worthy of commendation, but strangely out of accord with their other recommendations. Such emergency currency is made necessary by the sudden breaking down of credit, and the consequences of the destruction of credit would be greatly intensified if the currency itself should fail, as it did in wild-cat banking days, and as it surely would again if issued in the same way or on the same principle.

The Committee say at the outset of their report that they have agreed upon a method of reform in the currency "which they believe would command the assent of economists generally." On the contrary, I do not believe that any statesman of high rank in any country of Europe can be named who, since the discussions following the Bullion Report of 1810, would recommend the adoption of such a currency system as the Committee present, or even consider it; nor an economist of distinction on the other side of the ocean, since Ricardo wrote, who would give it his indorsement; and, notwithstanding the high reputation of those who sign this report, I am not willing to believe that the recommendations of the Committee will be generally indorsed by economists in this country.

A. J. WARNER.

Marietta, O.

THE COLLEGE MAN IN POLITICS.

THERE has been of late considerable discussion concerning the value of the college man in politics, and the value of the political organizations that have been set on foot in connection with the great American seats of learning. These opinions have not found their way into print so readily as when the idea was first mooted; yet what has been written has been largely in laudation of these political clubs as of yore, and in eulogy of the college man himself—as if he had taken his proper place in the great discussions of the day, and the country were the better for it. There was to be no more governing by theory alone, for the college man was henceforth not only to study this side of the question from his text-book but to look out on the broad world from time to time and see what human experience has taught. The fundamental principles governing economics were, in a word, to be instilled into his mind by the professors, and he was also expected to study their application by the data supplied by all trustworthy sources outside, as well as from lectures and addresses by well-known statesmen invited from time to time to speak on the leading topics of the day. By such means it was thought he would better fit himself for the proper performance of those public duties he unhesitatingly should, and if his country is to retain her prestige and power must, undertake in the future, in order for him to be considered a good citizen with a handle to his name and his training of any value at all.

"Before I will enter into politics as a profession," said a very able college-bred man ten years ago, "I would rather feel and know the delights of 'The Village Blacksmith,' as it appears in song, or such experiences as we read of in the 'Cottier's Saturday Night.'"

There are many good college men to-day pursuing their various vocations who foresaw the outcome of the late war and the President's reason for leaving the whole responsibility

to Congress. There are those to-day who believe that we have needlessly embarked on a policy of imperialism directly opposed to the spirit of the Constitution. We went to war for "Humanity," they say, and ended by demanding a commission to inquire into the treatment of our own soldiery. We went to free the Cubans, and our soldiers and sailors remembered the "Maine"—all in the name of "Humanity." We have repeatedly thrown at Great Britain's teeth the famous "Monroe Doctrine," and have concluded a humanitarian war by demanding possessions that, according to the doctrine set forth, would make us at least a very insincere nation. "To the victors belong the spoils" seems to be a new departure in our foreign policy since Admiral Dewey showed the way by his brilliant achievement in the harbor of Manila; and though we have successfully demonstrated our power to maintain the honor of the American flag against all comers who dare to insult it, we have embarked on a policy of imperialism entirely opposed to all previous ideas and aims. The people who argue this way may be few in number, but they have certainly a right to their opinions; nor should they be deemed un-American because they object to any departure from our traditional policy, or because a declaration of war at the outset they considered unwarranted on the pretext given. Many who argue this way would have been better satisfied if the "Maine" catastrophe had been made the chief reason for our splendid humiliation of Spain; and such reason would certainly have pleased the jingoes among the over-zealous college students who had a good deal to do with forcing the hand of Congress, together with "yellow journalism"—always on the alert for its opportunity for sensations.

All this does not prove that we were wrong in the stand that we as a nation have taken, or that the college-bred men, who have certainly done their share in bringing the war to a successful issue, were unwise or unpatriotic—though to the unprejudiced it does seem that the imperialistic policy we have embarked upon is hardly in keeping with the alleged objects we had in view when war was declared. Yet at the present

time the colleges are heartily in sympathy with this new policy, and have suddenly become deeply interested in European ideas, without considering where it may land us or what endless complications and entanglements we may be called upon to face in the near future.

Again, harking back to the last Presidential election, the political clubs attached to the colleges were all in favor of monometalism, with the exception of a few members whose voices were hushed in the overwhelming majorities opposed to the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16-to-1; yet with the entire volume of the press opposed to the new policy adopted by the Democratic party, excepting one or two papers more or less influential, and with all the wealthy bankers and monopolists straining every nerve and using their wealth to bring about the election of the champion of monometalism, W. J. Bryan, with his band of volunteers, came within an ace of beating the tremendous combination arrayed against him. Had he been elected, certainly the college-bred man would not have been able to claim credit for any part in bringing about so desirable a result. The masses may have been wrong, but usually they have their way in the long run; and if the great colleges of Great Britain are any criterion, the college-bred men have usually been found in opposition to any suggested experiment or reform that is devised purely in the interests of the great army of bread-winners.

A few years ago the organization of a college club for active campaign duty would have been regarded, not only as a very difficult task, but as abrogating the proper functions of college life and likely to create rivalry if not animosity between the members of a nature quite antagonistic to the purposes for which the universities were created and endowed. Nor has the outside public taken kindly to these organizations in some quarters, which have been dubbed as aiming at the dislodgment of all instructors of political economy in American institutions who favor or teach the principles opposed to the wealthy classes. It is not difficult to see that, if a professor is to hold his position, he must pretend to be in sympathy with

the doctrines advocated by the powers that be, even though he knows them to be wrong; in other words, the election or dismissal of certain professors may arise, not for their ability or incompetency as exponents of long-established or incontestable theories, but because of their well-known attachment to a particular party either in favor or otherwise with the preponderance of opinion within the college walls and with those who make the appointments. That both parties have been anxious to secure this formidable aid, especially at election times, goes without saying, and where one party has so insignificant a following, as in the last Presidential election, as to be rendered practically *hors de combat,* it is not to be wondered at if the opposite side is called down for exerting undue influence, transgressing academic rights and functions, etc.

Naturally enough, five or six years ago the permanent organization known as the "American Republican College League" received the sanction and energetic approbation of the Chairman of the National Republican Committee and his associates at that time. These, we are told, devoted personal attention to furthering the interests of the scheme, foreseeing the advantages that would accrue from this source. It was not long before the Democratic students in such colleges as Harvard, Cornell, Princeton, Amherst, Palo Alto, and a few others of high standing began to form into line for the purpose of coöperating with the national association in its work. The Republicans also extended their organization. On the face of it, it does not seem that the college Democrats made themselves very much felt during the Bryan campaign, evidently because they were not in sympathy with the popular idea. It does not follow by any means that these organizations, if properly directed, may not exert a very powerful influence in the consideration of all economic problems in the future. The chief danger consists in the probability that in all colleges in course of time the governing body, the instructors in every branch of learning, and in fact the whole curriculum will have a strong leaning toward party instead of national interests—will see through the "spectacles of books" only those theories

that from tradition favor the interests of the party to which they and their near kin are attached, or in which they have the best opportunities for distinction.

As years pass, it is greatly to be feared that each of the colleges will be associated with a particular party altogether opposed to every idea of change and reform except what savors of Old Country "Jingoism," a false patriotism used to befuddle the masses. This is the case to-day in the older universities of England, where there is good reason for the "high imperialism" aimed at by many modern statesmen. For the universities of Oxford and Cambridge to return to Parliament any but Conservatives would be regarded by a large proportion of the nobility and clergy as a stain on the national as well as the academic escutcheon; yet it is a fact that until quite recently Conservatism has been directly opposed to every idea of popular reform—until the laboring classes rose *en masse* and by sheer force of numbers wrung from the Tory party their legitimate demands. It cannot be lack of intelligence that produces this state of things in the colleges, but the fact that the majority of students belong to wealthy families that have their ancient dignity to maintain. If a similar state of things should unhappily crop up in the academic institutions of America, the college man will find himself regarded with a considerable amount of suspicion; and Republican principles —in some respects corresponding with the Conservatism of England, as representing a traditional policy in the interests of the moneyed and privileged classes—predominating over Democratic popular representation, will be weakened by this movement and the true purposes of all learning in some measure frustrated.

No citizen will dare to say that the college man is lacking in patriotism, or that he is not prepared to lay down his life for his country, in view of the sacrifices made by the colleges during the late war; but those in the full vigor of early manhood—brave, daring, and athletic, full of chivalrous ideas, and anxious to win their spurs—having once had a taste of the romance attached to the hardships of war with all its glories, are

too apt to forget the miseries it entails. And because we have triumphed over a poor, bankrupt nation, in a manner truly to astonish the world, the colleges have openly declared in favor of imperialism—contrary to all past traditions—which may involve us at some future date in a war far more terrible to contemplate, even though an alliance with Great Britain were secretly formed. Surely the American people have enough territory and a sufficient population to care for without uselessly and needlessly becoming embroiled in the affairs of other countries!

There are many reasons that operate against the college-bred man and make him more or less a failure in politics. In the first place, strange to say, he is too much of a gentleman, as a rule, to be adapted for all the trickery and chicanery necessary in the make-up of a successful politician, as matters go to-day. Moreover, he is generally too much in accord with the sympathies and tenets of the privileged classes. It is one of the most frequent complaints of the day that the better class of people, especially the educated men, do not take an interest in public affairs. In the first place, the college man is not usually of a sufficiently practical turn of mind to attract public attention or deserve public trust. The workmen of to-day have no use for mere book-worms, and rather regard men of learning as beings too superior to care for or understand their necessities. As a consequence, they prefer, for the most part, those who belong to their own class, who are more "squeezable," and have been brought up among them and worked with them. Besides, it is difficult for the educated man to shake off his air of superiority and commit himself to all the hypocrisies incidental to the early commencement of a public career. A well-known politician once said that the great art in politics lay in knowing how to be "all things to all men," which, of course, will bear two constructions—the college man being bred to a refined understanding of the wrong one. Another statesman said, "Politics is a game in which the winner shows himself an adept in the art of getting into place."

College men themselves say the true cause of their failing

as politicians arises from the fact that they have the utmost difficulty in obtaining the support and countenance of party leaders, and that the latter invariably view them with more distrust and prejudice than the working classes, who have a more natural motive for their lack of sympathy. There is a strong reason for this. The government of to-day has become a government by party, which has made it impossible to get from our Senators and Representatives—nay, the people—their wise thought and action, so as to insure the best results of their combined wisdom. Every measure is made a "party question," which is opposed from the other side lest their political enemies may gain votes through having done the people good service. Able men, with honest intentions, once honored with political distinction, are driven by the pressure of this vast machinery to serve a party and not the people, whether they wish it or not, or render themselves liable to political ostracism. No man can, in fact, even be chosen to an office without a party nomination, or have a party nomination against the will of the party leaders. He must have no opinions that are not in accord with the party platform, nor introduce any innovation that is not first submitted to, and approved and adopted by, these aforesaid leaders. Without their backing he has no chance whatever, and he must either be prepared to subscribe liberally toward the development of the ever-increasing, costly, intricate, and tyrannical machinery that is kept perpetually in motion for the purpose of controlling and carrying elections, or he must evince a willingness to support certain private interests as the delegate of the privileged few—who have their trained lobbyists and legislators in every law-making assembly, from the Senate of the nation to the town council of every considerable town in the land. At the commencement of his career, in most States, he has no chance until he makes himself thoroughly acquainted with the liquor interests and pays regular visits to the saloons, where many of the caucus meetings are held and party conspiracies hatched. To fight against these, which do more to corrupt our politics than aught else, is to invite certain defeat and political ex-

tinction. In fact, the party organizations have become systems of trading for office and in office; and politics, instead of being the highest and noblest of professions, is regarded with indifference and even contempt by the sober, intellectual, and upright men who, perhaps once eager to enter into the fascinations of public life, have been kept out by party leaders as "dangerous," and in the despair of repeated defeats have preferred elegant leisure to the sacrifice of their manhood to pandering and corruption.

But, if taken in the proper light, this unhappy state of things should really spur on the thoughtful student to a higher and more determined effort. There is a strong indication of a change for the better. Our election laws are liable to undergo a great change. The obstacles are surely not so insurmountable that combined energy on the part of all the colleges may overcome them. The year 1900 may see a purer method of voting, in which bribery, intimidation, and ballot-box stuffing will be impossible. There are many subjects pressing for attention at the present time, not the least important being that of party slavery, which has been carried to such extremes in some States that the party leaders, as in Pennsylvania, have been afraid of adopting a more secret method of voting for fear they should lose control of the so-called independent vote. In this matter every intelligent student is interested, and no one feels its disastrous effects more sorely than he whose training should make him sought after on all the great issues of the day, but who is for the reasons given shut off in the race. Great prizes and public distinctions should be the reward of faithful public service, not of faithful party slavery. It is high time that a little more moral life was infused into the business, and that the laws of the land, especially those framed to meet grave social dangers, should be administered without party bias—in other words, that lawmakers should not be permitted to become lawbreakers.

In the face of all this, the necessity for regarding politics as a profession, for which a thorough political and moral education is requisite in those who aspire to become lawgivers and

public benefactors, has become so increasingly felt from day to day that the future advancement of the people depends entirely thereon. Not every one called upon to fill official positions can become a statesman—not every one will have a political education in the highest sense; but, if a knowledge of politics is imparted to every student in school and college, the coming generations will know enough of the broad principles of government to test would-be representatives—and to require that they shall have sufficient knowledge of the profession to enable them to discharge their administrative duties intelligently.

Politics is properly a profession, and should be regarded as the highest of all learned professions, for in the administration of government the uses of education should reach the furthest possible stretch of human endeavor. On that administration, the peace, the morals, the prosperity, and the liberty of the people are dependent; and if the ends of government are to attain the fullest share of happiness for the greatest number, it is abundantly clear that no more honorable calling is possible for any enlightened being to pursue. If the character of an administration depends on the political education of those selected to conduct it, as it would certainly seem to do, the importance of the subject is self-evident. A thorough knowledge of the intricate machinery by which this country is governed should be acquired by every student who aspires to political distinction—the separate and differing State Constitutions and the written Constitution of the national government: its arrangement, adjustment, practical uses, and possibilities. He should be constantly watching the effect produced by this machinery and the outgrowth when in action under the operations of natural force, as it may be impressed in contact with other agencies—studying the vast capabilities and uses of the organism, and the adaptation of the outgrowths to the ends of just and progressive government.

While it is necessary to ally himself with some political party, he should remember that political parties were originally organized and intended as a means to political ends, those ends

being the physical and mental welfare of the nation in its struggles to become a real land of liberty. It was not expected that any true patriot should, or could, sacrifice cherished principles at the bidding of party leaders. To sever from a party because opposed to its principles was not traitorous, and should not be considered disloyal, where the purpose is fixed, honest, and patriotic. A true party is composed of all those who think alike on any political policy or national expediency, acting together as a unit for the time being, not of time-serving charlatans, empirics, or sycophants seeking the emoluments of office and ready to support any measure at the bidding of one or two more cunning and often more corrupt than the rest.

The colleges are certainly doing well in taking a more practical interest in public affairs. The time is drawing near when the field will be clearer for the college-bred man than it is to-day, especially if he will study sincerely the needs of the great army of bread-winners, who will undoubtedly control the destinies of the country more than they have done in the past, without let or hindrance.

CECIL LOGSDAIL.

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WOMEN IN HINDU SOCIETY.

IN approaching this subject, let us first realize that the women of India form part of a community of 300,000,000 people, in a country two-thirds the size of the United States. Here in America you have all grades of society and all conditions of living; in India the same is true on a larger scale. To report the convict camps of Georgia or the Mormon community of Utah as representing the national life here would be narrow and unjust. Still more so is it to base the moral or social state of all India upon the observations of foreigners in a few provinces.

You have heard a great deal of the condition of women in India; you have read many stories regarding these women, some of which are utterly false, some partially true, and others greatly exaggerated. You have learned from various sources that Hindu mothers throw their babies into the Ganges, where they are eaten by crocodiles. *I* did not know of this until I came to this country. I used to bathe in the Ganges almost every day, but never saw such a thing in my life. I have traveled in India from near the mouth of the Ganges to near its source, but never heard of such an act, nor did I meet a single woman who threw a living baby into the river. Those who tell these stories ought to know that crocodiles cannot live in the strong current of a river like the Ganges; they live only in water where the current is slow. Perhaps the stories arose from the fact that, in certain places, poor Hindus place dead bodies on the riverside, because they cannot afford the expense of cremating them; and there the bodies may be attacked by dogs, jackals, vultures, etc., or swept into the river.

You are also familiar with the story of the Juggernaut. I was once at the festival where it is used. It is a huge car made of solid wood, nearly four stories high, and is drawn by hundreds of men and women who become excited with religious enthusiasm. There may be accidents on these occasions, when

some of the multitude are run over and killed by the car. From this it is easy to see how the story may have arisen that the Hindus throw themselves under the car of Juggernaut in order to obtain salvation.

We often hear of the severity of Hindu lawgivers in prescribing the status of women. It is true that there are some passages of Manu and other legislators of ancient India that prescribe the status of women in the same spirit as was expressed by the laws of Moses amongst the ancient Hebrews, or by the mythology of Adam's fall, or by St. Paul, the disciple of Jesus. As the Christian world has held for nearly two thousand years that a woman must "obey" a man and consider him her superior, so in India that idea has been dominant. There are to be found such writings as: "Ordinarily, women are not fit for independence, for they are physically weaker than men and must be protected by friends and relatives;" but there are other passages that describe the extraordinary strength and valor that women have displayed in their lives. Manu says: "A woman in her childhood must be protected and taken care of by her parents, in her youth by her husband, and in old age by her sons and relatives." In the same book you will read a protest against that statement. He says: "Such women are truly secure who are always protected by their good inclinations and virtue. No walls nor men can protect a woman who is not virtuous. Virtue, chastity, and purity are the only armor that will protect a woman so long as she lives." The wife of Buddha said, "Good women need no veiling more than the sun and moon."

The exclusion of women from the society of men, which we find in some parts of India, is not due to their religion but to other causes. It came into practise merely for self-defense against Mohammedan brutality. The Purda system, *i. e.*, the custom of not allowing women to appear in public, is not of Hindu origin, but was introduced into India by the Mohammedans. There are many parts of India where the Purda system does not exist at all—where men mix freely with women, travel together, and appear in public with the women

unveiled. Sir Monier Williams writes: "Moreover, it must be noted that the seclusion and ignorance of women, which were once mainly due to the fear of the Mohammedan conquerors, do not exist to the same degree in provinces unaffected by those conquerors." The women of the upper classes have as much influence in family affairs as have those in Europe. "Indian wives often possess greater influence than the wives of Europeans," says Williams, "and one old grandmother will sometimes rule a whole household with a rod of iron."

The Hindu law allows legal powers to women. If you read "Sakuntala," one of the best dramas ever written in India (dramas always describe the social condition of the people most accurately), you will find that *Sakuntala* was allowed to plead her own cause at the court of the king Dusyanta, and that she boldly rebuked him after pointing out his faults. The Hindu law allows such privileges to women. Manu says that a wife must take part in all social, civil, and religious duties of a husband. Here is the definition of a wife given in "Mahabharata," the great epic:

> "A wife is half the man, his truest friend;
> A loving wife is a perpetual spring
> Of virtue, pleasure, wealth; a faithful wife
> Is his best aid in seeking heavenly bliss;
> A sweetly-speaking wife is a companion
> In solitude, a father in advice,
> A mother in all seasons of distress,
> A rest in passing through life's wilderness."

A wife does not adopt her husband's name in India, as European wives do. She does not merge her individuality in that of her husband, but retains it. Hindu law allows women a larger share in the management of property than the statutes of most Christian nations. In family affairs (secular and religious), in business transactions, and in trade, a husband can do nothing without permission of the privy council of the female members of the family. Unmarried daughters inherit, equally with the sons, their mother's estate. The special property that a woman gets as a dowry at her marriage cannot be

used by the husband. A wife cannot be held responsible for the debts of her husband or her sons. She must be supported by her husband so long as he lives, even if he goes abroad.

In ancient times, when the country was governed by Hindu kings, the Swayambara system of marriage was very common. It is the system of free choice by the maiden of a husband. When the Hindus lost their freedom they would have been unable to prevent the intermixture of races had such liberty been continued, so they abandoned that system of marriage and adopted that of betrothing their sons and daughters in their youth. The betrothal system, however, is not practised in all parts of India. Where it prevails it is the outcome of a long period of social and political discord. The Hindu religion has *never* sanctioned Hindu girls' assuming the responsibilities of marriage before attaining womanhood. The law of heredity is strictly observed by parents in choosing the husbands and wives of their children—according to their parentage, birth, social position, caste, and personal qualifications. Burnouf says, "Marriage in India was never a state of servitude for women." In Manu we find eight kinds of marriage described and discussed. Among them the contract by courtship is considered not to be the highest and best, because it generally proceeds from the idea of selfish desire and the gratification of the lower nature. Marriage must be based, not on sense pleasures, but on the higher ideal of spiritual union: it must be a sacred bond. The wife is called in Sanskrit *Sahadharmini; i. e.,* a partner in spiritual life. This word shows that marriage is a holy bond. God cannot be worshiped and prayers will not be heard if the wife does not join the husband. For this reason we have no divorce in India. Marriage, when based upon spiritual union, needs no divorce law, but always leads to a happy home life. The first duty of a husband, according to Manu, is to adore his wife; to give her everything she needs or desires—as clothes, ornaments, jewels, etc.—and to make her happy. "When women are honored the *devas* are pleased; but all virtue and all goodness leave the family where women are dishonored." Monier Williams says:

"They [wives] are generally loved, and cruel treatment by brutal husbands is unknown." A woman's body must not be struck, even with a flower, because it is sacred. For this reason Hindu law does not allow capital punishment for women.

Another mistaken idea is that Hindu women are never allowed to read or write. Of course, in many cases reading and writing are very limited in extent. They can read in their own vernacular the translations of the epics, and so forth, and they can write letters. There are hymns in the Rig-Veda composed by women *rishis*, or seers of Truth. Malaber boasts of seven ancient sages, and four of them were women. The moral sentences uttered by one of them (Avyar) are taught in the schools as the golden rules of life. The writings of Lilavati, a great female mathematician, are still read in native schools. The higher-class Hindu women always learn to read and write in their own vernacular; but they do not generally pass public examinations.

People in the West are generally mistaken when they say that Christianity has elevated the position of women. To social and physical science and to intellectual culture it is due that the eyes of men have been opened, and they have become more humane and just toward women. The more a nation has shaken off the thraldom of the Church, viewed in the light of theological creedalism, the freer and better have become the women of that nation. Compare the American woman with the Spanish.

To-day fault is found with the Hindus because they do not allow women to read certain portions of the Vedas; yet the Christian councils and popes, echoing the great apostle to the Gentiles, have prevented women not only from becoming priests but also from speaking in religious assemblies or administering baptism. Why is it that to-day only a few women are ministers, and that there is still a prejudice on the part of many against investing them with these rights? On similar points Hindu women are much freer. All wisdom, according to the Hindus, has come from Saraswati, a woman whom every Hindu must revere. The idea of the Motherhood of God is found in India alone; al-

though in America Theodore Parker expressed the same idea, viewing the Personal side of the Deity as Maternal. Ecclesiastical and canon laws have been the source of woman's disabilities. It was Roman law and Roman jurisprudence that gave woman a place far more elevated than that given to her by Christianity. The Christian learned to honor woman from the pagan. The Teutonic tribes, who were barbarians in the eyes of the Christians, held that a queen was as good as a king, and recognized a perfect equality of sex in all domestic and social relations.

Self-burning of widows was a great social evil in India. It was not sanctioned by the Hindu religion, but was due to other causes. It is often said that the "Christian government" has suppressed it; but the fact is, when the Mohammedans conquered India they treated the widows of the soldiers so brutally that the women preferred death to such inhuman treatment. As the Hindus do not bury, but cremate, their dead, when the funeral pyre was lighted it often happened that the poor and unprotected widow threw herself in despair into the fire—committed suicide, in the hope that she would join her husband after death. Some of the priests supported this by perverting the meaning of some spiritual passages. The educated classes strongly protested against the priests who supported this custom (which prevailed only in certain parts of India), and efforts were made to suppress the evil by force; but, as they could not do it without official help, they appealed to the ruling government, raised a large sum, gave it to the officers, and asked the Viceroy, Lord Bentinck, to pass a law against *suttee,* which he did. Thus the evil was practically suppressed by the Hindus themselves, through the help of the British government.

Mrs. F. A. Steele, the author of "On the Face of the Waters," who lived in India for nearly twenty-five years, mixing freely with the Hindus as inspectress of girls' schools in the Punjab, says: "Our standard of civilization is personal comfort—luxury—a thing absolutely unknown in native India. There is scarcely any difference there in the mode of living between the rich and poor. A man may spend wealth on jewels for

his wife, but not on pleasure or personal comfort." "In regard to the general position of women in India, I think it rather better than our own—certainly better than our own used to be. Women in India can hold property, and a widow always gets a fixed portion of her husband's estate. During the twenty-five years I lived in India I never came into personal contact with but one case of a girl going, as the phrase runs, wrong." Mrs. Steele says in regard to child marriages and child widows: "In my opinion child marriages are contrary to the Hindu religion, which teaches that a girl should be of marriageable age before she takes a husband. In the part of India with which I am acquainted—the Punjab—a girl is not married until she is thirteen or even older, and in that country she is a young woman at that age. The result of my personal observation is that marriages in India are singularly happy. There are fewer cases of unkindness and violence than in this country." Mrs. Steele further says: "Education is spreading amongst the women of the lower class in India." This is equally true in the case of the men of the lower classes; there is a general movement at present for the education of the masses. Miss Carpenter, after visiting India, said that the intelligent Hindus were earnest and extremely interested in the question of female education; but that at the same time she was convinced that such a movement must rise from the native Hindu community in order to have success.

The school already started by a native woman has done good; but it is hampered, and will be in its results, by the introduction of sectarian methods into secular education. The Hindus believe in absolute freedom of religious thought; so that anything contrary to this, especially from one of their own people, cannot fail to rouse antagonism to all such methods. In India we do not have the public school system, as in America. We have no free education in India. Eighty per cent. of the people, both men and women, are illiterate and utterly ignorant of material progress, but not of religion and morality. In these they are far ahead of the ignorant masses of America and Europe. They need secular education—in art, science, chemistry, physics, and their practical application to every-day life.

For want of such an education the masses in India do not know how to better their social condition, how to reform social evils, or how to be free from superstition and prejudice of all kinds.

Ardent efforts to convert the Hindu to Christianity have been great obstacles in the way of educational work for Hindu women. They have prevented the orthodox Hindu community from sending their girls to mission schools, or from allowing the women missionaries to enter families, because by their methods they bring discord. The system of education adopted by these workers resembles this: I start a school in New York for the education of your girls and boys, and teach them day by day this lesson: "Whatever your religion teaches is superstitious and false. If you worship or believe in Jesus you will not be saved from eternal punishment. What the Bible teaches is all nonsense; your God is a dead God. This is the only way to heaven, and your forefathers are all gone to hell," etc. How would you like such teachings? Would you send your boys and girls to my school? No; you would not. For the same reason Hindu parents do not like to send their children to the mission schools. Seeing the failure of such methods, the Hindus have now determined to start schools in different parts of India for the education of women, and for giving them secular education, which they actually need, without attacking their religious ideas or destroying their faith. Swami Vivekananda, who is well known in both England and America, has already started such a school in Calcutta, under the superintendence and direction of Miss Margaret Noble, who has gone to India from England for the purpose of helping such a movement. Miss Noble is a highly educated woman, and was an experienced teacher in London. At present she has charge of a kindergarten school for Hindu girls. It is on a small scale for want of funds; but we trust it will gradually grow into a large free school, where women of all ages will obtain free instruction in every branch of learning—thereby enabling them to better their present condition and to enjoy a broader and more useful life.

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SOCIAL DEMOCRACY IN GERMANY.
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DIRECT LEGISLATION: { NOW IN OPERATION . . . . . A. A. Brown 9
OBJECTIONS ANSWERED . . . . . Eltweed Pomeroy 10
President National Direct Legislation League
UNION REFORM LEAGUE ACTIVITIES . . . . . Rev. W. D. P. Bliss 11
UNDER THE MINARET (Story) Demetrius N. Botassi, *Greek Consul-Gen., N. Y.*, and Lucy Cleveland 11
RAMESES THE GREAT (Poem) . . . . . Beatrice Harlow 12
UNDER THE ROSE . . . . . The Editor 12
BOOKS OF THE MONTH . . . . Reviewed by Helen Campbell, H. W. D., and F. P. P. 14

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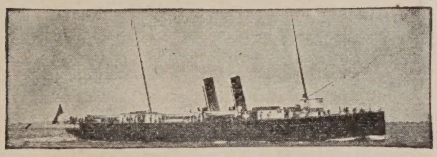

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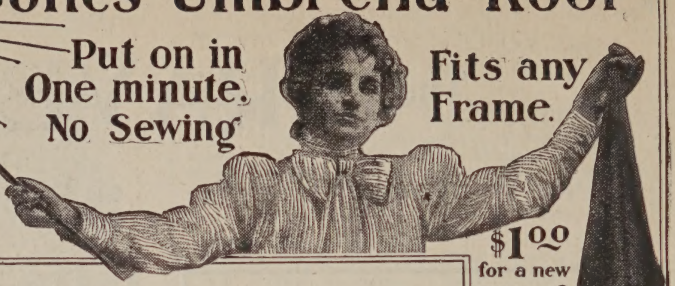

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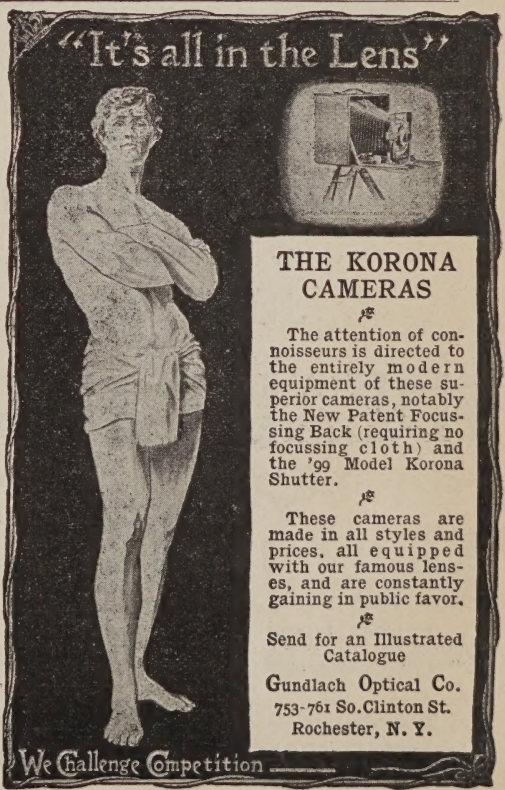
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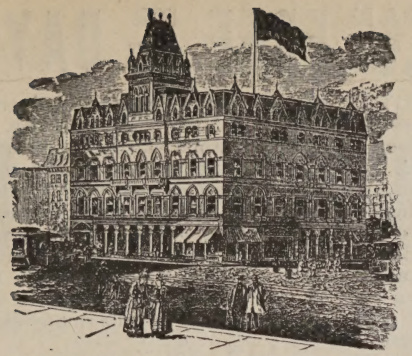

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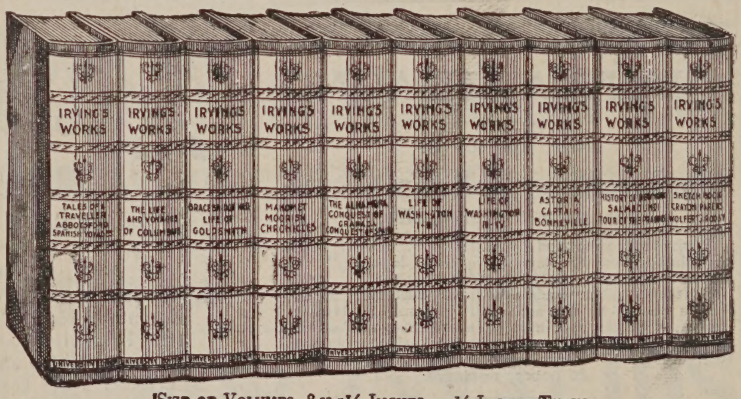

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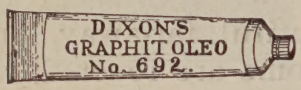

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